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Volume XV] *October, 1909* [*Number 1*

The American Historical Review

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, 1884–1909

THE close relation which subsists between this journal and the American Historical Association would seem to make it imperative that special notice should be taken in these pages of so conspicuous a milestone in the history of the society as the twenty-fifth anniversary of its foundation. But even if the two were wholly independent, an American historical journal would show little perception of the main currents of recent historical progress in our country if it did not attribute great importance to the life and work of that association during the twenty-five years just ending. It is not too much to say that no agency has been so potent in the advancement of American historical scholarship.

The theme has a broader aspect. The last twenty-five or thirty years have witnessed the growth of many such societies, so many that for each of the departments of study recognized in a modern American university there exists a society national in its scope and in the extent of its membership, which binds together the scattered devotees of the particular specialty, brings them into mutual acquaintance, friendship, and regard, effaces local jealousies and chauvinistic zeal for individual universities, and increases devotion to the scientific ends pursued in common. The phenomenon has an importance beyond what is apparently suspected by the average man. No millionaire endows these societies. When the American rich man wishes to do something for the endowment of research, he still does it through the conventional channel of the universities. Yet it may be doubted whether the universities, pressed by numbers increasing with unexampled rapidity, have with all their wealth done in recent years so much for the advancement of pure research as have the poor but single-minded associations of specialists. Indeed, it might be doubted *a priori* whether the American university, in

its typical organization a body of specialists ruled over by a body of "prominent citizens", could ever be expected to promote the progress of the sciences so effectively as the scientific society, composed of specialists alone and working in unhampered devotion to intellectual ends.

Of such organizations, none has been more fruitful of good works than the American Historical Association, founded at Saratoga on September 9, 1884. Good auguries for its success might perhaps have been drawn from the fact that there were already more local historical societies in existence in the United States than local societies of any other variety, and from the expectation that the vigor and the wide diffusion of these would strengthen the foundations of a national organization. It might also have been predicted that historical scholars, since the effort to appreciate opposing opinions is of the very essence of their craft, would show themselves peculiarly adapted to harmonious co-operation. But the experiment was yet to be tried.

How much there was for superior organization to achieve, how much has in twenty-five years been accomplished by the American Historical Association and other agencies working in conjunction with it, can only be understood by giving a glance at the conditions of American historical scholarship in 1884. It is now only a minor part of the members of the Association whose age permits remembrance of those conditions; and not all of these can without effort recall the situation in detail. The state and local historical societies were perhaps not half as numerous as now, their membership, their endowments, their libraries not half as great. State historical departments or working archive establishments, of the modern type, were unknown. The *Magazine of American History* was the only general historical journal. In all the universities and colleges of the country there were apparently only fifteen professors and five assistant professors who gave all their time to history. "When a chair of history was established here", writes one of these teachers in 1883, "grave professors, educated under the old order of things, regarded it as an unwarranted expenditure of time and money. History should, they thought, be made auxiliary to some other department."

In most cases it was thus subordinated or annexed, the catalogues of that year showing combinations with political science, political economy, English literature, philosophy, comparative philology, geology, natural history, German, and French, and the chair becoming, in Dr. Holmes's phrase, a settee. The writer of these

pages, then a youthful aspirant for academic promotion, well remembers that several institutions, now abounding in historical teachers and courses, were then cautiously considering whether a professorship of history, or of history and something else, could or could not be established. He well remembers the rueful feelings with which he heard President Eliot, when discoursing to an academic audience at about that time on the unequal regard then paid to different studies in America, describe an interview with two promising young men who asked him if in his judgment it would be wise for them to fit themselves for professorships of history; "I was obliged to tell them that under existing circumstances it would be the height of imprudence." Of the seven thousand graduate students now working in American universities there are surely three hundred who are making history their main subject (too often, alas, their only subject) of attention; in 1884 it is doubtful if there were more than thirty.

Plainly, the organization of historical studies in America was not far advanced. But organization, numbers, and quantities are not all. The graduate student of that time, it is agreed on all sides, was superior to the graduate student of to-day. The undergraduate diverted larger portions of his time from athletics (more exactly, from the contemplation and discussion of athletics) to the things of the mind. The professors were few, but they included—to mention only the *stelligeri* in the catalogue—such teachers as Torrey and Gurney, Moses Coit Tyler and W. F. Allen, Herbert B. Adams and Charles Kendall Adams. Able young Americans, who had studied history in German universities when German historical instruction was at the height of its glory, were coming home full of enthusiasm, determined to make history flourish abundantly on American soil. In 1869 C. K. Adams had begun the use of the "seminary method" at Ann Arbor; in 1871 Henry Adams entered upon his seven years of brilliant and fruitful application of that method at Cambridge. Neither did America lack historians outside the academic class, who, independent of organization, were producing work of at least as much distinction as anything that has appeared in 1908 or 1909—Bancroft and Lea and Parkman and Ropes and Schouler. The truth is that, defective as our organization might be, we stood, without knowing it, at the beginning of a new and most fruitful era in the development of American historiography. To the student of the history of historical writing there is nothing surprising in this. It was as natural that the great war for nationality should be followed within twenty years by a great outburst of historical activity

as that the Reformation should breed historians, or that the first epoch-making works of Niebuhr and Boeckh and Ranke in Germany, of Guizot and Mignet and the Thierrys in France, should appear within twenty years after the Napoleonic conflict. The time was as ripe for the American Historical Association in 1884 as it was for the Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde in 1819.

Yet the American Historical Association had a concrete genesis, and a parentage more tangible than the Zeitgeist. At a luncheon some fifteen years later, at the time of the Boston meeting, Professor Moses Coit Tyler publicly stated that the first suggestion of such an organization had come to him from President Daniel C. Gilman, who pointed to the value accruing from the meetings of such bodies as the American Oriental Society and the American Association for the Advancement of Science. No one who has known the creator of the Johns Hopkins University, his sympathetic intuition for the larger aspects of any department of intellectual endeavor, his acute perception of the means for advancing each particular science, will question the accuracy of the reminiscence. But no doubt it places the origin of the Association upon too narrow a basis. Many persons interested in history must have been impressed with the value of the American Social Science Association, founded in 1865, whose province was the whole circle of economic, political, and social science, and whose published proceedings commanded general respect; of the American Philological Association, founded in 1869; of the American Chemical Society (1876); of the Modern Language Association (1883), and of similar bodies. Some were manifestly influenced by the example of the National Academy of Sciences, incorporated in 1863. (Few if any knew that in 1835 an American Historical Society had been founded in Washington by Peter Force and others, had held a few annual meetings, with John Quincy Adams, Lewis Cass, and Levi Woodbury as its successive presidents, and had published a single volume of transactions.)

The call for the meeting at which the American Historical Association was founded was signed by the president and secretary of the Social Science Association (John Eaton and Frank B. Sanborn), Charles Kendall Adams of Ann Arbor, Moses Coit Tyler of Ithaca, and Herbert B. Adams. But it has never been questioned that the main influence in the movement was that of Herbert Adams, professor in the Johns Hopkins University.

Herbert Adams had come back from Germany in 1876 to take

part in the work of that novel university at Baltimore which was to be so potent a centre of influence in American higher education. Entering with enthusiasm into that development of American historical work whose promise he saw so clearly, he deliberately chose his part in the movement. To one with whom he walked in that first year, he declared that he saw before him two possible careers, that of the scholarly historian, especially the student of church history, and that of the organizer of a flourishing historical department in his university and of higher education in history in the country at large. He did not think himself capable of achieving both ends. He confessed that the former career would please him the best. Clever, well-educated, and energetic, though he had not the highest gifts of the historian, we can see that he would have attained a high degree of success in that role. But, he declared to his friend, he had definitely made up his mind that he could be of more use to the country by choosing the other alternative, and he should act on that conviction. For the chosen career, which he followed most usefully for many years, he was fitted by many high qualities—genuine devotion to history, catholic intellectual interests, the capacity to kindle enthusiasm in others, ingenuity in planning, skill in the management of men, tact, flexibility, and remarkable good nature. All these he brought to the service of the new historical association. It is not easy to exaggerate its good fortune in having as its chief motive power, throughout the formative years of its existence, a man who was at once so accomplished an organizer, so appreciative of scholarship, and so conciliatory in his conduct toward other leaders.

In September, 1883, Adams read before the American Social Science Association an elaborate paper on New Methods of Study in History,[1] dwelling especially on the seminary method, co-operation, and the organization of research. In the ensuing spring, it is recalled, his mind was actively occupied with the question, whether a general association of all those conspicuously interested in history, as teachers, investigators, and writers, might not be formed with good prospects of vitality and of success in promoting acquaintance, exchanging ideas, widening horizons, and pushing investigation into new fields. His habit of lecturing at Smith College each spring and spending the summer in the North gave him abundant opportunities to consult with other scholars to whom a similar project had occurred.

The result of these consultations was the issue in June, 1884,

[1] *Journal of Social Science*, III. 213–264.

of the call which has been mentioned. Taking advantage of the approaching annual meeting of the American Social Science Association, it summoned those who were interested to meet at the same time and place, Saratoga, September 9, to form an American Historical Association. Some forty responded to the call. A private gathering was first held, in the parlors of the United States Hotel, of those primarily interested in the problems of organization. Justin Winsor was chairman; Herbert Adams acted as secretary. The first question was that of relations to the American Social Science Association. General John Eaton, then president of that body, urged the evils of excessive specialization, the advantages of cherishing wider relations by organizing as a section of his society. Independence was however the desire of nearly all those who had assembled. President White of Cornell suggested that the advantages which General Eaton sought could readily be obtained by joint meetings with kindred societies; and this has in fact been, with great profit, the actual course of events. The American Economic Association, for instance, formed at the second meeting of the historical students, has met with them twelve times out of the twenty-four.[2] Independent organization having been resolved on, a committee was appointed to draw up a constitution; it consisted of Professors C. K. Adams and H. B. Adams, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, Professors Ephraim Emerton and M. C. Tyler, and Mr. William B. Weeden.

The simple constitution then framed, and adopted the next day, has with slight alterations served the Association to the present time.[3] But its preparation brought up at once some of the gravest questions of the society's future, questions vividly debated in the committee. Should the effort be made to form something like an Academy of History, small in numbers, imposing in the weight of its individual members, and exerting through that weight a powerful influence on the development of the science; or should the society be a more popular body, into which any respectable and educated person interested in history might be admitted? One who stood upon the losing side of the question has since described it as being "whether we should try to be as big as possible or as good as possible". This has a specious sound, but "good" in such matters is good in relation to the existing conditions and the pos-

[2] 1885, 1887, 1897, 1898, 1900–1907 inclusive.

[3] The chief alterations have been, the increase of the number of elected members of the Executive Council from four to six, the provision whereby retiring presidents become members of that areopagus, and the creation of the additional office of Secretary of the Council.

sibilities of achievement. Nothing has prevented any member from presenting to the Association as learned and profound a paper as he might have presented to a select forty having thirty-nine specialties different from his; and in any body, the older heads have their full share of influence. On the other hand, how largely has the American public, scientific or other, shown itself disposed to defer to the authority, in any line, of forty Immortals—immortals voiceless for lack of endowment, and unable to obtain governmental support unless with governmental selection? Diffusion of influence, diffused participation, is the democratic mode. The older element is quickened and helped by the presence of the younger; the wiser, even, by the presence of those whom in American life they must perforce address. It would be hard to persuade anyone who has attended a meeting of the American Historical Association and carefully watched what goes on, in and out of the formal sessions, that a gathering from which nine-tenths of the present attendants were absent would do as much good for the common cause.

While the constitution was in process of formation, a beginning was made of that reading of papers which has ever since been the staple of the society's public proceedings. President White read that excellent paper "On Studies in General History and the History of Civilization" which stands first in the published transactions.[4] Its doctrine, that, "precious as special investigations may be, most precious of all is that synthesis made by enlightened men looking over large fields, in the light of the best results of special historical research", is as valid and as much needed in 1909 as in 1884. A warning addressed to American historical teachers at the beginning of an era of intensive or seminary education, it has been justified by the difficulty, felt ever since, of reconciling the need of close training with the need of inspiring young *Gelehrten* to large views.

The other papers read were excellent types of the varieties since familiar in the proceedings of the Association. Contributions were read, in whole or in abstract, by Professor George W. Knight of Ohio State University, on Federal Land-Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory; by Dr. Edward Channing of Harvard on Town and County Government in the English Colonies of North America; by Mr. Charles H. Levermore of Johns Hopkins on the

[4] *Papers*, I. 47–72. The first forty pages of that volume present a good official account of this first meeting. But not all members possess those five volumes of *Papers* which preceded the present *Annual Reports*, and the writer of these pages, the youngest of those who attended the original meeting of the society, took pains some years ago to obtain, from those who then survived, their recollections of its foundation. Their assistance is gratefully acknowledged.

Founders of New Haven; by Professor T. F. Crane of Cornell on Some New Sources of Medieval History (popular traditions, songs, folk-tales, preachers' *exempla*); by Dr. Kuno Francke of Harvard on the progress of the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*; by Dr. Justin Winsor on the *Narrative and Critical History of America*, of which the earliest volumes were then about to be issued; by Professor Moses Coit Tyler on the Influence of Thomas Paine on the Popular Resolution for Independence; and by Dr. Austin Scott of Washington on Constitutional Growth in the United States. A good programme to begin with, it will be conceded.

At the adjourned business meeting on the morning of September 10, the new-made constitution was presented and adopted. It may be worth while to record for the present generation the names of those who were enrolled as members on that morning: *C. K. Adams, *H. B. Adams, Clarence W. Bowen, *Samuel L. Caldwell, *Calvin H. Carter, *Mellen Chamberlain, Edward Channing, Mendes Cohen, T. F. Crane, W. H. Davis, *Charles Deane, Davis R. Dewey, *John Eaton, Melville Egleston, Ephraim Emerton, Kuno Francke, *Sydney H. Gay, William T. Harris, *Rutherford B. Hayes, J. F. Jameson, *Alexander Johnston, *Rufus King, Frederick J. Kingsbury, Charles H. Levermore, *J. C. Markham, *Charles W. Parsons, *Charles A. Peabody, *James Phelan, *John Meredith Read, Richard A. Rice, Austin Scott, Henry E. Scott, Allen C. Thomas, *Herbert Tuttle, *Moses Coit Tyler, *Francis A. Walker, William B. Weeden, Andrew D. White, *Justin Winsor, and *Carroll D. Wright. Mr. William A. Mowry was enrolled later in the same day. The asterisks, which indicate those who are no longer living, show that of the original forty-one only nineteen now survive. As one recalls who were at that time the men of distinction in history, it is seen that a striking proportion of them were present at this meeting, enough at all events to augur well for adequate support of the new society; and those who were youngest must count it among the chief pleasures derived from these earlier meetings that they can remember the constant and gentle kindness of Dr. Charles Deane, the bonhommie of Professor Moses Tyler, the winning courtesy of General Francis Walker, and the ready helpfulness of Mr. Justin Winsor.

In the election of officers with which the business session concluded, President Andrew D. White, whose professorship of history in the University of Michigan and subsequent teaching at Cornell had had so important an influence on the progress of the science in America, and who is happily still with us, was chosen as the Asso-

ciation's first president, Mr. Winsor and Professor C. K. Adams as vice-presidents, Professor H. B. Adams as secretary, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen of New York as treasurer, while the Executive Council was made up by adding to these officers Mr. William B. Weeden of Providence, Dr. Charles Deane, Professor M. C. Tyler, and Professor Emerton. The list was a weighty and representative one. But no other elections had so great a permanent value for the Association as the choice of Herbert Adams as secretary and of Dr. Bowen as treasurer. During the earlier years of the society most of the labor of attending to its affairs fell naturally upon these two. Of Dr. Adams we have already spoken; he remained secretary of the Association from its foundation to December, 1900, a few months before his early and lamented death. Of the treasurer it might be thought superfluous to speak, since he has been present at every meeting save one, and no one surely is better known to all the members. Yet no one who has watched the budgets of the Association, has seen the steady and remarkable growth of its resources, and can appreciate the labor involved in twenty-five years' tenure of such an office, could withhold the expression of gratitude for so generous a service, and for so thoughtful and effective a care of the Association's finances.

The new society was received with immediate favor. By the time of the second meeting, held at Saratoga in September, 1885, the number of members had increased to 287; by the time of the third meeting, seven months later, it was more than four hundred, including seventy-five life members; by 1890 there had come to be 620 members. A series of volumes entitled *Papers of the American Historical Association* was inaugurated, published in New York, in parts and in volumes, by Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons,[5] and containing the secretary's reports of the meetings and the texts of papers presented on those occasions. The treasurer began at once the practice of funding a portion of the income, especially the life-membership fees; by December, 1889, when the Association had been in existence but five years, its funds amounted to $4585. The simplicity of the early transactions is marked by the fact that in those years it was customary to hold no meetings of the Executive Council other than those held at the time of the annual meetings of the society itself, and that there were no standing committees until 1895. No settled practice prevailed, for some years, as to

[5] Five of these volumes were published, 1885–1891. They are not now to be obtained from Messrs. Putnam, but from the secretary of the Association. This may be the best place to mention that a detailed list of the contents of all the Association's publications, arranged in a convenient form by Mr. A. Howard Clark, secretary, may be found at the end of vol. I. of the *Annual Report* for 1902.

time and place of meeting. Saratoga and the end of the summer vacation were tried twice. The third and fourth meetings were held in April, 1886, and May, 1887, term-time for academic members. For the fifth meeting, the latter part of the Christmas holidays was settled upon, and this date has been maintained ever since, with one exception. No meeting was held in December, 1892, or in December, 1893.[6] Instead, advantage was taken of the World's Fair at Chicago to hold a meeting there in July, 1893—a meeting much overshadowed by that great spectacle. The social entertainments which have so often contributed to the pleasure—sometimes also to the distraction—of the members, began with a reception kindly offered by Mr. and Mrs. Winsor at the time of the fourth or Boston-Cambridge meeting. That meeting was also marked by the first excursions, to Wellesley College and to Plymouth, and by the first instance of a joint session of the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association, in which the presidents of the two associations (Mr. Winsor and General Walker) read their presidential addresses.

The following list shows the places and times of the successive meetings of the American Historical Association, the president officiating at each meeting, and the title of his presidential address:

1. Saratoga, September, 1884.
2. Saratoga, September, 1885. Andrew D. White. "The Influence of American Ideas upon the French Revolution".
3. Washington, April, 1886. George Bancroft. "Self-government".
4. Boston and Cambridge, May, 1887. Justin Winsor. "Manuscript Sources of American History: the Conspicuous Collections Extant".
5. Washington, December, 1888. William F. Poole. "The Early Northwest".
6. Washington, December, 1889. Charles Kendall Adams. "The Recent Historical Work in the Colleges and Universities of Europe and America".
7. Washington, December, 1890. John Jay. "The Demand for Education in American History".
8. Washington, December, 1891. William Wirt Henry. "The Causes which Produced the Virginia of the Revolutionary Period".
9. Chicago, July, 1893. James B. Angell. "The Inadequate Recognition of Diplomatists by Historians".
10. Washington, December, 1894. Henry Adams. "The Tendency of History".
11. Washington, December, 1895. George F. Hoar. "Popular Discontent with Representative Government".
12. New York, December, 1896. Richard S. Storrs. "Contributions made to our National Development by Plain Men".

[6] And thus it is that the New York meeting now approaching, at which the twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Association is to be observed, is not the twenty-sixth but the twenty-fifth of its annual meetings.

13. Cleveland, December, 1897. James Schouler. "A New Federal Convention".

14. New Haven, December, 1898. George P. Fisher. "The Function of the Historian as a Judge of Historic Persons".

15. Boston and Cambridge, December, 1899. James Ford Rhodes. "History".

16. Detroit, December, 1900. Edward Eggleston. "The New History".

17. Washington, December, 1901. Charles Francis Adams. "An Undeveloped Function".

18. Philadelphia, December, 1902. Alfred T. Mahan. "Subordination in Historical Treatment".

19. New Orleans, December, 1903. Henry C. Lea. "Ethical Values in History".

20. Chicago, December, 1904. Goldwin Smith. "The Treatment of History".

21. Baltimore and Washington, December, 1905. John B. McMaster. "Old Standards of Public Morals".

22. Providence, December, 1906. Simeon E. Baldwin. "Religion Still the Key to History".

23. Madison, December, 1907. J. Franklin Jameson. "The American Acta Sanctorum".

24. Washington and Richmond, December, 1908. George B. Adams. "History and the Philosophy of History".

The choice of the venerable George Bancroft for president, at the close of the second meeting, made it natural that the third meeting should be held in Washington, his winter home. "It is a striking evidence of the national aims of this growing association", says the secretary in his report, "that it should so early have advanced upon Washington." It is certain that such an advance was early contemplated by him and by other leading members, for at the second meeting the Executive Council referred to a committee consisting of Justin Winsor, Theodore F. Dwight, and Herbert Adams, the question of seeking incorporation by Congress in the District of Columbia. The thought of exerting an influence upon the action of the national government in historical matters appeared at the same early date, when, after a paper by Eugene Schuyler on Materials for American History in Foreign Archives, the Association, on his motion, instructed the Council to represent to the government the advantages and the advisability of cataloguing all such materials dated before 1800, and copying and printing the most important of them.

Though influence upon the government might prove to be a plant of slow growth, some good effects from the early movement upon Washington were immediately apparent. The attendance took on a wider range, less confined to the northeastern parts of the country

than that of the first two meetings had been. There were good papers on the history of the Northwest, on that of events centering in Washington, and on Canadian history. The president of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec began, and continued for several years, to contribute an annual survey of Canadian historical progress. Military historians, Northern and Southern, engaged in friendly public discussion, only twenty-one years after the Civil War, of campaigns in which Washington and Richmond were the strategic centres.

No other feature of this third meeting was so interesting as the presence of George Bancroft in the chair. Sprightly and energetic at the age of eighty-six, he presided with kindly enthusiasm and encouragement at all the morning sessions and at the concluding evening session. None who were present will forget the final scene, when, in moving a vote of thanks to the venerable presiding officer, Senator Hoar with classic eloquence compared the rounded completeness of his historical achievement with that of Gibbon, and congratulated him that it had been his inspiring fortune to chronicle, not decline and fall, but the origin and vigorous adolescence of a nation still marked by youth and promise. A still greater historical veteran passed across the stage at the time of the same meeting. The Association at its second meeting had elected, as its sole honorary member, Leopold von Ranke. Bancroft had notified him of the election, in terms of affectionate regard. His note of acceptance, full of good-will toward the new society of transatlantic colleagues, so many of whom revered him as the chief master of their profession, was read at the third meeting;[7] he died in the ensuing April, at the ripe age of ninety.

To the biographical sketch of Ranke which Adams as secretary contributed to the next meeting[8] he appended a statement of Ranke's important work in bringing into existence, organizing, and directing the Historical Commission connected with the Bavarian Academy of Sciences. At this fourth or Boston-Cambridge meeting a committee was appointed, on motion of Professor Tyler, "to take into consideration so much of the President's address as relates to the possible assistance of the National Government in collecting, preserving and calendaring American historical manuscripts", a subject to one part of which Professor Tyler had given earnest attention in a paper read at the preceding meeting, on the Neglect and Destruction of Historical Materials in this Country. On the report of his

[7] The correspondence is in *Papers*, I. 483, II. 14. The Association has since elected to honorary membership William Stubbs, Samuel Rawson Gardiner, Theodor Mommsen, and James Bryce.

[8] *Papers*, III. 101–133.

committee, which pointed to many precedents in the practice of other governments, a committee under the chairmanship of Mr. Winsor was now appointed, to test opinion and consult the government on the establishment of a national commission for the collection, preservation, and utilization of historical manuscripts. All signs pointed to a more definite "movement on Washington", already a centre of considerable scientific activity. When the Association held its fifth meeting there, in the last days of December, 1888,[9] Mr. Winsor was able to announce, on behalf of the committee appointed at Saratoga three years before, that an act of incorporation had passed the two houses of Congress. In the Senate its sponsor had been Senator Hoar; in the House, Hon. James Phelan of Tennessee, a promising young representative and a Leipzig doctor in history.

The act of incorporation received the signature of President Cleveland on January 4, 1889. It incorporated the American Historical Association in the District of Columbia, "for the promotion of historical studies, the collection and preservation of historical manuscripts, and for kindred purposes in the interest of American history and of history in America". It provided that the Association should have its principal office in Washington, that it should report annually to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution concerning its proceedings and the condition of historical study in America, and that that official should communicate to Congress the whole of such reports, or such portions thereof as he should see fit. The act still stands unmodified, as the charter of the Association.

It is obvious that the securing of such legislation constituted a turning-point in the history of the society. Some members viewed the governmental connection with aversion, and long regarded its results with uneasiness. No doubt it has its drawbacks, as the patronage of "the great" had in the eighteenth century, and that of monarchs before and since. The chief limitation operates through the censorship vested in the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. That official will always be a man trained in the atmosphere and methods of the physical sciences rather than in those of history. His judgment, or that of his staff, respecting the merits or value of historical contributions and materials will be as little secure as would be the judgment of historians respecting scientific monographs. But he is likely to be a discreet man, aware of his limitations, and of the probability that an historical association can judge better as to what publications will advance the cause of history than

[9] It had been intended to hold the meeting in Columbus, Ohio, in some connection with the centennial commemoration of the settlement of Ohio, but the plan fell through.

can the most eminent student of science—provided only that the association has developed the machinery for bringing its best intelligence to bear upon the question.

In practice, the limitation has hardly been felt except in three particulars, and one of these is perhaps imaginary. It has been thought by some that the necessity of a governmental *imprimatur* for the inclusion of any piece in the *Annual Reports* has worked to the disadvantage of contributions to European as contrasted with American history. As a matter of fact, however, the *Annual Reports* for the first ten years after the *Papers* ceased show almost exactly the same percentage of articles devoted to European history as is shown in the volumes of the *Papers*. If in recent years the proportionate number of pages devoted to European history seems less, it is not because of any censorship, but because of the large amounts of space given to original documents, archive reports, and the like, for these are likely, from the very nature of the case, to be prevailingly American in their subjects. So far as the action of the Smithsonian Institution is concerned, the language of the guiding statute is perfectly explicit, the interests "of American history and of history in America" being both equally recognized, and this, as is well remembered, having been done with definite intention.

The Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution is likely, in the exercise of this somewhat anomalous function, to confine himself to the exclusion, from a report presented to Congress, of matter such as is usually excluded from other reports offered to that body. This, however, effects two serious limitations, the one based on political, the other on religious, grounds. In the first place, it is not probable, for instance, that the Association could print in a governmental volume such an article as that which Professor Hart contributed to the third volume of the old *Papers*, "The Biography of a River and Harbor Bill", a most plain-spoken analysis of recent Congressional proceedings. In the second place, Congress has a peculiar traditional feeling with regard to the printing of religious matter. The religion of the Hopi or the Igorrote is deemed a legitimate subject for historical discussion in a scientific publication of the government. Not so the Christian religion. While excellent reasons for restraint in the treatment of its history, in volumes paid for by public taxation, must occur to every right-thinking mind, instances of unreasonable objection on the part of individual members, or of unreasonable clamor on the part of portions of the public, have pushed Congress into strange extremes of caution. An impartial essay on the Spiritual Franciscans of the thirteenth century or the Interdict as practised in the twelfth would seem to be a per-

fectly non-explosive compound; but the authorities of the Smithsonian Institution, interpreting the mind of Congress as by long experience they have found it, have ruled that such discussions fall outside the lines of the *Annual Reports*. The limitation thus effected is a grave one, especially in the history of the Middle Ages, for medieval history with the Church omitted would almost be *Hamlet* with Hamlet left out. The American Society of Church History, founded in 1888, was in 1896 fused with the American Historical Association, becoming the Church History Section of the larger body. That it did not prosper as such a section was largely due to the fact that its papers, in too many cases, could not be treated on an equality with those of the main body in respect to publication.

On the other hand, few members now doubt that the establishment of governmental connection, in the form prescribed by the act of incorporation, was a wise step. That the act tended to place an expert body in the position of adviser to the government in historical matters was no small gain in a democratic country, imperfectly as the attribution has yet been realized. All civilized governments do more or less for history, through machinery of various types. Large as the American Historical Association is, it is so organized as to constitute perhaps as satisfactory an instrument as the United States government is likely to develop, for the performance of its historical functions. But, apart from this prospect, nearly all the advantages resulting from the connection may be summed up as results of the arrangement whereby the *Annual Reports* were to be printed at government expense. To the government this had the great advantage that it guaranteed the maintenance of a certain standard in at least a volume or two of that printed historical matter which, as we have seen, governments are bound to issue. To the society, it is not too much to say, the new arrangement made all the difference between having to spend most of its revenue in printer's bills and having nearly all of it free to expend in various historical good works. As membership and revenue have increased, this has become a vitally important gain. If there is anything that distinguishes the American Historical Association (anything, we may add in parenthesis, which can be pointed to as the main cause of its remarkable harmony), it is the abundance of the organized scientific activities which it has added to the mere reading of papers in annual convention. Now all these have been made possible by that freedom from printer's bills which the exchequer won through the act of January 4, 1889.

That something practical should be accomplished, something

beyond mere paper-reading and conference, was early desired by some members. At the third meeting Professor Moses Tyler followed up his paper already mentioned, on the Neglect and Destruction of Historical Materials in this Country, by offering a resolution, which was adopted, to the effect that, with a view to the better security of such materials, public attention should be extensively called to the superior opportunities which college libraries and historical societies afforded for their preservation by permanent institutions and in fire-proof repositories. Members were urged to use their influence in persuading owners of historical manuscripts to provide for their security and usefulness through such means. How Professor Tyler followed this at the next meeting with suggestions of governmental action has already been related.

At the seventh meeting another member suggested that a body of original materials for American political history be presented, with a descriptive statement, at each annual meeting, and, if approved by the Executive Council and duly edited by an appointed committee, be incorporated in the *Annual Report*. Some such materials, sent from the Bodleian Library, were printed in the report for 1892. Just before the meeting of 1894 the same member, in a letter to the Council, proposed the formation of a Historical Manuscripts Commission, a standing committee of the Association, modelled on the British Historical Manuscripts Commission, whose function it should be to collect information concerning manuscripts relating to American history, especially those in private hands and exposed to destruction, and to edit portions of them for printing in the *Annual Reports*. At the meeting itself, Mr. A. Howard Clark, at the close of a valuable paper on What the United States Government has done for History, suggested that the Association, through a system of standing committees, might secure extensive information respecting historical manuscripts, might furnish systematic statements on the historical work of the colleges, universities, and historical societies, and might even some time attempt the preparation of a comprehensive bibliography of American history. At first the Council, under the lead of Mr. Winsor, attempted another mode of dealing with the problem of scattered manuscript materials in private hands. A committee was appointed, at the close of this meeting of December, 1894, to memorialize Congress for the establishment of a Historical Manuscripts Commission.[10] The effort not meeting with success, the Association in December, 1895, established a Historical Manuscripts Commission of its own.

Thus was brought into existence the first of those standing

[10] At the Chicago meeting, July, 1893, a committee had been appointed to memorialize Congress for the establishment of a national archive.

committees whose work has since formed so large a part of the Association's activities and has drawn into its service the executive talents of so many members. Other practical activities had also been entered upon or essayed. At the sixth meeting, in the course of a paper by Professor W. P. Trent, the suggestion was made that state and local historical societies might annually report to the American Historical Association. One such report, indeed, was then made, which Dr. Adams hailed as foreshadowing a series. But co-operation with state and local historical societies remained spasmodic until the organization in 1904 of those annual conferences of workers in such societies, which have ever since been a feature of the annual meetings. At the sixth meeting also, Mr. Paul Leicester Ford presented a plan for a bibliography of the historical writings of the members of the Association. A partial bibliography of this sort appeared in the first *Annual Report* issued from the Government Printing Office, that for 1889, and was continued in those of the next three years. The *Annual Report* for 1890 contained the first installment of a bibliography of the publications of American historical societies, by Mr. Appleton P. C. Griffin, completed by the second installment two years later, and reissued in a completer form in the report for 1895, and again, much elaborated, in 1905.

Despite these signs of useful activity, however, it is not to be denied that at the end of the year 1895, seven years after incorporation, there were evidences of disquietude and discontent. With assets of $8,000 and current annual expenses not more than forty per cent. of its income, it was felt that the Association might do more. It was doubted if it was holding its own in influence upon the historical profession. The number of members had remained nearly stationary since incorporation. When a conference at New York in April, 1895, chiefly representative of the leading universities, established the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW as the general organ of the profession—a position which, we may without impropriety say, was immediately accorded to it—it was established independently of the American Historical Association, and supported for three years by a separate association of guarantors. The voluminous programmes of the most recent meetings had seemed to lack purpose, and the meetings themselves to fall short in vivacity and effect. Progressive members of the Council attempted to improve conditions, by encouraging the activities described above, by planning for a series of prize essays, more elaborate than the usual contributions to the annual volumes, and by various other devices. But it seemed to the wisest that no means of averting stagnation and

recovering tone to the society would be so effectual as to break up the habit of perpetual meeting in Washington. Seven of the last nine annual meetings had been held there. It is not a literary nor, characteristically, a university town. What was more important, it was far from central to the members. The geographical centre of the membership has always lain some two degrees of latitude farther north. A policy of migration, which would make it easy for a great number of the members to attend at least some of the meetings, would, it was believed, administer the needed tonic to the Association. Accordingly, an active group of members, led by Professor George Burton Adams in the Council, but aided from without by Professors William A. Dunning and Albert Bushnell Hart—three men to whose combined sagacity and energy the society owed much at this second turning-point in its career, and has owed much ever since—engaged in a vigorous effort to break the chain of habit and set the Association upon its travels again.

To the vigilant secretary, Herbert Adams, the thought of migration was distinctly unwelcome. He had worked hard for the Washington connection and had so shaped the first *Annual Reports* as to fortify it. He had cemented it by securing the election, as assistant secretary, of an official of the National Museum, allied to the Smithsonian Institution, Mr. A. Howard Clark (who later succeeded him as secretary, and for ten years in the one office and for nearly nine years in the other performed self-sacrificing services to the society which few were in a position to appreciate). Adams valued the Washington connection highly, and feared to endanger it by migration. For him and for many other members the annual hospitality of the Columbian University and the National Museum, of the Cosmos Club, and of Mr. and Mrs. Horatio King, had come to invest the meetings with a comfortable sense of habit; and at first they were indisposed to go farther than the earlier expression of the Council, that Washington was the best place for meetings in winter, but that summer meetings might be held at discretion in any attractive place. At the meeting of December, 1895, however, a committee on time and place of meeting was appointed which was committed to the progressive policy. It reported in favor of holding the twelfth annual meeting in New York City, and its report was adopted.

The success of the experiment was so pronounced that the secretary, among whose faults no one had ever noted inflexibility or pride of opinion, was permanently convinced, and made no opposition to further migration. The New York meeting was well-planned, well-attended, interesting, and vivacious. It resulted in the addition of

two hundred members, including the membership of the American Society of Church History. It inaugurated those profitable discussions of pedagogic problems in history, which, as the academics have come to be the prevailing element in the attendance, have assumed so large a place in the Association's proceedings. At the instance of Professor Morse Stephens it appointed the Committee of Seven on the Teaching of History in Secondary Schools, whose report, published in the *Annual Report* for 1898 and as a separate volume, has done so much to improve the quality of teaching in that grade and to increase the sense of its importance and dignity. It received the first report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, embracing several hundred pages of documentary material.

The policy of migration, vindicated by its immediate effects, was permanently accepted. After meetings in Cleveland and New Haven, a practice was informally adopted which safeguards the Washington connection and minimizes competition for the privilege of entertaining the Association, yet secures the benefits of mobility. It is a practice of rotation, whereby the Association meets one year in an Eastern city, the next in a Western city, the third in Washington, where the official headquarters are situated. Substantially though not inflexibly maintained, this practice has brought to the society all the advantages originally predicted by the advocates of migration, and to many towns and universities the quickening influence of a national historical gathering.

Since the turning of this point the American Historical Association has sailed forward prosperously on an even keel. The acts of its annual meetings, are they not written in the successive April numbers of this journal? It must suffice here, to note the main steps of progress, and especially the inception, one after another, of those activities the sum of which gives to the Association its present character. By an arrangement partially set in operation at the Cleveland meeting of 1897 and consummated at the New Haven meeting of 1898, the society came to the aid of the American Historical Review, providing for its support and for its distribution to all members, on terms which in no way impair its independence. A standing Committee on Bibliography, and a general standing committee on the local and state historical interests of the Association, were also instituted in 1898, a standing Committee on Publications in 1899. To the Historical Manuscripts Commission, which among other things has published the correspondence of Calhoun, of Chase, and of the French ministers of President Washington's time, was added in the last-named year a Public Archives Commission, charged to investigate and report, from the point of view

of the historical student, upon the character, contents, and administration of public archives in the United States. It has developed its work with extraordinary vigor, and has already published valuable reports on the archives of a majority of the states. The prize for an historical essay, first bestowed in December, 1895, and subsequently named the Justin Winsor Prize, has now become confined to American history. For essays in European history another prize was established in 1903, and fitly named the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize, in memory of the society's first secretary, who had ended his useful and public-spirited life in 1901, bequeathing to the Association a considerable portion of his property. In 1902 a series of volumes embracing the chief "Original Narratives of Early American History" was resolved upon. In 1903 provision was made for the formation of a Pacific Coast Branch, holding separate meetings, as distance makes needful, yet in reality strengthening the parent body. In 1904, after the analogy of the Committee of Seven, a Committee of Eight on the Teaching of History in Elementary Schools was appointed, whose report is now nearly ready for issue. The annual meeting of 1906 saw a reorganization of the Committee on Publications, on an improved plan adapted to the new form of Congressional appropriations for printing, while that of 1908 erected the prize essays into an independent series of the Association's publications, and provided for a committee to prepare, with the cooperation of a representative British committee, a select bibliography of modern English history.

Meanwhile the membership of the Association, which from 1895 to 1905 grew at a rate approaching two hundred per annum, stands now at 2500. Its funds amount to $26,000. It enjoys an annual revenue of $8000, and a Congressional appropriation which is virtually a credit of $7000 per annum with the Government Printing Office. Probably no historical society in the world is more numerous; it might perhaps be successfully maintained that none is more extensively useful. If the quality of all that it does is not yet of ideal excellence, it may be that its work is done as well as can be expected from an organization no member of which can give to its concerns more than a minor portion of his time. At all events, it has played an effective part in the historical progress of the last twenty-five years, and none of those who took part in its foundation at Saratoga, in that now remote September, need feel regret at his share in the transaction. That it may flourish abundantly in the future must be the wish of all who care for the interests "of American history and of history in America".

J. Franklin Jameson.

BRITISH DRUIDISM AND THE ROMAN WAR POLICY

In spite of the recent revival among us of the Celtic, one is still inclined to doubt, with the vigorous writer in the *Edinburgh Review* of 1863, the claims of British Druidism to a place in sober history. Certain efforts to resuscitate the old faith have failed to catch the dull, cold ear of this scientific time. In most quarters where reason discriminates between truth and fancy, one who would start again the question of British Druidism might be met with a "Ne actum agas". Still, serious historians like Mommsen, Schiller, and Hübner express a confident view that the Roman annexation of Britain was rendered necessary by a common religious system of insular and Continental Celts.[1] The tale of a British Druidism is thus invested with the guise not only of historical truth but of considerable historical significance. The Claudian invasion would appear to some extent as a kind of crusade. Paul, writing in Fleckeisen's *Jahrbücher*, 1892, declares without hesitation that "In the corporation of the Druids the Celtic nation though politically extremely divided had its centre and preserved a strong national consciousness." Mommsen[2] apparently pronounces the island of Anglesey to have been "the chief seat of the priestly system" of the whole Celtic race, and again, "the true focus of British national and religious resistance".[3] Jung styles Anglesey "a centre of the Celtic agitation".[4] Let us then examine once again the evidence of ancient writers and medieval story as to this British Druidism and its effect upon Roman war-policy.

[1] Duruy's travesty of the theory is interesting. See the English translation of his *Roman History*, IV. 420–423, 497–498. Mr. Bernard Henderson (*Nero*, pp. 199, 206 ff.) also develops with some imagination the view of the German historians. Does he, however, on p. 199, think that it was or was not advisable in 43 A.D. to conquer Britain? Professor Bury in his *History of the Roman Empire from 27 B. C. to 180 A. D.*, pp. 259, 400, agrees with the German theory, but is a little more cautious in its expression. Professor Schuckburgh, *Augustus*, p. 152, has no faith at least in the story that Augustus seriously intended to invade Britain; Gardthausen, *Augustus und seine Zeit*, I. 326, is on this point non-committal for the most part.

[2] *Provinces*, I. 188.

[3] *Ibid.*, I. 193.

[4] *Romanische Landschaften*, p. 280. *Cf.* Lefevre, *Les Gaulois*, pp. 92 ff., for more of such ideas. Some of these writers are "men of imagination haunted by the idea of a Celtic race", as Dottin says, *L'Antiquité Celtique*, p. 357. In their terse accounts of the Claudian invasion Mr. Pelham and Mr. Furneaux pass over the religious issue in silence.

It is clear from a number of sources that in Gaul, at any rate, the Celts had in their progress towards civilization evolved a distinct learned aristocracy of bards, priests (ἱερεῖς), and philosopher-magicians called druids, "very wise ones",[5] who exercised considerable power among the people. The druids, or the leading element in this privileged class, were an organized hierarchy under an arch-druid.[6] They administered the sacred things in general of the Gauls, professed magic, and pretended to large metaphysical or cosmogonic knowledge orally preserved. This aristocracy of blood, culture, and sacred power united the Gallic tribes in a loose religious union. And as the religious beliefs of the Gauls seem to have differed little from the general Aryan polytheism,[7] the term Druidism must denote not so much a unique system of theology as the peculiar organization of a hierarchic caste that kept a secret magic-lore and conducted the religious side of Gallic life.[8]

This Gallic Druidism is well attested. But the light shed by ancient writers on a pan-Celtic, or a separate British Druidism, or on the religious motive of the Claudian invasion of 43 A. D., is faint enough. Nothing at all was said by the ancients or by any one before our day of Claudius as assailing Druidism in Britain.[9] Those ancient writers who described Britain as almost sundered from the rest of the world were painfully ignorant of the purpose now attributed by some historians to Claudius. If that emperor did aim at the final destruction of Druidism by invading its stronghold in Britain, he left his educated subjects singularly in the dark as to what he really intended or accomplished. For no ancient writer assigned to the Claudian expedition any other motive than that of aggrandizement and unreasoning desire of military fame. And if this silence be regarded as proving not the non-existence of the pan-Celtic Druidism as a system, but only that it had little or no political consequence, it need only be added that the vague indifference of the ancients to the political bearings of Druidism is not more striking than their silence regarding the bare existence of such a pan-Celtic system.

But we have two splendid testimonies, it may be argued, for the existence of British Druidism, if not for an organized pan-Celtic

[5] Holder, *Altkeltischer Sprachschatz.*

[6] Caesar, *B. G.*, VI. 13.

[7] *Ibid.*, VI. 17.

[8] *Cf.* Ausonius's "Stirpe druidarum" with the Hebrew Levites. Mommsen (IV. 226) lays stress on the hierarchic condition of Gaul. *Cf.* Dottin, *L'Antiquité Celtique*, p. 289, "the hierarchy of the Druids".

[9] *Cf.* Niebuhr's brief notice of the invasion, *Ancient Ethnography*, II. 322–323.

union and its greater menace to the Roman Empire. There is the word of Caesar,[10] and the reference in the thirtieth chapter of the fourteenth book of Tacitus's *Annals*.

Amidst a variety of pleasant tales that he heard in Gaul, Caesar gives us one all too brief scrap of story suggesting a British origin for druidic theology and ritual. He further gives us to understand that young Gauls wishing to become fully equipped druids commonly ("plerumque") went to Britain to study, let us say, at the headquarters or university of the order.

In this passing notice one thing is perfectly clear and certain. It is that Caesar does not speak from any actual observation of his own, but from hearsay or the narratives of previous writers. His account of the Hercynian unicorn is of the same kind, and more confidently set down.

Caesar had written from his own observation, "neque enim temere praeter mercatores illo adit quisquam."[11] He did not summon any druid graduates of a British university to corroborate or supplement the scanty information of traders about the unknown island.[12] Yet such druids, the best educated of the Gallic aristocracy, men of weight and prominence, would have been particularly well fitted to give a detailed account of Britain from an intimate personal acquaintance. Divitiacus, a druid, was on the Roman side! Caesar does not put forward in VI. 13, written or compiled along with the following chapters certainly not long after the British campaigns, any personal experience in support of his "disciplina in Britannia reperta atque inde in Galliam translata esse *existimatur*." He had been equally silent in describing Britain[13] as to its being the glorious high-seat of Druidism. It may be safely concluded, at least, that pan-Druidism, if it existed, did not influence Caesar's invasion of Britain.[14]

The story told to Caesar that Druidism originated in Britain and spread thence to Gaul should not be too seriously taken. The Britons had scarcely any intercourse with the mainland up to Caesar's time, and what they had was passive.[15] Even the Belgic or Brythonic Britons of the South and East were mostly in a savage condition. The Goidels and Silures of the West were still less

[10] *B. G.*, VI. 13.

[11] *Ibid.*, IV. 20.

[12] *Ibid.*

[13] *Ibid.*, V. 12–14.

[14] *Cf. Edinburgh Review* (1863), p. 45. But one writer assures us that "Caesar had recognized the necessity of conquering in Britain." *Cf.* Hübner, *Römische Herrschaft in Westeuropa*, pp. 9, 12.

[15] Strabo, II. 5, 8, etc.

advanced.[16] Rhys, therefore, does not believe that Britons ever sent missionaries to Gaul.[17] And it is almost impossible to believe that young Gauls "commonly" or ever went to learn from rude tutors in the swamps and glens of Siluria.

Probably the Gallic druids themselves were responsible for Caesar's "disciplina . . . existimatur".[18] Like some other philosophies that of the druids, in order to surround it with greater sanctity, was given out by its professors to have come from beyond the seas. Ammianus observes[19] that part of the Gauls were said by the druids to have come from "extimis insulis".[20] We may then connect the stories of racial and religious origins and regard them as equally baseless. Perhaps we may compare the "White Island" of the Brahmins which also some enthusiasts have identified with Britain. The British Isles were almost fabulous before Caesar's time. Pelloutier[21] relates an ancient story from Procopius[22] that they were the Druidic Islands of the Blest. They were, then, naturally seized upon as the sacred source of druidic science; or it may easily be that Caesar or his informants before him, hearing the Gallic legend of the "extimis insulis" and some story of religious pilgrimage, confused with Britain such doubtful islands as those referred to by Strabo,[23] or any of the magic islands of the Atlantic (especially about Britain, the unknown world) to which the fancy of early romancers had clung.[24] The idea of a sacred island haunts the venerable pages of antiquity with a wonderful persistence.[25]

Besides Caesar, Tacitus is cited as authority for the existence of the druidic system in Britain. Referring to the attack of Paulinus

[16] *B. G.*, V. 14; and see Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, ch. I., also Elton, *Origins*, p. 158.

[17] *Celtic Britain*, p. 72.

[18] Dottin, *L'Antiquité Celtique*, p. 280, says, "We must hold to the opinion reported by Caesar that the teaching of the Druids came from Britain." On what grounds "must we"? Why this absolute "must"? Especially when Dottin says elsewhere, p. 262 (making little of Ammianus, XV. 9. 8, and Caesar, *B. G.*, VI. 14), that the doctrine of immortality "far from being the result of the meditations of the philosophers of Britain, is Indo-European". *Cf.* also what he says on p. 275, quoted below, p. 35, note 93.

[19] XV. 9. 4.

[20] Robert Owen, *The Kymry*, p. 8, thinks that "Atlantis" may be meant.

[21] *Histoire des Celtes*, II. 185 ff. *Cf.* Plutarch, *De Def. Orac.*, 18, cited on p. 28, below.

[22] *De Bell. Get.*, IV. 20.

[23] IV. 4. 6.

[24] As reported in Strabo, III. 5. 11; Dio, LXXVI. 12; Mela, III. 6; etc. Ammianus, living later, when Britain was well known, did not venture to render his vague "extimis insulis" into "Britannia".

[25] Plutarch, *De Def. Orac.*, 18; Tac., *Germ.*, 40; *id.*, *Ann.*, XIV. 30.

on Anglesey,[26] Tacitus describes the island not as the awful shrine of pan-Celtic or British Druidism, nor even as a local religious centre, but only as "vires rebellibus ministrantem". In introducing the subject of Mona[27] Tacitus does not mention that it was a sacred island; but he does say that it was populous and a refuge for fugitives. This is a very mild characterization, for a rhetorician, of the Celtic Mecca, "the focus of the national and religious resistance", as Mommsen says. But then follows a very interesting chapter,[28] the gospel as it were, of British Druidism, describing the demonstration of "Druids praying and cursing, and women running about dressed in funereal black, with torches in their hands and hair wildly flowing". But the Romans easily quelled a "mob of fanatics and women", cut down the sacred "groves", and broke the altars defiled with human gore.

Here at least, then, if Tacitus wrote all of this and if his information was correct, we have positive proof of the existence of druids in Anglesey at the time of Nero. And in connection with this we should consider the old Irish word *drui* (sorcerer) and the Welsh *derwydd*, as proving perhaps that there were in ancient times druids among the savage, skin-clad Britons. There were, then, let us say, British druids. Were the druids general among the British tribes? We do not know. Did the name druid denote the same kind of person in both Britain and Gaul? The writer of *Ann.*, XIV. 30, may seem to identify his Anglesey *druidae* with the great druids of Gaul. Did Druidism, the theological science and institution of an "educated" hierarchic caste, Druidism as known to Roman writers, exist to any extent, however geographically limited, in Britain? Or were the British druids at best the counterpart in some respects of the Teutonic king-priests,[29] or the Gallic οὐάτεις or μάντεις described by Strabo and Diodorus Siculus, rather than of the Gallic druids, who were in a sense regularly graduated theologians and organized beyond the limits of canton and tribe? May the British druids have been usually mere sorcerers or medicine-men, as far removed in dignity from the Gallic druids as the despised private augurs at Rome from the stately augural college recognized as a public institution?[30] In short, does the mere co-

[26] *Agric.*, 14.

[27] *Ann.*, XIV. 29.

[28] *Ibid.*, XIV. 30.

[29] Professor Rhys himself says (*Celtic Heathendom*, p. 231): "Druidism and Kingship went hand in hand" in Ireland. Dr. Fowler, in his edition of Adamnan's *Vita S. Columbae*, p. 10, notes that the Irish *druidh* is equivalent to the Latin *magus*. *Cf.* foot-note 93, p. 35, below.

[30] *Cf. Edinburgh Review* for April, 1882, p. 404.

incidence that the word "druid" (wise man), used by both insular[31] and Continental Celts, and which was applied to the wise men or magi in both Britain and Gaul, prove that the magi of Britain and Gaul were of the same organization or alike organized or nearly identical in character? This is not proved, nor probable.

The question whether the *druidae* of Anglesey belonged to any religious organization, whether there was a British Druidism, receives no direct answer from the classical writers. But there are several considerations which point to a negative.

In the first place no ancient writer so much as hints at any priest-directed national religious movement among the Britons against Roman rule. In Gaul the Emperors Augustus, Tiberius, and Claudius are reported as suppressing the druids. Tacitus tells how in 69 A. D. the call of the druids went forth to awaken in the Gallic Celts strange memories of the nation's glorious past and stir them to revolt.[32] But political and economic considerations, and not religious feeling, are assigned by Tacitus and Dio to the British revolt of 61, although, if the attack on Anglesey had been the violation of a national sanctuary, the bitterness thus aroused could not have been passed over in the *Agricola,* 15, where the causes of the British uprising are set forth. But Tacitus does not suggest that the disaffected Britons were "exasperated by Paulinus' attack on the most sacred seat of the national religion", or that "the old vehement Celtic faith burst forth for the last time."[33] He says only that the Britons (of Norfolk and Suffolk)[34] took courage "in the absence of the legate", who by going to so *distant* a place as Anglesey gave them a chance to plot behind his back. Not because of druidic ties binding Norfolk and Anglesey in sympathy, but because, on the contrary, those localities were so wide asunder, did the men of Norfolk, according to Tacitus, rise in rebellion.

Secondly, neither Tacitus nor any other ancient writer except Caesar[35] anywhere alludes to a British Druidism; nor are *druidae* of the Britons-in-general anywhere mentioned. In *Ann.,* XIV. 30, the *druidae* appear as part of the paraphernalia of the holy isle alone. The following are the ancient references to Druidism as being a Gallic institution:[36]

[31] I do not know whether the insular use of the word preceded or followed the reading of Caesar and Pliny in Britain and Ireland. See pp. 35–36, below.

[32] *Hist.,* IV. 54.

[33] Mommsen, *Provinces,* I. 195.

[34] The rebellion of 61 was local, not broadly national.

[35] See above.

[36] Of course no one would contend that any one of the following passages helps much to disprove a British Druidism; but the combined effect is impressive, and Pliny, XXX. 4, may be noted in particular, along with Mela.

Cicero: *De Divinatione*, I. 41: "In Gallia Druidae sunt."

Strabo, IV. 4. 4, describes Druidism *in Gaul* at some length.

Diodor. Sic., V. 31, gives an account of the Gallic druids.

Mela, III. 2 and 18, gives an account of the Gallic druids. He has nothing to say in III. 6 of British druids.

Lucan, bk. I., ll. 450 ff., refers to the druids of Gaul.

Pliny, *H. N.*, XXIX. 12. 1: "Galliarum Druidae". *H. N.*, XXIV. 62. 1: "Druidae Gallorum". *H. N.*, XVI. 95. 1: "Galliarum admiratio . . . Druidae (ita suos appellant magos)", etc. *H. N.*, XXX. 4; "Tiberius sustulit Druidas Gallorum." *Cf.* the following paragraph in which Pliny refers to the excessive superstitions of the Britons comparing their practice of magic ("eam artem", *i. e.*, *magicam*, "celebrat") to that of Persia, not Gaul.[37] The druids, in Pliny's opinion, are a peculiarly Gallic order of magicians. To no other magicians does Pliny give this name.

Tacitus, *Hist.*, IV. 54, shows how the centre, at any rate, of Druidism and of druidic opposition to Rome was in Gaul. *Cf.* Plin., *H. N.*, XXX. 4, and Sueton., *Claud.*, 25. We never hear of a similar organized and organizing force in Britain.

Sueton., *Claud.*, 25: "Druidarum religionem apud Gallos penitus aboleuit." If Claudius invaded Britain in order to crush the national spirit of the Gallic Celts by striking a death blow at the heart of the druidic system in Britain, Suetonius seems to have been unaware of such a policy. If it had been so, he would not have said "apud Gallos", merely.

Ammianus, XV. 9: Account of the druids of Gaul.

Origen, *Contra Cels.*, I. 16, mentions the "Druids of the Gauls".

Id., Philos., 2: "τοὺς παρὰ Κελτοῖς δρυΐδας". *Ibid.*, 25: "Δρυΐδαι οἱ ἐν Κελτοῖς", etc.

Diog. Laert., Proem., 4:[38] "Among the Keltoi", *i. e.*, Germans, etc., "and the Gauls the so-called Druids". Britons were of course not included among the "Keltoi" (*cf.* Strabo, IV. 4. 5, IV. 5. 1–3). Diogenes is mistaken as to the Germans, just as Caesar seems mistaken as to a British Druidism, and the evidence for a British and a German Druidism is almost equal.

Dio Chrysos., *Or.*, 49: "Κελτοὶ δὲ οὓς ὀνομάζουσι Δρυΐδας"; another error as to a German Druidism.[39]

Clem. Alexand., *Strom.*, I. 15, in a list of the magi of the different nations, enumerates "the Prophets of the Egyptians, the Chaldees of Assyria, the Druids of the Gauls, and the philosophers of the Keltoi". Nothing is said of the Britons.

Victor, *Caes.*, IV. 2: "per Galliam Druidarum famosae superstitiones".

Cyrill. Alex., *Adv. Julian.*, bk. IV., p. 133E: "Γαλατῶν οἱ δρυΐδαι".

Comm. Lucan. (Usener), p. 33: "Driadae gens Germaniae . . . Driadae philosophi Gallorum". Britain at any rate excluded!

Suidas, *s. v.*: "δρυΐδαι παρὰ Γαλάταις φιλόσοφοι καὶ σεμνόδεοι". The good lexicographer or his authorities would seem to have lived too early to be acquainted with Britain as the headquarters of Druidism.

[37] That Pliny here means to refer to Britain not Druidism but the practice of magic in general is made certain by "adeo ista toto mundo consensere". Pliny could not speak of all the world as possessed by a common Druidism!

[38] See also citation by Steph. Byz., *s. v.* Δρυΐδαι.

[39] *Cf.* also below: *Comm. Lucan.* (Usener).

Neither Pliny's encyclopedia nor the dictionary called of Suidas speaks of British druids or Druidism. Both view the druids and Druidism as distinctly Gallic.

To these passages which refer Druidism explicitly to Gaul, the following should be added, in which as describing the institutions of the Britons one would expect to find some notice of their Druidism, if it existed:

Caesar, *B. G.*, V. 12–14; Strabo, IV. 1–3; Diodor. Sic., V. 21–22; Mela, III. 6 (who clearly never dreamed of druids in Ireland, either, for its inhabitants, he says, were "virtutum ignari, pietatis admodum expertes"); Tac., *Agric.*, 10–12; Solinus, c. 22; Gildas, cc. 3–4. Solinus says of the Silures that they "deos percolunt".[40] Though inclined to exaggeration and fond of the marvellous, Solinus does not indicate that druids of any kind existed in Britain. Dio[41] apparently knows no *druidae*, even of Anglesey. In Plutarch's *De Def. Orac.*, c. 18, one Demetrius, a Cilician grammarian returned from Britain, tells of magic isles just west of Britain[42] and of his visit, at the emperor's command, to an island next to them, "in which a few people lived, all of whom the Britons regarded as sacred". This looks like Mona, but Demetrius or Plutarch knows nothing of druids there.

It is clear that Britain was not, in the opinion of Roman writers, the chief seat of Druidism. It is almost as certain that Druidism was not known at all except as existing in Gaul.[43] The story retailed by Caesar received no credit from later Roman writers when Britain had become better known.

In the third place, Tacitus, whose *Annals* tell of Anglesey druids, does not know the origin of the Britons. If he had known of a druidic system among them he could not have failed to connect them with their Gallic brethren. Some of the tribes he traces to Spain, some to Germany, and indeed those of the southeast (the Brythons) to Gaul.[44] But Professor Rhys says that "there is no evidence that druidism was ever the religion of any Brythonic people."[45] Caesar seems to hold the same view regarding the Brythonic Belgae of the Continent,[46] who plumed themselves on

[40] This tallies with Pliny, *H. N.*, XXX. 5. In both passages the British Druidism is conspicuously absent.

[41] LXII. 7–8.

[42] *Cf. De Facie in Orbe Lunae*, c. 67.

[43] *Cf.* Facciolati's definition of the word *Druidae*.

[44] *Agric.*, 11.

[45] *Celtic Britain*, p. 69; and *cf.* p. 67.

[46] *B. G.*, VI. 13, does not include here the Belgae "in omni Gallia". *Cf.* VI. 12, where the Haedui and the Sequani are called the leading states of Gaul;

their German origin and customs; and the Brythons of southeastern Britain were an offshoot from the Continental Belgae.[47] The very name "Britannia", which replaced the older "Albion", seems to designate the land occupied by the Belgic Brythons.[48] The most civilized of the Britons, therefore, those "proximi Gallis",[49] who resembled the Continental Belgae, though a little less advanced and in the interior of the island somewhat assimilated to the more barbarous Goidels,[50] approached in their manner of life and institutions, at the time of Caesar, nearer to the Germans than to the Gauls proper. So, the statement of Tacitus regarding the religion of the southeastern Britons, too general in any case[51] to be taken as referring to so striking a phenomenon of religion as Gallic Druidism, cannot intimate the presence of that system in Britain. Simply the common naturalistic religion of the old Celts and Teutons at large, or at most the similarity between the Brythonic British and the non-druidic Belgic or Gallic religion, is indicated.[52] As for a Silurian or Goidelic Druidism which Professor Rhys seems to maintain, Tacitus would not have proposed an Iberian origin for the Silures, if he had known of the druidic system among them or their next-door neighbors the Ordovices.[53] He cannot dream of Druidism among the northern Britons, when he affirms their German affinities.[54] Tacitus is apparently quite unaware of either a national or a sectional British druidic system, if he finds at least three unlike peoples in the island, and, at most, suggests that "it is credible" that the *southeastern* Britons are of Gallic, *i. e.*, Belgic, origin.[55]

Finally, the material and social condition of the Britons, in many respects so closely resembling that of the Teutons,[56] might

the Belgae cannot be viewed as part of Gaul. See *B. G.*, I. 1, II. 3. 1, II. 4, VI. 24, and *cf.* I. 1. 6, I. 30. He says, I. 1. 2, that the institutions of Gaul proper and Belgica differ. *Cf.* Mommsen, *History*, IV. 277–278; Froude, *Caesar*, pp. 216, 296–297; Niebuhr, *Ancient Ethnography*, II. 308.

[47] *B. G.*, V. 12.2; 21.1.

[48] See Furneaux, *Tac. Agric.*, p. 32.

[49] *Agric.*, 11.

[50] *B. G.*, V. 14.

[51] *Agric.*, 11, "eorum sacra". And how could any one in 97 A. D. refer to Gallic Druidism as present-day *sacra*? It was extinct, as a religious system.

[52] See Rhys, p. 67. In 97 A. D. Gaul was as non-druidic as Belgica had been in Caesar's time; yet if Tacitus had known that Druidism ever existed in Britain he could hardly have failed to notice it as a Gallic phenomenon of that country.

[53] Mr. Furneaux does not admit Druidism among the Goidels of Ireland and Caledonia. *Agric.*, p. 33, n. 4. One writer excludes it from one place, another from another.

[54] *Agric.*, 11, "adseverant".

[55] More exactly he might say "Belgic". But in Tacitus's day Gauls proper and Belgae were already fused, Druidism and other former points of difference being mainly obliterated.

[56] Herod., III. 14; Mela, III. 51; Caes., V. 14; Solin., 22; etc.

forbid us to believe not only that the more civilized Gauls should derive their religious system from Britain, but that the Britons, especially the savage Goidels, should have made the doubtful progress to a hierarchy of quasi-theologians.

Gaidoz has argued, it is true, that the more primitive conditions of Goidelic life would constitute rather the reason why a pre-Celtic Druidism should have been in western Britain better preserved. But if, as he, Reinach, and Professor Rhys think, Druidism was the common aboriginal religion from the Baltic to Gibraltar, why should it have persisted only in a part of Gaul,[57] or at least have caught Roman attention only there? There it did arouse their wonder in a special way, as I have shown, though Roman writers were not very particular or discriminating in matters of barbaric religion. Dottin very reasonably rejects the pre-Celtic theory,[58] maintaining that the popular Gallic, rather than the Druidic, religion, was largely a survival from anterior beliefs.[59] And whatever Gaidoz may say about a pre-Celtic Druidism, Tacitus was clearly unaware of such a thing in the pre-Celtic Silures whom he was ready to trace to an Iberian origin. Caesar's story of British origins and of a British university is thoroughly discredited not only by his own personal observations and actions, and by the general evidence of ancient writers, but also by the remoteness and savagery of old Wales.

It would seem, then, that the druids of ancient Britain, if the single mention of Anglesey *druidae*, and the Irish and Welsh words *drui* and *derwydd* prove that they existed at all, were not members of an intertribal "educated" hierarchic caste, but king-priests, or isolated men of parts, strolling bards, or simple medicine-men—any who might possess superior intelligence or cunning, and likewise the power of beguiling themselves and others by a rude eloquence. Apparently the simple sorcerer druid ("wise one") of the old Celts, if such there was, whether he was pre-Celtic or Celtic, had stood still among the Celts who had migrated to Britain,[60] except perhaps in refinements of diabolical magic or cruel ritual; had disappeared, perhaps under Teutonic influence, among the Belgae who remained in Continental Belgica; but had advanced to a peculiar dignity and

[57] Plus a part of Britain, say Rhys and Gaidoz. T. Rice Holmes (*Ancient Britain*, London, 1907, pp. 290–291), who thinks, without showing evidence, that the Brythons had druids, implies that if they had *not*, then neither had the Goidels, who were much mixed with the Brythons, and here he seems to divine truly.

[58] *L'Antiquité Celtique*, p. 295.

[59] *Cf.* Bertrand, *La Religion des Gaulois*, pp. 21 ff.

[60] Whether he went with them or was there before them. *Cf.* the Celts of northern Italy and Spain among whom the Romans never noticed Druidism.

intertribal caste organization in Gaul proper. The term "druid" has a technical significance as applied in Gaul, but apparently not so in Britain. Gaul had Druidism, Britain may have had her druids, as Indian tribes have had their medicine-men.

In the above paragraph it has been to some extent assumed that the mention in the *Annals* of *druidae* in Anglesey has some bearing upon the general question of British druids. But when we consider the silence of Tacitus and the other writers regarding British druids, we are led to suspect that the *druidae* of *Ann.*, XIV. 30, are out of all relation to the actual British world, being the peculiar denizens of a half unreal, sacred island. Nowhere else does Tacitus show any acquaintance with a British term "druid". The description of the Anglesey *druidae* in *Ann.*, XIV. 30, is abruptly isolated from the rest of the narrative. Even if the passage is historically accurate, it does not say anything of British druids.

To estimate the historical value of *Ann.*, XIV. 30, we should compare not only *Ann.*, XIV. 29, and *Agric.*, 14, 15, and 18, where no reference is made to the sacred character of Anglesey, but also Dio's account[61] of the expedition of Paulinus. Dio seems to know nothing of the druids and altars. He tells how the revolt of the Britons took place while "Paulinus the governor was on an expedition to a certain island Mona, situated close to Britain." This is cruelly prosaic. And yet Dio was not the man to miss a chance for lively writing, provided it were at all compatible with what he deemed to be historical accuracy. Moreover, Dio seems to have used for the reign of Nero the same sources as Tacitus, if not Tacitus himself.[62] But by this time the nearer islands of the Atlantic had evidently ceased to be fair game except for the most careless falsifiers and miracle-mongers. "Mona long covered with a mist—Mona, once hid from those who search the main".[63] But Anglesey had now emerged from the shadow of fable. Its people or priests could not in the third century, however it might be in the first or in the sixth and following, be painted at all conscientiously in the same magic light which transfigures in old story the Cassiterides, Thule, and other islands sacred to superstition.

But apart from the suspicious isolation of *Ann.*, XIV. 30, its own inner character,[64] the strong flavor of rhetoric, the suddenness with which the druids are introduced and then dropped, and the reminiscent quality of certain features[65] tell against its historical

[61] LXII. 7–8.
[62] Haupt, in *Philologus* (1885), pp. 145, 150, 161.
[63] Collins, *Ode to Liberty*.
[64] *Cf.* Mahaffy's editorial note to Duruy, IV. 498.
[65] *Cf.* Furneaux, *ad. loc.*

value. In the "women dressed in funereal black, looking like the Furies", there is a damning echo of Strabo's account of the Iberian Cassiterides.[66] The "black" or "sable garb of woe" seems to be heterodox so far as Druidism might be concerned,[67] but the writer follows Strabo not wisely but too well.[68] The sentence "nam cruore", etc., is a bald paraphrase from a passage in Diodor. Sic., V. 31. We seem to be reminded also of Lucan, bk. III., ll. 429 ff. May then the writer of this chapter, understanding that Anglesey was a sort of sacred island,[69] have put together passages of the old romancers, with an additional touch in the druids and their ways derived from Diodorus and Lucan, and from a hazy identification with the magician caste of Gaul, to draw his picture of a mock-supernatural, druidic scene?

One might be tempted to believe that Tacitus is not responsible for all of this chapter. Perhaps the *druidae* are too suddenly introduced: we have no hint in the preceding chapter 29 or anywhere else of the sacred character of Anglesey. Especially the trite phrase "Praesidium impositum" savors of the interpolator. It is out of joint with what follows, and is not altogether reconcilable with *Agric.*, 18. 4, "a cuius possessione revocatum Paulinum". Pfitzner's reference on this point to *Ann.*, XIV. 35, does not seem quite relevant.[70] The British insurrection could hardly permit Paulinus to leave men in Anglesey.[71] Also the passage in Jordanis[72] cited by Mr. Furneaux may seem to cast a shadow upon the genuineness of *Ann.*, XIV. 30: Jordanis quotes Tacitus not for "Memma's" being a sacred isle, but "metallis plurimis copiosam".[73] However, as Tacitus is not very accurate in military details, and as he shows generally a *penchant* towards detail-painting in vivid colors,[74] it is far from safe, in spite of misgivings, to assume interpolation.

[66] "*μελάγχλαινοι . . . ποιναῖς*".

[67] Pliny, XVI. 95.

[68] For confusion of the fictitious Cassiterides with the British Isles, see *Edinburgh Review* (1882), p. 400. *Cf.* Jord., *De Rebus Get.*, II., and Strabo "*Κατὰ τὸ βρεττανικόν πως κλίμα ἱδρυμενα*". There was a notion of sorcery about the Cassiterides.

[69] *Cf.* Tac., *Germ.*, 40. See also the citation from Plutarch's *De Def. Orac.*, and *De Facie in Orbe Lunae*, p. 28 above.

[70] Bernard Henderson, *Nero*, p. 207, explains the difficulty in a way more ingenious than convincing.

[71] Duruy revels in the imaginary holiness of Mona, but omits instinctively this garrison detail.

[72] *De Reb. Get.*, II.

[73] This phrase suggests again the Cassiterides, and it is possible that Tacitus himself might have had the Cassiterides and Mona confused.

[74] Peter, *Litteraturgeschichte*, II. 317, n. 3, quoting Ranke.

But shall we now on the strength of this suspicious passage, which, even if free from error, proves only that there was a sort of *druidae* in ancient Anglesey, and on the strength of the Gallic legend told to Caesar, for which he himself as well as later writers showed small concern, and in spite of the general testimony which indicates Druidism to have been a peculiarity of Gaul, believe nevertheless that there was a British order of druids, that it was united with the Gallic druids in a pan-Celtic system, that the Gallic druids were a mere branch of a "grand lodge" in Britain, and that this pan-Celtic religion determined the Roman invasion and annexation of the island? With the writer in the *Edinburgh Review*[75] and with M. Reinach[76] we may discard the political significance of Druidism and with it the theory put forward by some admirers of Roman imperialism to justify the blunder of half-imbecile Claudius in locking up 60,000 soldiers in Britain.

A pan-Celtic Druidism is very difficult to imagine. The testimony of antiquity, which knew neither a Celtic nation nor a Celtic religion, is against an hypothesis that would place the high-seat of Druidism in Britain. The Roman writers show no knowledge even of the British king or sorcerer druids, if such were.[77] The isolation of Britain is a commonplace of the ancient writers, and has been fully set forth by Freeman in his essay *Alter Orbis*. The Gallic soldiers of Aulus Plautius mutinied when ordered to Britain, not because they were going against brother Celts or co-religionists, but because they were to be banished, as it were, off the earth.[78] Not everyone, therefore, will accept the theory that there existed two thousand years ago a national feeling and a national religion holding Britain and Gaul so closely together as to render the conquest of the Continental Celts insecure[79] without the subjugation of Britain.

But, some will say, a parallel, independent British Druidism, which Professor Rhys claims rather wistfully for certain restricted parts of Britain, or at least the existence at one time of some sort of druids in the Celtic islands, may seem to be established by the voice of tradition if not of ancient literature. Professor O'Curry,

[75] October, 1900, p. 439.

[76] *Revue Celtique*, XIII. 194.

[77] Dottin, *L'Antiquité Celtique*, p. 270, "We have no ancient information on the Druidism of Britain." Yet Dottin is one of the believers, in a mild way.

[78] Dio, LX. 19.

[79] Indeed Gaul was well in hand by 43 A. D. For the condition of northern Gaul *before* that, see Jung, *Romanische Landschaften*, p. 200; Strabo, IV. 1. 2. and IV. 4. 2, cited by Arnold in his *Later Roman Commonwealth*, p. 491; and Tacitus, *Ann.*, XI. 18, "dites et inbelles".

however, says that "our traditions of the Scottish and Irish druids are evidently derived from a time when Christianity had long been established." One early document, no less a paper than the *Confessio* of St. Patrick himself, though narrating his conversion of Ireland, particularly in chapter 18, has nothing to say of either druids or magi. The crazy legends of Celtic Britain, whose historical worthlessness is recognized by Dottin,[80] furnish too flimsy a basis for history. Dr. Joyce[81] agrees with Professor O'Curry. No Erse manuscript is earlier than about 1100 A. D., while the Latin hagiology is not explicit as to any contact between missionaries and druids: the magi spoken of were not necessarily even called druids.[82] The *Life* of St. Columba, for example, tells of a magus called Broichan and of other magi, but not of any druids, though Dr. Fowler takes it for granted in his edition that every time "magus" is written in the text, it means "druid". It is needless to add that the "tradition" connecting Stonehenge with Druidism is the successor of an earlier, wholly different tradition.[83] No ancient or early medieval writer connects the stone circles with Druidism.

"Nennius", describing himself as a Briton,[84] knows no druids. In his enthusiastic account of the conversion of Ireland, there is no mention of them. What do those who rely on Celtic tradition make of Geoffrey of Monmouth? A Welshman of the twelfth century, who knew not the druids! Geoffrey can tell, however, of one king-sorcerer, good old King Bladud.[85] Layamon and Robert of Gloucester repeated the story, like all else, after Geoffrey. But not one of the three was aware of the simple fact that Bladud was a druid! Geoffrey, Layamon, and Robert of Gloucester show us the Britons thanking their gods for victory,[86] and Geoffrey says that when Christianity came in under Lucius, the "flamens" and "arch-flamens" became bishops and arch-bishops.[87] But where were the druids turning monks, as Bertrand and others imagine? Geoffrey, Layamon, and the rest were all interested in religious matters and in things Celtic, but they are shamefully, shamelessly ignorant of Druidism and druids. The magi whom Vortigern con-

[80] *L'Antiquité Celtique*, pp. 2–4.

[81] *Social History of Ireland*, I. 219.

[82] See the citation from Whitley Stokes, page 35, note 93.

[83] See Geoffrey of Monmouth, VIII. 10 ff. and XI. 4; Layamon, *Brut*, ll. 17156 ff.; Robert of Gloucester, ll. 3109 ff.

[84] He claims also to use not only Latin chronicles, but the traditions of ancestors, and British and Scottish histories (ch. 1.). Gildas and Bede say nothing of druids.

[85] II. 10.

[86] *Historia Britonum*, IV. 8; *Brut*, ll. 8071 ff.; *Chronicle*, 1208.

[87] IV. 19.

sults are not introduced as survivors or heirs of that glorious band which modern fancy has enthroned in ancient British oak groves: Layamon calls them "witien, world-wise monne, the wisdom cuthen"[88] or men who "cuthen of tho crafte the wuneth i than lufte" (astrologers).[89] Robert says simply "enchantors".[90] The astrologers of King Arthur[91] become in Layamon's more pious narrative tolerably Christianized:

> Canunes ther weoren,
> the cuth weoren widen.
> ther wes moni god clarc,
> the wel cuthe a leore.
> Muchel heo ferden mid than crafte,
> to lokien in than leofte,
> to lokien i than steorren,
> nehhe and feorren.
> The craft is ihate
> Astronomie.

Robert leaves them out for some reason. Hunt as we may, we find no druids in these Celtic pages. The "voice of tradition" is a very modern voice.[92]

It would appear, in fact, that in the Dark Ages, or rather later, certain Welsh and Irish "doctors" and fablers developed views of their sorcerers or medicine-men[93] based on "a little learning" in

[88] *Brut*. ll. 15495 ff.

[89] *Ibid*., l. 15750.

[90] L. 2711.

[91] Geoffrey, *Hist. Brit*., IX. 12.

[92] Dating in England from Richard of Cirencester? I find nothing said of druids by William of Malmesbury nor by Henry of Huntingdon. Henry says (bk. I.) that nobody knows how the stones came to be set up at Stonehenge nor why. He gives a somewhat detailed account of Ireland; is certain that the Scots came from Spain to Ireland. Forester editorially (p. 19, note 2) laments Henry's ignorance, *e. g*., of the fact that "Paulinus reduced Mona and exterminated the Druids."

[93] See the distinctions drawn by Joyce (I. 239): Irish druids merely wizards and learned men, not priests like those of Gaul; they did not practice human sacrifice. *Cf*. p. 25, note 29, above. Dottin (p. 275) says: "It is improbable that the (Gallic) druids of Caesar's time were like their Irish confrères [I object to this word] only sorcerers and wonder-workers." On page 286 he says that in Ireland there was no hierarchy: contrast with this the Gallic hierarchy (p. 289). Whitley Stokes (*Tripartite Life of St. Patrick*, p. clix): "There is nothing to show that in Ireland the druids constituted a hierarchy or a separate caste, as they are said to have done in Gaul and Britain. They seem simply to have been one species of the wizards, sorcerers or enchanters variously named in Irish *drui, maithmain, tinchitlidi*, and in the Latin of the Book of Armagh *scivi, magi*," etc. In his edition of Adamnan's *Columba*, Dr. Fowler doubts (p. xx) that the druids of Ireland were "a distinct order". As for Wales, Professor Rhys says: "There is no proof of any formal connection between the Druidic priesthood and the bardic system as it appears in Wales in the 12th Century." *The Welsh People*, p. 255.

Caesar and Pliny and generally in the Latin literature on Gallic Druidism; possibly they were pushed on by a natural confusion of the home druids—if that *was* originally the insular sorcerors' name —with the great Gallic hierarchy; given an inch, as it seemed, by Caesar and more doubtfully by Pliny, they took a mile. As the scene of the Arthurian legends was sometimes shifted in French romance from Britain to Brittany, so very probably Druidism has been gradually transplanted from ancient Gaul to ancient Britain. We may compare also the Welsh and Irish traditions of Iberian origins based on Roman geography and on such speculations as those of Tacitus on the Silures.[94] Just as Christ, the saints, Achilles, and other heroes of classical antiquity mingle in the fantastic Irish sagas with the native kinglings, so it is probable that Celtic learning and fancy co-operating made Druidism their own. This is no isolated phenomenon in the realm of semi-barbaric literature.

We find, then, no sure proof from any quarter[95] that Druidism in the proper sense of the word or even druids ever existed in Britain. There is much reason to believe the contrary. Until there appears some real evidence that a druidic hierarchy or caste and a druidic speculative philosophy or magic did prevail in Britain, and that the Romans knew of it, one may neglect, like Mr. Pelham and Mr. Furneaux, a defense of the Claudian policy based on an improbable supposition.

W. F. Tamblyn.

[94] *Quarterly Review*, April, 1885, p. 441. See page 35, n. 92, above; also Geoffrey of Monmouth; Layamon, ll. 6207 ff.; Robert of Gloucester, l. 1001.

[95] Brehon law proves nothing. The triple organization of the Irish learned class cannot be shown to antedate the sixth century, the age of Latin learning.

THE CHARACTER AND ANTECEDENTS OF THE CHARTER OF LIBERTIES OF HENRY I.

In the study of history a question of origins may be attractive but not necessarily of any especial consequence. The importance of the study of the genesis of Henry's Charter of 1100 lies in the fact that it served as the model after which the barons consciously formulated their Bill of Rights against King John in 1215, whence the Magna Carta and the subsequent "charters of liberties". In that long and weighty series of English constitutional documents it stands forth as the earliest extant, and in studying its character and antecedents we are engaged in a problem of distinct historical value. The origin and nature of the Charter was briefly discussed by the late Bishop Stubbs about a generation ago, but his conclusions appear upon a re-examination of the evidence to be untenable.

This Charter of 1100, it will be recalled, was issued by Henry I. after a hurried coronation, and was designed to gain support from among those who might otherwise have preferred to see his elder brother Robert on the throne. Bishop Stubbs held that Henry's Charter is in form an amplification of the (Saxon) coronation oath which he had taken, that it is a deliberate expression of that oath, that it marks a promised return to national government.[1]

[1] "It is in form an amplification of his Coronation Oath, the exact words of which are still preserved, and agree with the ancient form used at the coronation of Ethelred:—

'In Christi nomine promitto haec tria populo Christiano mihi subdito. In primis me praecepturum et opem pro viribus impensurum ut ecclesia Dei et omnis populus Christianus veram pacem nostro arbitrio in omni tempore servet; aliud ut rapacitates et omnes iniquitates omnibus gradibus interdicam; tertium ut in omnibus judiciis aequitatem et misericordiam praecipiam, ut mihi et vobis indulgeat Suam misericordiam clemens et misericors Deus.'

"It is thus a deliberate expression of the articles of the covenant made by the king with his people, in consideration of which he receives the threefold sanction of election by the nation, unction and coronation by the Church, and homage from the feudal vassals. Further, it is a deliberate limitation of the power which had been exercised by William the Conqueror and William Rufus, a renunciation of the evil customs introduced by the latter, and a restoration of the ancient customs of the nation; and in this aspect, it is a recognition of the lawful freedom of the nation, which those evil customs had infringed, and which was regarded as symbolised by the laws of Edward the Confessor. Further, it is an exemplification of the evil customs themselves; and historically marks the amount of departure from free and national government which had prevailed in the late reign." Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 99. *Cf.* Hannis Taylor, *English*

On the contrary I hope to show, taking these propositions in reverse order, that the Charter promised a regulated feudal government and a return to the law as it stood at the death of William I.; that it is not the deliberate expression of the Saxon oath, which would make it out a product of Saxon institutions, but rather the deliberate expression of the additions to that oath which Henry made according to the precedents of his Norman predecessors; and finally, that in form it is not an amplification of the Saxon oath but was probably derived (through one or more similar charters) from some borough charter. My thesis may be more compactly expressed thus: The Charter is a product of Anglo-Norman conditions and faithfully portrays Anglo-Norman ideals of government.

I.

First, the Charter promised a regulated feudal government and a return to the law as it stood at the death of William I.[2]

If we examine the Charter[3] to ascertain what portions of it may fairly be said to have been written from the feudal point of view, we find that it falls into two unequal portions, and that all of the first eleven chapters are in this sense rightfully to be classed as feudal. It is not meant by this classification to intimate that these chapters of the Charter do not have non-feudal bearings, but that each is aimed at some encroachment upon the rights of the feudal lords. Most of the chapters exhibiting the accustomed characteristics of feudalism are obviously so; but chapters I., V., and IX. present special features which might arouse question. In these, however, the usual emphasis needs merely to be shifted to make the interests of the feudal lords apparent.

Chapter I. recalls to mind the well-known statement of Stubbs that "Ranulf Flambard saw no other difference between an ecclesiastical and a lay fief than the superior facilities which the first gave for extortion."[4] It is not needful here to discuss the exact forms of extortion which are henceforth forbidden, it suffices to note that they are of a distinctly feudal nature, based upon the assimilation of the treatment of ecclesiastical fiefs to that of lay fiefs.[5]

Chapter V., relating to *monetagium*, was, if DuCange is correct,

Constitution, I. 272–273; McKechnie, *Magna Carta*, pp. 116–119. For the critical edition of the ancient coronation oath, see Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I. 214–217.

[2] The brief analysis to follow has much in common with the view expressed in 1877 by Prothero in his *Simon de Montfort*, pp. 16–17.

[3] Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I. 521–523.

[4] Stubbs, *Constitutional History* (4th ed., 1883), I. 325.

[5] *Cf.* Round, *Feudal England*, pp. 310–311; Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, II. 230, note 4; 141, note 4; 203, note 1; 205.

primarily a feudal custom of Normandy, which, upon being transferred to England, had been applied more broadly.[6]

In the case of the *murdrum*, to which chapter IX. relates, it is customary to consider that because this fine was originally intended to hold communities responsible for order within their boundaries, therefore its enforcement harmed the feudal lords only in so far as it lessened the paying power of their tenants. But in the first place it is to be noted that the fine was levied primarily upon the vill where the death occurred and the hundred incurred only a secondary liability. The incidence therefore was quite local. Next, forty-six marks was an overwhelming fine for such a small community, far more in fact than it proved practicable to collect. Most important of all, the lord of the manor had come to be responsible for the fine, in fact had to pay it out of his own resources so far as they went—so read the "Articles of William I." Lastly, as this fine could be easily imposed on technical grounds it became a ready means of extortion. Consequently, in close connection with chapter VIII. in which the lords are promised that other fines shall be just, chapter IX. further promises them just murder-fines. The two chapters alike appeal to the feudal class.[7] We may say then

[6] DuCange, *Glossarium*, IV. (Paris, 1845), p. 532: "Praestatio quae a tenentibus et vassallis domino fit tertio quoque anno, ea conditione ut monetam mutare ei non liceat, quae *Focagium* [et *Relevatio monetae*] dicitur, obtinebatque potissimum in Normannia." For its meaning in England, *cf.* Liebermann, *Gesetze*, II. (Wörterbuch), p. 149: "Abgabe an den Münzherrn (König), seitens Stadt und Grafschaft, damit dieser nicht, das Gepräge ändernd und Vollwichtiges in neue, schlechtere Münze zu wechseln zwingend, sich auf Landeskosten bereichere."

[7] *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, 15, 2–4 (1115–1150 A. D.): "Quando aliquis alicubi murdratus reperiebatur. . . . Et si non inueniebatur [*i. e.*, interfector], colligebantur in uilla XLVI marce. Et si ad tante pecunie solutionem non sufficiebat, per hundredum colligebatur quod in uilla non poterat. Sed quia uilla omnino confundebatur, prouiderunt barones, quod per hundredum colligerentur." Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I. 641. *Willelmi I. Articuli*, X. 3 (*c.* 1110–1135 A. D.): "Uolo autem, ut omnes homines, quos mecum adduxi aut post me uenerunt, sint in pace mea et quiete. Et si quis de illis occisus fuerit, dominus eius habeat infra quinque dies homicidam eius, si potuerit; sin autem, incipiat persoluere mihi quadraginta sex marcas argenti, quamdiu substantia illius domini perduratuerit. Ubi uero substantia domini defecerit, totus hundredus, in quo occisio facta est, communiter persoluat quod remanet." *Ibid.*, I. 487. *Leges Henrici* (*c.* 1114–1118 A. D.), 91, 2, 2a, 3: "Si murdrum in domo uel in curia uel in claustura inueniatur, cum ad premissam XL et VI marcarum reddicionem peruenietur, primo quicquid in ipso manerio est, in annona uiridi et sicca, in animalibus et in omnibus omnino, primo uendatur usque ad olera. Et si ad XL et VI marcas habundat, nichil aliunde exigitur; si quid uero defuerit, in hundredo communiter suppleatur. Si etiam manerium, in quo murdrum inuenietur, de dominio et firma regis sit, et rex ita preceperit, per totum hundretum inde componendum erit." *Ibid.*, I. 607. For recorded cases of *murdrum* (in 1202 and 1221), see Maitland, *Select Pleas of the Crown*, I., nos. 55, 127, 131, 134. In 1258 the barons at Oxford complain of the unjust enforcement of the *murdrum* in the case of strangers who

that the first portion of Henry's Charter is feudal law, and therefore not Anglo-Saxon but Norman.

The remaining, non-feudal portion of the Charter consists of the last three chapters, which by reason of their collocation may be considered to belong together unless some violence is thereby done to the sequence of ideas. Being regarded as a whole, however, they rather gain in significance; and appear to be devoted to the general topic of the re-establishment of the king's peace as quickly and as firmly as possible.[8] Chapter XII. announces a firm peace to be maintained henceforth. Chapter XIII. answers the natural question: "What law is to obtain under which this peace is to be enforced?" For in such unsettled times, when the Conquest was still within the memory of the living, and the new king was more or less a usurper, there might be question as to whether Henry intended to enforce "the law of Edward the Confessor", or the said law with the modifications of William I., or with the additional modifications of William II. The preference of Henry is expressed for the law of his father's day. Chapter XIV. directs the restitution of property wrongfully taken during the interregnum when according to the Anglo-Norman, not the Saxon, doctrine the king's peace was non-existent.[9]

It would appear that the over-emphasis of this second portion of the Charter, and especially of the reference to "the law of Edward the Confessor", is chiefly responsible for the misapprehension of the purport of the Charter as a whole. Chapter XIII. touching the law looks back, so far as central institutions are concerned, only to the days of William I.[10] The natural and reasonable view is to regard the Charter as feudal in spirit throughout, definitely feudal for the most part and for the rest in perfect harmony with feudalism.

died of hunger (§ 21). As to the fines actually collected, see L. O. Pike, *History of Crime in England*, I. 454.

[8] *Cf.* Howard, *The King's Peace*, p. 26: "This new theory that the peace belonged to the king and not to the people, had a curious and disastrous consequence. After the Norman Conquest it was held by the lawyers that the reign of law ceased with the death or deposition of the sovereign. During each interregnum crime and violence and all forms of anarchy ran riot and there was no power to punish. The king was dead and the law died with him." *Cf.* Pollock and Maitland, *English Law*, II. 463–464, and note.

[9] *Cf. ibid.*, I. 45. The robbery forbidden in section fourteen seems to have been the special temptation of an interregnum. *Cf. Chron. Ang.-S., ad ann.* 1135 (Thorpe's trans., II. 229): "The king died. . . . Then there was tribulation soon in the land; for every man that could forthwith robbed another."

[10] The law of Edward was of course to be established or re-established for local government and for all questions of law not governed or modified by feudal law.

II.

Second, if the Charter is the "deliberate expression" of any part of the coronation oath, it is not of the Saxon portion of it but of the additions to that oath which Henry made according to the precedents of his father and brother.

The promulgation of the Charter soon after Henry took the oath is suggestive of some relationship between the two. Bishop Stubbs assumes that Henry took the oath of Ethelred unamended.[11] But there is reason to believe that King Henry made various additions to this, and that in so doing he was following precedents set by his immediate predecessors.

William the Conqueror apparently swore to an irregular oath, or perhaps to the usual one with an important addition. The Worcester chronicler states: "Then on Midwinter's day, archbishop Ealdred hallowed him king at Westminster; and he pledged him on Christ's book, and also swore, before he would set the crown on his head, that he would govern this nation as well as any king before him had best done, if they would be faithful to him."[12]

In 1087, William Rufus appears likewise to have taken a special coronation oath. Eadmer, the confidant of Anselm, relates that William, being exceedingly anxious for the crown and in absolute need of the archbishop's support, made sweeping promises to Lanfranc: ". . . coepit tam per se quam et per omnes quos poterat fide sacramentoque Lanfranco promittere, justitiam misericordiam et aequitatem se per totum regnum si rex foret in omni negotio servaturum; pacem, libertatem et securitatem ecclesiarum contra omnes defensurum, necne praeceptis atque consiliis ejus per omnia et in omnibus obtemperaturum."[13]

[11] *Cf.* note 1, above.

[12] *Chron. Ang.-S.* (Thorpe), II. 169–170; Earle and Plummer, p. 200. *Cf.* Florence of Worcester: "... consecratus est honorifice, prius ut idem archipraesul ab eo exigebat, ante altare Sancti Petri Apostoli, coram clero et populo jurejurando promittens, se velle sanctas Dei ecclesias ac rectores illarum defendere, necnon et cunctum populum sibi subjectum juste et regali providentia regere, rectam legem statuere et tenere, rapinas injustaque judicia penitus interdicere." Flor. Wig., *Chronicon* (Eng. Hist. Soc.), I. 229. On this topic Freeman writes: "... the Duke took the oaths of an English King, the oaths to do justice and mercy to all within his realm, and a special oath, devised seemingly to meet the case of a foreign King, an oath that if his people proved loyal to him, he would rule them as well as the best of the Kings who had gone before him." *Norman Conquest*, III. 560.

[13] Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* (Rolls Series), p. 25. *Cf.* Freeman, *William Rufus*, I. 16: "And, besides the prescribed oaths to do justice and mercy and to defend the rights of the Church, Lanfranc is said to have bound the new king by a special engagement to follow his own counsel in all things." *Ibid.*, II. 460: ". . . the new King's special oath, in which the formal words of the coronation bond seem to be mixed up with oaths and promises of a more general kind".

When we come to the coronation of Henry we also meet with evidence of additions to the old oath, as in the cases of his father and brother: ". . . and on the Sunday after, before the altar at Westminster, [he] promised to God and all the people to put down all the injustices that were in his brother's time; and to maintain the best laws that stood in any king's day before him. And then, after that, the bishop of London, Maurice, hallowed him king."[14]

It would appear then that the Anglo-Saxon coronation oath, so jealously guarded in the days of Dunstan,[15] had been deemed insufficient at the coronation of William I., who had sworn to govern as well as any king before him; that the desire of William II. to secure the coronation had led him to include within the oath a special promise to heed the counsel of Lanfranc, and that owing to the grievous misrule of William Rufus, Henry had added to his oath the promise to put an end to his brother's injustice and to maintain the best laws that had existed in any previous reign. In short, the addition to the oath of special promises seems to have been a common feature of the coronation oath of the Norman sovereigns, who would hardly feel so bound to the ancient customs as their predecessors and consequently would be more prone to make such additions to the oath as might appear advantageous.

The relationship between the oath and the Charter now becomes clearer. We can readily see how the new part of Henry's oath, containing the promise "to put down all the injustices that were in his brother's time", definitely accounts for the first portion of the Charter. The occasion for the Charter, as expressed at the beginning, is "quia regnum oppressum erat iniustis exactionibus"; and the general statement is "sanctam Dei aecclesiam imprimis liberam facio . . . et omnes malas consuetudines, quibus regnum Angliae iniuste opprimebatur, inde aufero." The first evil custom

[14] *Chron. Ang.-S.*, Peterborough, Thorpe, II. 204; text, Earle and Plummer, p. 236. *Cf.* Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia* (Roll Series), p. 233: ". . . melioratione legum et consuetudinum optabili repromissa". Eadmer (Rolls Series), p. 119 ". . . Henricus qui tunc noviter fratri defuncto in regnum successerat, in ipso suae consecrationis die bonas et sanctas omni populo leges se servaturum, et omnes oppressiones et iniquitates quae sub fratre suo emerserant in omni sua dominatione tam in ecclesiasticis quam in saecularibus negotiis prohibiturum et subversurum spoponderat, et haec omnia jurisjurandi interjectione firmata, sub monimento litterarum sigilli sui testimonio roboratarum, per totum regnum divulgatum iri praeceperat." *Cf.* Freeman, *William Rufus*, II. 350–351: "The new king swore, as usual, to hold the best law that on any king's day before him stood; but he swore further to God and to all folk to put aside the unright that in his brother's time was."

[15] "And he forbade him to give any pledge except this pledge which he laid up on Christ's altar, as the bishop directed." *Memorials of Dunstan* (Rolls Series), p. 355.

specifically forbidden (after the unjust exactions from the Church) is that of excessive reliefs, "sicut . . . tempore fratris mei". And this is the tone of the provisions, either by express declaration or by implication, throughout the first eleven chapters.

As for the second portion of the Charter, owing to the Anglo-Norman development of the idea of the king's peace, such provisions as those of chapters XII. and XIV. were needed in order to start the new reign, and would probably have been added had the Saxon portion of the oath been totally omitted.[16] We have already seen how the erroneous view of the Charter as a whole was occasioned by reason of its employment of terms which have a ring of pre-Conquest times. Here again the same reason seems to have been responsible for the misconception of the relation of the Charter to the Saxon oath. The Saxon oath speaks of a "peace" and so does the Charter; therefore the Charter has been mistakenly regarded as being derived from Ethelred's oath. Again, the reference in the second portion of the Charter to the laws to be enforced is accounted for by Henry's addition to the oath wherein he had promised "the best laws that stood in any king's day before him", and is irrelevant to the promise of "justice and mercy in all judgments" contained in the Saxon oath.

The conclusion is then that the Charter has little or nothing to do with the oath of Ethelred, but is the direct outcome of the additions to that oath made by Henry.

III.

Third, in technical form the Charter is probably derived through one or more similar documents from some borough charter.

It has just been stated that Henry's Charter is the direct outcome of additions to the coronation oath. This is after all an explanation that does not satisfy; for whence came the original idea of granting general charters of liberties? The chroniclers suggest a precedent for the year 1093, and hint at a rudimentary charter in 1088; but even so, what suggested the idea in the first place? The recent work of the legal historians supplies the data from which may be drawn the probable solution of this problem—namely, that Henry's Charter is similar in type to the class of borough charters, from some one of which it may be supposed to have been ultimately derived. The evidence is as follows.

Only a few years before Henry's Charter, in 1093, when William Rufus supposed he was dying and so devoted himself to repentance,

[16] *Cf.* the Proclamation of the King's Peace in 1272. Rymer, *Foedera* (folio ed., 1727), II. 1.

as Eadmer tells us, he caused his vow of reform to be placed upon the altar:[17]

Scribitur edictum regioque sigillo firmatur, quatinus captivi quicunque sunt in omni dominatione sua relaxentur, omnia debita irrevocabiliter remittantur, omnes offensiones antehac perpetratae indulta remissione perpetuae oblivioni tradantur. Promittuntur insuper omni populo bonae et sanctae leges, inviolabilis observatio juris, injuriarum gravis et quae deterreat caeteros examinatio.

Even before that, when the same king was fighting for his throne in the rebellion of 1088, he had been profuse in such promises to the English gentry who appear at first to have been reluctant to come to his aid. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* relates: "He then sent after Englishmen, and told them his need, and desired their support, and promised them the best laws that ever were before in this land; and every unjust impost he forbade, and granted to men their woods and liberty of the chase, but it stood no while."[18] William of Malmesbury, in translating this, adds that he summoned the English "invitatoriis scriptis", but although the proclamation that summoned them may have been in written form, the accounts do not indicate that William's promises were enrolled in a charter.[19]

It is fairly certain then that Henry found a complete precedent for a written charter issued to the whole kingdom in the formal edict of 1093. In the promises of 1088 the evidence is lacking of their promulgation in written form, yet they are noteworthy in connection

[17] *Hist. Nov.*, pp. 31-32. *Cf.* Pollock and Maitland, *English Law*, I. 94–95: "It seems probable that Rufus set the example of granting charters of liberties to the people at large. In 1093, sick and in terror of death, he set his seal to some document that has not come down to us. Captives were to be released, debts forgiven, good and holy laws maintained." *Cf.* Freeman, *William Rufus*, I. 393–394.

[18] *Chron. Ang.-S.*, Peterborough, Thorpe, II. 192; text, Earle and Plummer, p. 223. *Cf.* Freeman, *William Rufus*, I. 63–64, and notes.

[19] *Cf.* Freeman, *ibid.*: "A written proclamation went forth in the name of King William, addressed, doubtless in their own ancient tongue, to the sons of the soil, the men of English kin." And in a note, p. 64: "Does the precious document spoken of by William of Malmesbury still lurk in any manuscript store?" Freeman rather intimates that the promises were in the proclamation, but the evidence is against it. William of Malmesbury, who is the only one to mention the "written invitations", assumes an interval between the summons and the promises: "Anglos probos et fortes viros, qui adhuc residui erant, invitatoriis scriptis accersiit; quibus super injuriis suis querimoniam faciens, bonasque leges, et tributorum levamen, liberasque venationes pollicens, fidelitati suæ obligavit." *Gesta Regum* (Rolls Series), II. 361. *Cf.* Simeon of Durham, *Historia Regum* (Rolls Series), II. 215: ". . . rex fecit convocare Anglos, et ostendit eis traditionem Normannorum, et rogavit ut sibi auxilio essent, eo tenore, ut si in hac necessitate sibi fideles existerent, meliorem legem quam vellent eligere eis concederet, et omnem injustum scottum interdixit, et concessit omnibus silvas suas et venationem."

with Henry's Charter for being of universal application, at least to the loyal portion of the realm.[20]

At this point, when the chroniclers fail us, the reasoning of Professor Maitland relative to the Magna Carta becomes of importance. To him the Magna Carta is "in form just like an ordinary borough charter. . . . It may be replied that Magna Carta, whatever its form may be, is in substance no deed of grant but a great code of laws. That is very true, but the fact remains that the form of this solemn instrument is that of a deed of grant. That was the form which to the prelates, clerks and lawyers of the time seemed the most apt for the purpose. The king was to grant liberties to the men of England as he had granted them to the men of Cornwall and the men of London."[21] As Henry's Charter is essentially similar to the Magna Carta, though less highly developed, it may be likewise termed "a deed of grant"; so that it is extremely likely that the legal model of Henry's Charter, brought down through one or more preceding exemplars, was some borough charter. May it not be that the famous charter granted to London by William I., at some time between 1066 and 1075, is the model which was followed in the days of William Rufus and then of Henry?[22]

William, king, greets William, bishop, and Gosfrith, portreeve, and all the burghers within London, French and English, friendly; and I do you to wit that I will that ye two be worthy of all the laws that ye were worthy of in King Edward's day. And I will that every child be his father's heir, after his father's day. And I will not endure that any man offer any wrong to you. God keep you.

This Charter of London, granted in Anglo-Norman days, is a closer parallel to Henry's Charter than is Ethelred's coronation oath.[23]

[20] Incidentally we may note that William's promises of 1088 and 1093 form a progressive series with the coronation oaths and with Henry's Charter. The oath of William I. deals with the future alone. The oath of William II. is pervaded with an air of mistrust of the new king, with perhaps an admixture of dissatisfaction over some features of his father's rule. The declaration of 1088 acknowledges grievances which in part must have lasted over from the preceding reign. The charter of 1093 contritely acknowledges gross misgovernment in the past and repentantly offers promises of well-doing in the future. The oath of Henry, exemplified in his Charter, completes the increasing emphasis upon his brother's evil reign, laying bare in its provisions with still greater minuteness the possibilities of misrule so far developed under the despotic Norman sovereigns. The development to be traced in the series is continuous.

[21] Pollock and Maitland, *English Law*, I. 658.

[22] Translation from Stubbs, *Select Charters*, p. 83. This charter is critically edited in Liebermann, *Gesetze*, I. 486.

[23] The copies of Henry's Charter as sent out to the individual shires bear a still closer resemblance to the London Charter than the general form laid up in the archives at Winchester, *e. g.*, "Henricus rex Anglorum Samsoni episcopo et Ursoni de Abetot et omnibus baronibus et fidelibus suis tam Francigenis quam Angligenis de Wirecestrescira salutem." *Ibid.*, I. 521–523.

In this paper the writer has sought to establish the following propositions: first, that in character Henry's Charter was essentially feudal; second, that it resulted directly from the particular promises made by the king at his coronation; third, that the "charter of liberties" was evolved from the borough charter. In rejecting the hypothesis that the Charter of Henry was an amplification of the old Saxon coronation oath, he believes that he is amply justified by the unmistakably Norman character of the former document.

HENRY L. CANNON.

THE POLICY OF THE GERMAN HANSEATIC LEAGUE RESPECTING THE MERCANTILE MARINE[1]

From the thirteenth to the sixteenth centuries the north German towns in the long zone from Holland to Finland possessed the maritime government of the Baltic and the North Sea. They suppressed the formerly important navigation of the Scandinavians, pushed the old Russian sea-trade out of the Baltic and kept that of the Frisians, Dutch, and English within narrow limits during the same time, especially in the Baltic, the traffic of which they tried even to monopolize. They gained great privileges in England, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Russia, and these privileges formed the foundations of their position as the controlling agents of commerce and traffic in northern Europe. All the north German merchants and towns were interested in maintaining this position and united thereby into a close confederation. It was first in their factories abroad that the merchants of the different German towns formed a union as to commercial policy against the foreign country. It was this association which then exerted a reactive influence on their own towns, inasmuch as during the fourteenth century it effected a sort of confederation of the north German towns themselves for the purpose of carrying out a common commercial and maritime policy abroad and for the common protection and maintenance of the commercial and maritime predominance already gained. This German Hanseatic League, a quite singular product of medieval history, comprehended in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries some seventy towns, including some that are within the present limits of the Netherlands and of Russia. For centuries it supplied the dismembered German Empire with a sea-power and gave it commercial predominance on the seas that wash the German coasts. The leading town of the confederation was Lubeck, a town which still surpasses almost all German towns in the number of its imposing public and private buildings, and in medieval times far outrivalled any other north German town in

[1] Paper read by Professor Ernst Daenell of the University of Kiel, at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in Richmond, December 30, 1908. The author has made a more elaborate statement of the same matter in his work entitled *Die Blütezeit der Deutschen Hanse* (Berlin, two volumes, 1906), II. 334–389.

the extent and variety of its trade and navigation. Therefore Lubeck was best able to govern a society composed of so many members having so many different individual interests.

The efficacious protection of Hanseatic interests required an organization of the confederation, a constitution. And indeed a kind of constitution was not wanting, but it remained imperfect to a high degree because it was always dependent upon the good-will of every one of the members. But in spite of defective harmony and disobedience and internal strife this constitution rendered good service in the main during the flourishing period of the League. It gave the League a useful basis and kept alive the feeling of community among its members, and it rendered possible the formation and the carrying into effect of general principles as to the most important questions of trade and navigation. These policies had their origin in the same monopolistic spirit as the similar policies of the medieval and post-medieval commercial and sea powers. They were intended to check the rise of the sea-power and commerce of the rivals of the League and to assist the Hanseatic people in outstripping foreigners more effectively by means of general legislation. Among these means, however, the statutes relating to the navigation policy played the principal part because of the fact that by far the greater part of the Hanseatic commerce was by sea. Thus the protection and promotion of navigation was of the greatest importance and a preliminary condition to the carrying out and increase of the Hanseatic commerce.

The comparatively huge development of the Hanseatic sea-trade would have been impossible without a splendid Hanseatic merchant marine. Carrying trade for others and ship-building had to exist in the Hanse towns in order to give the Hanseatic sea-trade the necessary independence and liberty. The Hanseatic merchant marine was thus of the most important assistance to Hanseatic commerce. And therefore it cannot be wondered at, that the League itself and its single members took a special care to secure and increase their shipping at any cost, to regulate its relation to commerce, and to prevent foreign competition.

All Hanse towns, which claimed to be seaports, probably had a more or less lively ship-building industry and flourishing manufactures connected with it. Many names of old streets and localities in the German coast towns to-day remind us of the old occupations, as for instance "Ankerschmiedegasse", where anchors, "Reepschlägerstrasse" and "Reeperbahn", where ropes, were made, "Lastadie", the place of the wharfs, the single parts of which

were generally leased by the town council to the single ship-builders, furthermore the "Brakbank", where the ships were hauled and repaired, and so on. In contrast to the conditions existing to-day ship-building and everything connected with it flourished much more on the German Baltic shore than on the North Sea. The necessary raw materials, timber, and other products of forestry, such as tar and pitch from the neighboring large woods, iron from Sweden, copper from Hungary, and so on, could be obtained considerably cheaper and more easily in the Baltic towns, for geographical reasons. It therefore not infrequently happened that the carrying traders of the North Sea and of the non-Hanseatic towns in the further west tried to supply their need of ships by purchasing them in the Hanseatic Baltic towns.

The character of the then existing harbors from the Atlantic shores up to Russia did not encourage either the traffic or the building of greater ships. The harbors were shallow, even the most important and frequented ones being on an average not more than seven to twelve feet deep, and in spite of all attempts adequate engineering facilities were not discovered to remedy this defect and to prevent the frequent washing in of sand. The consequence was that heavily loaded ships were often compelled to lighten themselves by discharging a portion of their freight into boats, conditions which wasted time and money. A further consequence was that, from the fifteenth century on, efforts were made to adapt the size of the ships to the existing conditions of the harbors, that is to say, orders were published according to which no ships of more than a hundred *last*, that is about 200 to 250 modern tons, and of more than twelve feet draught, should be built. This gives an idea of the average size of Hanseatic vessels. They were, like medieval ships in general, very small according to our conceptions. Their principal types were the *Kogge* and the *Holk*, both broad and heavy vessels with one to three masts and with castle-like structures upon the prow and the stern. These like the top served military purposes; for warships as such were generally unknown. And every ship was always provided with sufficient weapons and ammunition as a defense against the piracy ceaselessly practiced along the coasts. In 1447 the Hanse required all its ships to be armed, and formulated fixed rules for the military equipment and the number of mariners. A ship of a hundred *last* had to carry weapons for twenty men, greater ones more, smaller ones fewer. And in order to secure its sea-traffic the Hanse proceeded further. From the beginning of the fifteenth century, when the Hanse had abandoned its former plan of

suppressing piracy by special military expeditions, the so-called "Friedeschiffe", it became more and more common for ships sailing in the same direction to unite in fleets, which were not seldom accompanied by convoying ships armed especially well. The Hanse supported this development by prescriptions, intended to regulate the sailing in fleets, and to compel them to remain united.

In spite of the small size of the ships it is a fact that most of the Hanseatic ships were not built by single persons, but by a number of persons on shares. The average amount of these shares varied greatly. Shares of 1/32, even of 1/64, occur. Shares in ships were used by the whole Hanseatic people, the upper as well as the lower classes, as a very favorite investment, which, however, was as risky as it was profitable; for marine insurance was then unknown. In consequence of this practice the whole population of the towns was especially interested in all questions of sea traffic and of the maintenance of as large a merchant marine as possible.

The Hanse also took an intense interest in the other most essential factor, that is, the crew of the ships. The demand that the Hanseatic ships be manned with natives was never raised. But certainly the employment of foreign mariners on Hanseatic ships was entirely exceptional. The Hanse, however, made it a special object of its care to regulate the relation between the captain and his crew by minute rules concerning the duties and rights of both parties. By other rules the Hanse secured the correct execution of the freight contracts entered into by the captains, the time of unloading the goods, certain freight claims of the captains, and so on.

Medieval navigation much more than that of the present was exposed to dangers of every kind. And from early times the Hanse towns considered it one of their principal tasks to procure as much security as possible for their shipping. Lighthouses had been constructed from the beginning of the thirteenth century at the most important points of the Hanseatic routes. The channels between the sea and the harbors were marked by buoys and other objects. Pilotage developed as a profession long before the Hanse, in 1447, made the use of pilots compulsory for its ships in entering and leaving the harbors. In 1448 Flanders published a number of rules which put the pilotage under governmental control. Marine charts were still unknown, but the compass was in use. And from the fourteenth century, in the so-called "Seebuch", the shipper possessed a work which informed him of tides, channels, harbors, location of the lighthouses and so on, from Russia down to Spain. The "Seebuch" did not originate all at one time but developed

gradually. The work may have had its origin in the old harbors of the coast of western France and was then worked over and enlarged in Flanders, the real centre of the medieval traffic of Europe. It shows some Hanseatic influence, especially with regard to the North Sea and Baltic coasts. The origin of the book was therefore entirely similar to that of the contemporary Hanseatic marine law.

By means of a large number of regulations the Hanse aimed at protecting the shipping of its people against the severities of the season and against losses; such orders as for instance the suspension of navigation during the winter months, that is to say, from November 11 to February 2, a suspension which the Hanse introduced about the end of the fourteenth century, after the model of older corresponding regulations and customs of its most important single members; or orders intended to induce the Hanseatic ship-builders to construct seaworthy ships; or to prevent ships from being overloaded by the establishment of a distinct draught line such as existed for Venetian vessels by governmental order. Add to these a great quantity of orders, which required that the captains and their crews assist imperilled or wrecked ships, and other orders, which concerned jettison, plundering of ships by pirates, and the right of salvage. Most of these were not older than the fifteenth century.

Furthermore it is clear that in the decades after 1350 the Hanse after having definitely formed its great union also developed distinct politico-economic policies with reference to the general merchant marine in northern Europe. These policies of course were animated by the same monopolistic spirit that determined the similar policies of other medieval and post-medieval sea-powers. They aimed at maintaining the conditions which had been secured about the middle of the fourteenth century, that is to say, the total or at least very thorough exclusion of non-Hanseatic shipping from the North Sea and the Baltic by means of general legislation against foreigners to the advantage of Hanseatic merchant marine. The non-Hanseatic peoples, especially the Dutch and Flemings, were compelled to agree to the same suspension of shipping in the winter within the Hanseatic districts which the Hanse itself practiced. During the fifteenth century the Hanse made great endeavors to gain the consent of its members to a general interdiction of selling Hanseatic ships to foreigners, of constructing ships upon Hanseatic wharfs for the benefit of foreigners, and of allowing foreigners to participate in the Hanseatic carrying trade. But these attempts met

with only partial success, especially in Danzig and the Prussian towns.

These various plans of the Hanse to oppress foreign shipping on its own account and not because of the trade connected with it were supplemented by those intended to do away with shipping in foreign bottoms by Hanseatic merchants. The former plans aimed at opposing as much as possible the increase of the foreign merchant marine, the latter at preventing the foreign carrying trade from making a profit out of Hanseatic commerce and at compelling the Hanseatic people to use Hanseatic ships exclusively, that is to say, the Hanse tried to maintain the conditions which had existed about 1350.

After the beginning of the fifteenth century the Hanse began its attack upon the increasing shipping of Hanseatic goods in foreign bottoms, a practice which promoted the encroachment of foreign shipping upon the North Sea and the Baltic and the Hanse towns, and in addition to this also attracted foreign commerce thither very largely. The Flemings and especially the Dutch had to suffer from this policy. But it met with opposition in the eastern as well as in the western groups of the Hanse towns. They wished to maintain a greater liberty of commerce, for by the elimination of foreigners they were threatened with becoming totally dependent on the carrying trade of the central group of the Hanse, the so-called Wendish towns, with Lubeck at their head, which represented the Hanseatic policy in its broadest sense. In spite of this, these central towns did not falter in their policy. The great meeting of the Hanse towns in 1470 tried to carry it out more fully by controlling the Hanseatic traffic in staples between the Baltic and Bruges by fixed regulations, which bound it to go via Lubeck and Hamburg, and by the ships, which both of these towns had to keep ready for this purpose. On the other hand, the employing of the ships of the Dutch, the most dangerous maritime competitors of the Hanse from the fifteenth century, was forbidden with special emphasis. But in spite of these measures the Hanse was not successful in preventing the frequent disobedience of its members to those orders.

The general prohibitions, which the Hanse put into effect somewhat tardily and hesitatingly, undoubtedly answered their purpose to a certain degree. They assisted in obstructing the traffic of foreigners in the trade district of the Hanse by checking the expansion of their share in Hanseatic freight business. Thus they were of advantage also to the carrying trade of the Hanse and might have offered a compensation also to the Hanseatic ship-building industry

for the prohibition to sell ships to foreigners. Thus the mercantile marine policy of the Hanse toward foreigners consisted in the demand for suspending navigation during the winter months, in suppressing the participation of the capital of foreigners in the Hanseatic carrying trade, and in forbidding ship-building in Hanse towns for the benefit of foreigners, the sale of Hanseatic ships to them, and the shipping of Hanseatic goods in foreign bottoms.

If we state a general judgment, we may say that the various policies adopted by the Hanse in connection with the regulation of the merchant marine resulted in great and numerous advantages. It was successful in promoting and securing by all possible means the presence of its ships on the seas and in foreign countries. It greatly improved the conditions of navigation by extending its care to the ship itself, to the crew, and to many other matters of a technical kind. The Hanse made effective efforts to prevent its merchant marine from being damaged by foreign competition, by means of a great and well constructed system of regulations, supporting one another. All this was possible so long as the Hanse was a power, economically and politically superior and courted by the surrounding powers, which were rivals of one another. The consequence of the administration and legislation of the Hanse was, that toward the close of the Middle Ages the various questions relating to the merchant marine were invariably regulated so as to be uniform for the whole Hanseatic trade district of the North Sea and the Baltic. This system was a substitute for the maritime laws, which the German Empire lacked. It was intended to give to the whole of the north German towns and merchants that inward stability, and to assure them of those economic advantages, which the legislation of foreign countries then endeavored to offer their own subjects. And, in the main, this system served very well for centuries, until in the sixteenth century the Hanse itself met with destruction at the hands of its rivals, whom it had been able to keep down for one or two centuries in its traffic districts by means of its system of regulating the merchant marine.

ERNST DAENELL.

THE SHARE OF AMERICA IN CIVILIZATION[1]

Gentlemen of the University of Wisconsin:

Once going from Europe to Brazil, I heard at table an English writer, a great Eastern traveller, the late William Gifford Palgrave, ask the captain of the ship what good he thought had come from the discovery of America. For his part he could not see any, except for tobacco. That was the first time I heard that doubt expressed; but years afterwards I happened to buy an old French book, by an Abbé Genty, with this title: *L'Influence de la Découverte de l'Amérique sur le Bonheur du Genre-Humain,* and I saw that the curious question had been seriously proposed for a prize by the Academy of Lyons before the French Revolution.

This is how it was formulated: "Has the discovery of America been useful or prejudicial to mankind?" The work is, on the whole, an empty declamation, in which there is nothing to reap, except the hope of the writer in the regeneration of mankind through the new-born American nation. He foresees in the independence of the Anglo-Americans, to quote his words, "the event most proper to accelerate the revolution which will bring back happiness upon earth". "It is in the bosom of this new-born Republic", he adds, "that are deposited the true treasures which will enrich the world." That makes the book worth preserving. But 1787, when the essay was written, was too early a date to treat the subject of the contribution of the New World to the welfare of mankind. 1787 was already the dawn of America's day, but only the dawn. George Washington was President of the Constitutional Convention, but the influence of the great event, beyond its impact on the Old World, which had not yet produced the French Revolution, could not then be imagined.

There is in the life of the nations a period in which the role assigned to them has not yet been revealed. The character of the Roman influence could not be foretold even during the great days of the Republic. A talk between Cicero and Caesar about the part of Gaul or of Britain in history would not take into consideration France or England; while one between Charlemagne and Alcuin

[1] Baccalaureate address, Madison, June 20, 1909, by His Excellency the Brazilian Ambassador. Ed.

about the part of Germany would be only a tale of the Middle Ages, now nearly forgotten. Even to-day who could say anything essential regarding the part of Japan or of China? Japan can be said to be in her dawn for the outside world, while China continues veiled in her long night, shining for herself alone. Who can even imagine what will be the record of either in the history of mankind? But it is no longer too early to study the share of America in civilization. We do not know her possibilities in the future, as we do not know those of electricity; but we know already what electricity is, and so with your national individuality, we know already what it is. Nations reach at a certain time their full growth as individualities; you seem to have reached yours. We are therefore better prepared to speak of it than was the French abbé, on the eve of the French Revolution.

I had already chosen this fascinating subject when my attention was called to the admirable address of President Eliot on it, years ago, pointing out five great American contributions to civilization. These were, in his words: first, and principal, the substitution of discussion and arbitration for war as the means of settling disputes between nations; second, the widest religious toleration; third, manhood suffrage; fourth, the demonstration of the fitness of a great variety of races for political freedom; fifth, the diffusion of material well-being among the population.

I do not think all the points claimed as American contributions by President Eliot will bear in history the mark—*made in America*—but I think all of them have passed through such transformation and improvement here that they all deserve in part that mark.

Still, we must be as careful not to write the history of civilization without taking into account the rest of mankind as we should be not to write it without America. The American race is not a race born of a sudden in an advanced state of civilization. It was in the time of the country's formation the English race, only brought up in different surroundings; and now it is the product of the fusion, under its predominance, of that race with other races. Most probably the destiny of mankind would in the end be the same, if America had never appeared above the water; still, without it, much that has been already added to civilization would not yet exist, and perhaps never would, just as without a certain grouping of circumstances the artistic florescence of the Renaissance might never have bloomed.

When we look for what belongs properly to America we must not comprise in her part what belongs to the English race, nor, I

will add, to other races forming the American nationality, although in the leading part played by this country one cannot yet well discern the influence of any race but the one from which it originally proceeded. All that belongs to the natural evolution of the Anglo-Saxon civilization should not be ascribed to America only. A fruit is not special to a tree because it ripens earlier on it in some part of the world. Fruits really American are those which are only produced by American trees, whether in their own continent or transplanted abroad, although I would not hesitate to call American the fruits of those European trees which in their native soil are meagre and undeveloped and which acquire in the American soil a much stronger sap.

Having this in view, I would not, for instance, count manhood suffrage as an American contribution to civilization. It cannot be said that England, or the world, depended at all on the United States for the conception and the development of manhood suffrage. Universal suffrage is not even associated generally with America; it is rather associated with France. Nor would I count arbitration. I do not think arbitration was born in this country. Proselytizing for peace is more the interest of nations threatened by war than of one protected against it. In the last years there has been a strong peace movement in America, but it has followed the European peace movement. Europe, being the continent threatened by war, needs a greater activity for peace.

But President Eliot, in summing up his address, refers to that contribution in other words, as *peace keeping*. Expressed in that form, I have no doubt it has been one of your mightiest contributions to civilization, because the peace pressure from America on Europe is the greatest pressure weighing on the world to keep down war. America, thanks to the Monroe Doctrine, is the Continent of Peace, and this colossal peace unit, interesting deeply other regions of the earth—the whole Pacific, one might say—forms a neutral hemisphere and balances the other hemisphere, which we might call the belligerent hemisphere.

Still, we must remember that wars have generally come from obstacles to national aggrandizement, and that yours has never met with any serious obstacle. You are carrying out now, thanks to the confidence in your neutral character as well as to your prestige, a work that would be resisted, as one nation's concern, by the other sea-powers, if undertaken by any other nation. With your prodigious growth, your peace sentiment will have to be tested, when your national aggrandizement meets with the first serious obstacle.

The question is if you then would not proclaim the holy national war. As yet no one could say that peace is a permanent article of faith with you, such as are democracy and religious toleration, for instance. The great good fortune of mankind is that the period of your unopposed growth, permitting you to live in peace and to exercise your great moral and commercial pressure for peace, coincides with the time when the progress of civilization and probably that of science also will succeed in substituting international law for war, or in detaching war from international law, of which it still makes the principal part.

Allow me to say that I believe that nothing would do more to fix on the mind of this great nation the purpose of peace than Pan-Americanism. Once Pan-Americanism were made her determined foreign policy, as it has already been, with the Monroe Doctrine, a reflex movement of hers, not only would she wed herself to peace, but she would also wed to it the rest of the continent, and that task would fill the time still necessary for mankind to disavow war. Peace and Pan-Americanism are convertible terms for you and for us. But, as what gives the greatest strength to your power for peace is immigration, I would classify immigration as the greatest of all contributions of America to civilization.

Allow me a few remarks on this point. You are a nation in some respects of a unique type. The only one approaching that type was the Roman Empire, when near dissolution. Every other nation is, or was, composed of a race or of separate races, speaking each its own language; you are a nation formed by the fusion of races of different languages, brought, by superior inducements, to speak only the hereditary language of the country. In other words, your are a nation formed of nations by their own will. Here lies all the difference: you are formed by free immigration, not by conquest. America is really the New-Europe; but, while the old Europe maintains its race barriers by a different patriotism, different national traditions, and different languages, here in New-Europe all those same European races mingle, intermarry, lose memory of their old allegiances, change the old European soul for the new American one, and, as this fusion takes place in millions of people, you are a nation whose ethnical formula varies at every generation. The racial components of your nationality change so rapidly their relative proportions that one could never say how they really stand to each other. Fortunately, your national consciousness has not to adjust itself to the census; it does not wait for the analysis of the race; it contents itself with the unalterable synthesis, which is: *American*.

Strange to say, it is this ever-changing ethnical composition that keeps up your individuality, since this consists more than anything else of the spirit breathed on you at your creation, and the new accessions, wherever they hail from, assimilate eagerly and proudly that spirit as their chief birthright. With the constant influx of newcomers, the useless, inert or decayed, national residuum does not appear so much as it would if there were no new elements to make up for the waste. There is, indeed, in every society a sediment, formed of those parts in which the primitive national spirit has burnt itself out, at least partly, and which by themselves would not be fit to preserve and to continue the country's individuality. Any aristocracy in America would be a sediment of that kind. I do not mean that fine patina of time, which by figuration we call "aristocracy". In this sense time everywhere is naturally aristocratic.

There have been nations formed by conquest and composed also of different races, but among the latter particularism was always predominant, and they were kept indefinitely apart from each other. When the ancient world was reduced to Roman provinces, and after Caracalla had extended the right of citizenship to all the free inhabitants of the empire, the world saw a community in the style of yours, all its members claiming, through pride, the same nationality; but those were times of great dissension, and, besides, the fusion of the different races could not proceed so unimpeded as with you, owing to the many barriers of ancient local life.

This is the first and greatest influence I would point out of the discovery of America on civilization: the appearance on earth of an immense continent destined to be the new home of the old European races, where they would meet and mix and speak the same language, while in the native soil their old stocks would continue separated and up till now belligerent. In other words, a fact never seen or imagined before, of a mankind, a new mankind, formed by self-selection.

The American nation was created by the sentiment of country; it was devotion to the native country, together with the feeling of freedom and independence, that led the colonists to break their ties with the old mother-country. But American democracy, which from the beginning gave to the pride of country a greater force, has grown to its present size by voluntary change of their national allegiance on the part of millions. Choosing one's own country is a right that would not be generally acknowledged before this country created it and made it acceptable to the world.

Before the American spirit started immigration, the greatest human migration was the slave-trade, the covering of America by man-stealth with African slaves. The contrast between immigration and the slave-trade is enough to show what a regenerating part the American spirit has had in the march of civilization. No page certainly is more brilliant in the whole history of England than her fight against the African slave-trade, when America was willingly filling herself with those of the kidnapped negroes who were not thrown overboard; but, after all, what killed the slave-trade and slavery was immigration. Immigration, not slavery, represents the true American sap. Although Europe had nobly rid herself of slavery, thanks to Christianity, slavery was her colonial policy; in the New World slavery marked the period of European colonization and continued as a legacy from the colonial times after the Independence. Immigration, on the contrary, is characteristically American; the attraction of free, wide, and growing America on the dense human layers of Europe. That attraction broke in Europe the old stratifications; created centrifugal forces. For the first time in history, immigration gave men and women of all nationalities a chance of transplantation, of trying life in more favorable circumstances; it destroyed what remained of a dungeon-like character in the old national barriers, by making country a wholly voluntary allegiance; in a word, it upset forever the foundations of despotism, of practical serfdom, by rendering the people everywhere free to move away from it. I consider immigration the greatest force in modern civilization, and there is no doubt that it is an American force.

After immigration I would name democracy. Democracy is also distinctly American. Although an English growth in America, it is different from the European growth, and has long reacted against the monarchical spirit of the English race. American history is kingless, as European history is royal. The spirit of liberty, which was characteristically Anglo-Saxon, growing on a land without any monarchical tradition, took the form of democracy, or republic. Certainly there are elements fundamentally English in the American democracy, as there are others that are Greco-Latin. One cannot break the chain that binds through history the evolution of an idea or of a sentiment, but the American democracy is genuinely new, a new design; the ancients did not produce it, nor would Europe have produced it. So you can claim it for America as a contribution to civilization, not because the Republican government could be called a higher form of civilization than the mon-

archical Parliamentary government, but because, by its competition and by the silent lesson of immigration, it has exercised the most beneficent influence on the liberal evolution of the monarchical government in Europe. You can claim that you have transformed with your democracy not only the monarchical system of Europe, but her colonial methods of government as well. Democracy has a character of finality which monarchy has not, even expunged of all spirit of divine right, although the final form of democracy may yet be government by the best man, as was the Greek ideal.

Some maintain, like Professor Münsterberg in his criticism of President Eliot's address, that your democracy came from Europe, from the philosophy of the eighteenth century. But the inspiration of that philosophy, as far as liberty is concerned, went largely from the New World. Nothing more strongly influenced Jean Jacques Rousseau than the impression of the New World. The French moralists of the eighteenth century did not take much from the discovery of India, China, and Japan; but the discovery of America was a creative impression for them, as during three centuries it was for their predecessors. No less a mind than Montaigne, for instance, will say of the American natives, writing in the sixteenth century: "I regret that Lycurgus and Plato did not know them, as it seems to me that what we see by experience among these nations not only surpasses all the pictures with which poetry has embellished the Golden Age, and all its inventions in imagining a happy condition of men, but also the conception and even the wish of Philosophy. . . . How distant from this perfection would Plato find his Republic!"[2] The whole Social Contract of Rousseau is implicit in this chapter of the Essays, two centuries older. It is a permanent and growing impression of centuries that which the free-born New World produced on the European mind, only to be replaced by the other commanding, and also constantly growing impression of the American democracy, after your independence. A book could be written on these two successive influences of the New World on the European imagination.

Another very great contribution which I would like to mention is the equality of social conditions among all classes of the nation. That is what most struck Alexis de Tocqueville. "When I survey", he wrote, "this countless multitude of beings shaped in each other's likeness, amidst whom nothing rises and nothing falls, the sight of such universal uniformity saddens and chills me." But this fragment does not do justice to his feelings, as he ends by

[2] *Liv.* I. ch. xxxi.

paying homage to the great principle of equality. The fact that Tocqueville ends his survey of America as he had begun it shows that the greatest impression produced on him was *the general equality of conditions*. That is the greatest impression it will produce on anyone. This is the explanation why it has become the adoptive country, the elected home of men of all races, born and reared under the contrary principle of inequality. Just as Asia had her castes, Europe had her orders or classes. In America there is not between the different calls of life any difference of level, and this simple idea, this true social egg of Columbus, has made the success of this nation, transforming it from a people of one single stem, as it began, into a people of many stems, all giving the same fruit. But equality did not make only the success of this nation; it fixed the final type of human society everywhere. Like immigration, like democracy, equality is final, and finality is in everything the greatest possible contribution to progress.

For many people the idea of civilization will always correspond to the greatest development of art. But from the aesthetic point of view, there is no such thing as progress in the modern world, because if some arts have advanced, others, on the contrary, have retroceded. To put it in one single remark, the many countries round the Mediterranean, the Ionian, and the Ægean seas must have all presented an incomparably more beautiful sight in the days of Hadrian, or of Constantine the Great, than in our days: in the same proportion, at least, as the Greece described by Pausanias to the Greece of Baedeker. You must not look for human progress in art. In art let us be retrogrades,—of the times of Phidias, of Euainetos, of Vinci, of Beethoven. And as in art, so in poetry. Poetry will never more equal mythology. There is yet more poetry in the piece of land which the last earthquake of Messina has convulsed than in all the rest of the world, present or future. To renew the supply of poetry of the earth nothing less would be necessary than the communication with some other planet. That would indeed be a renewal of man's imagination, infinitely greater than was the very great one, of the discovery of America.

Yes, if I were asked of what good America was to Europe, I would say that Columbus cut large doors and windows on the west side of the old European manor-house, which received its ventilation only from the East. America has regenerated the Old World since the sixteenth century as effectually as the influx from Central Europe regenerated it in the Middle Ages. The pity was that the means of navigation were not greater in the time of the Roman Empire

and that the discovery was not made then, so as to have preserved the ancient civilization.

But with regard to art, there is no doubt that there is a distinct American trait. While the English is solid and the French graceful, yours is clean-cut. There is an American perfection, as characteristic as the Japanese, which I believe is well defined by the word "clean-cut".

Civilization should be essentially the improvement of the social condition of mankind, but we had better call civilization the increase of the intellectual power of man, as the increase of the intellectual power could alone lead to a permanently satisfactory social condition; that is, to a condition based on truth and entrusted entirely to freedom. I do not believe that America is yet leading in the increase of the intellectual power of man, that is, of science; but I believe that it is already leading in the improvement of man's social condition, I do not say alone, but with a few other nations, which look chiefly to you.

The idea of civilization has been up till now associated with individual initiative: in landed property, with the system of small estates, more than with the *latifundia*: in trade and industry, more with competition than with concentration. But there is evidently now in progress an evolution, in the sense of unification, that can be called American. Great nationalities, cosmopolitan trains, fast boats, aeroplanes, cables, wireless telegraph, Hague Conferences, all seem to announce that the new tendency of mankind, in every direction, is the "merger". In theory, centralization seems to assure the better service of so many millions of people, just as the cold storage assures their better feeding, by saving incalculable quantities of food which formerly would decay in the same day; but there are too many points to be considered in centralization, political and social, and only experience will shed any light over them. For the moment no one can say whether the new American political economy is or is not one of the great contributions of this country to civilization. The universities of America are watch-towers admirably prepared to follow the progress of the economical evolution and to solve in time the riddle of the Sphinx. One thing is sure: the age of Franklin will not end as the age of Midas.

How can one refrain from mentioning among your greatest contributions to mankind your system of education? The American education seems the only one that is not wholly conventional, that is not a pure galvanization of states of mind of other ages, of the ideals of men who feed their mind and their heart on books, instead of feeding them on the sights and wants of their own times. You

alone give, as the greatest of all human teachings, self-reliance. And, a boon new to mankind, you teach self-reliance not only to men, but to women. There never existed in the world such a youth of both sexes with the same training for life. You plunge them, from childhood, in a bath that gives to both the strength and the elasticity of steel. You have changed the rhythm of life; you write it in quick tempo, and the world is catching from you the spirit of rapid transformation, and is writing it also in the American *prestissimo* instead of the old *adagio*.

Among your great contributions to civilization President Eliot rightly counts your great inventions; still, as science is universal, inventions are generally suggestions from the work of other people, and those achieved by you would certainly have come out sooner or later with the progress of science. What has come from you, in opposition to the general modern tendency, is your respect for woman, the place you have made for her among mankind, together with the strong current of pure thought, which you oppose to the literature of sensualism flourishing among other races. Certainly asceticism, in the monastic times, and chivalry, in the Middle Ages, show well enough that Europe is capable of engendering the strongest currents of purity; even yours is probably only a survival of English Puritanism, kept alive under more favorable conditions; but, with regard to purity of thought towards woman, the present leadership of the world belongs indeed to America.

Gentlemen, I did not intend mentioning all the contributions of this country to civilization. Their complete cataloguing would be a most gigantic task; it would certainly comprise your great contributions to international law. I only meant to give you a few impressions on the usefulness of America beyond tobacco.

Here is how an English observer, who, with Alexis de Tocqueville, will remain one of the two classics of the nineteenth century on American democracy, the Right Honorable James Bryce, portrays the American people. I only put together the different features he has traced of you. According to him, you are a good-natured, a kindly, a humorous, a hopeful, an educated, a moral, and a well-conducted people; your average of temperance, chastity, truthfulness, and general probity is somewhat higher than in any of the great nations of Europe; you are a religious people; everything among you tends to make the individual independent and self-reliant; you are a busy people, and a commercial people; you are impressionable, capable of an ideality surpassing that of Englishmen or Frenchmen; you are an unsettled people, nobody feeling rooted to the soil, yet an associative and a sympathetic people; you

are a changeful people, but not a fickle one, only growing warm suddenly and cooling as suddenly; you are a conservative people, prosperity serving to make you more so.[3] In a word, he says, summing up his whole work: "America marks the highest level not only of material well-being, but of intelligence and happiness, which the race has yet attained." I think such a portrait in the gallery of nations, even were some of its touches overflattering, which I do not think, is in itself a contribution to civilization. After it a remark seems necessary.

Until now no European race has given in America exactly the same intellectual fruit as in its native soil, just as the French grapevines transplanted here will never give the same exquisite wines. There is no sign that the intellectual hegemony is passing from Europe to America. Europe has not begun to decay, and we must remember that the forming of new ideals, like Christianity, for instance, was many times the work of ages of decay, just as with certain fruits is the spread of seeds. America could not carry out the same work as Europe. There is an intellectual geography as there is a botanical or a zoological geography. The intellectual qualities of each leading race are different, and it would diminish the power of effort in this country, were it ever to feel assured that it had surpassed Europe. There is inspiration in the hope, but the victory itself would be the beginning of retrocession. Mankind must remain greater than any of its parts in all that makes the glory of civilization, and the children should not surpass the fathers in their lifetime. For many centuries Europe and America will lead together.

Speaking of America, I have all the time taken the part for the whole and talked only of this country. It is rather early to speak of the part assigned in history to Latin America. We have not yet been ordered to enter the stage; the plays of God are very long ones; his acts are ages. Up to now we have done, however, a considerable work of civilization against great difficulties, and I believe that nowhere could be selected finer types of man and woman than among our different nations. We hope we do honor to our native stocks and that we show, compared to them, traits of the same evolution as you present compared to the English race. Many ideals in the world are, in part at least, sustained by our faith, without its ever being noticed, owing to our retiredness, but more than once there has been a surprise in the world, when men from Latin America came to the front, as in the last Council of the Vatican or in the Second Hague Conference, or as when Santos-

[3] *American Commonwealth*, pt. IV., ch. LXXX.

Dumont, flying around Paris, opened the era of aërial navigation. Sometimes we appropriate the progress of civilization in a manner that they from whom it originated find too thorough for themselves. No constitution, for instance, except that of Brazil, provides that war shall only be authorized by the National Congress in case of arbitration being impossible[4] and no other contains such an article as its article 88: "The United States of Brazil, in no case, will enter into a war of conquest, either directly or indirectly, either alone or allied to another Power." Similarly the abolition of war for debt will be in international law a laurel surrounding the name of the Argentine Republic. But we feel great pride in recognizing the sons of Washington as the molders of our American civilization.

Gentlemen, I thank President Van Hise for the very great honor of asking me to address your university, which stands in the front row of American universities. I take it as the best sign that the Continental feeling is already firmly rooted in this stronghold of American individuality.

JOAQUIM NABUCO.

[4] Constitution of February 24, 1891, article 34, paragraph 11.

DOCUMENTS

Papers relating to Bourbon County, Georgia, 1785–1786, I.

Concerning the effort of the state of Georgia in 1785 to organize the territory around Natchez into a county to be called Bourbon not much has hitherto been known. The act establishing the county (February 7, 1785) was printed in Watkins's *Digest of the Laws of Georgia,* and something of the outcome was learned by Wailes,[1] Claiborne,[2] and Monette.[3] Recently these facts with some additional material were incorporated in an article on Bourbon County in the cyclopedic publication, *Mississippi,* by Dr. Dunbar Rowland, but the documentary evidence in the case has for the most part remained unknown. In 1898 Mr. G. Cussachs brought before the Louisiana Historical Society a letter of Miró to the Georgia commissioners,[4] but in the absence of other evidence Mr. Cussachs was led, as in some respects all the other writers have been, into some erroneous conclusions.

The documents pertaining to Bourbon County which are here printed have been assembled from several sources. Two years ago the writer came upon some of the correspondence in the archives of Georgia, and at about the same time Professor Herbert E. Bolton discovered in the Mexican archives a group of documents relating to the affair. Numerous letters have since been located in different archives in Spain,[5] while a few have been found among the East Florida Papers in the Library of Congress. It is probable that still other material will yet come to light in the Spanish archives, since a number of letters known to have been written in connection with

[1] Wailes, "Historical Outline" in *Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi,* pp. 78, 83.

[2] Claiborne, *History of Mississippi as a Province and as a State,* pp. 155–156.

[3] Monette, *History of the Mississippi Valley,* I. 469–470.

[4] *Publications* of the Louisiana Historical Society, vol. II., part 11. (1900), pp. 15–16. The letter is dated September 7, 1785.

[5] A few, which were found and transcribed in the Archives of the Indies at Seville by those making searches there for the Department of Archives and History of the state of Mississippi, could not be found again when searches were made on behalf of this journal. For copies of these we are indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the department named.

the affair have not been found.[6] Some of the missing documents will doubtless throw additional light on some phases of the episode, but those now printed, it is presumed, give the history of the affair with tolerable completeness.

The Bourbon County affair itself was a fiasco and, if judged only by its immediate results, may be regarded as of minor importance. Its chief interest lies in the fact that it was symptomatic of the whole period of fermentation caused by the obnoxious presence of the Spaniard in the Mississippi valley, and particularly by the closure of the Mississippi River to free navigation, and that it was one of the first chapters in the movement to push the Spaniard beyond the Mississippi—and farther. It appears, in fact, that there are direct lines of connection between the Natchez incident and the schemes which a few years later had their centre in Kentucky and have come to be known as the Spanish Conspiracy.[7]

The basis of Georgia's claim to the Natchez district was, briefly stated, that by virtue of the colonial charter her boundaries extended westward to the Mississippi, and by virtue of the definitive treaty of September 3, 1783, southward to the thirty-first parallel of latitude. Spain, on the other hand, claimed the territory north of this parallel, first of all by right of conquest[8] and secondarily by virtue of the British cession. Great Britain had indeed ceded West Florida to Spain without designating the boundaries, but as the northern boundary of Florida during the last several years of British administration had been not the line of thirty-one degrees, but the line, approximately, of thirty-two and a half degrees, Spain naturally claimed the more northerly line as the true boundary of West Florida. Moreover, in the provisional treaty between Great Britain and the United States there was a secret article, of which Spain was not altogether ignorant, which provided that in case Great Britain should again be put in possession of West Florida at the close of the war the southern boundary of the United States should be a line drawn eastward from the mouth of

[6] Not all the documents that have been found or that are known to exist are here printed. For example, several of Gardoqui's despatches are largely concerned with the Bourbon County incident, particularly after it was brought to the attention of Congress in the autumn of 1785. Some mention of these despatches is made later.

[7] For instance, compare the letter of Thomas Green, July 10, 1786, to be printed in the next installment, and his letter of December 23 of that year printed in *Dipl. Corr. of U. S. A.*, 1783–1789, III. 242. See also Thomas Marshall Green, *The Spanish Conspiracy*, pp. 73 ff.

[8] Baton Rouge and Natchez had fallen into Spanish hands in September, 1779, Mobile had been captured on March 14, 1780, and Pensacola, under General John Campbell, had capitulated on May 9, 1781.

the Yazoo to the river Apalachicola, or about 32° 30′, instead of the line of 31°. The territory in controversy was, therefore, this strip of about one and a half degrees, of the western end of which Spain was in actual possession.[9]

As early as 1783, and before the definitive treaty had been signed, the state of Georgia, by an act of the assembly,[10] had defined her boundaries as extending westward to the Mississippi and southward to the thirty-first degree of latitude, but no further steps seem to have been taken to assert control over the territory until nearly two years later. On November 5, 1784, a petition from Thomas Green in behalf of the people of Natchez was presented to the council[11] and referred to the house of assembly. This petition[12] or a similar one appeared in the assembly on January 17, 1785, and was referred to a committee, who, on January 21, reported the outlines of a bill for laying out a district of land situated on the Mississippi into a county to be called Bourbon.[13] The bill itself was brought in on the following day, and by February 3 had been put through all the necessary stages and had been enacted into a law.[14] On February 4 a committee was appointed to draw up "such private instructions as may be thought proper for the persons appointed Justices for the County of Burbon".[15] These instructions were reported on February 7 and passed on February 11.[16] Meanwhile, on February 8, the oath had been administered to the four justices who were then present, Green, Long, Davenport, and

[9] For accounts of the Florida boundary, see Hinsdale, "The Establishment of the First Southern Boundary of the United States", in the *Annual Report of the Amer. Hist. Assoc.* for 1893, pp. 331–336; Haskins, "The Yazoo Land Companies" in *Papers of the Amer. Hist. Assoc.*, V. 375–437. A summary is in Ogg, *The Opening of the Mississippi.* See also *American State Papers, Public Lands,* I. 34–67, and *Foreign Relations,* I. 252 ff.

[10] "An Act for Opening the Land Office and for other Purposes", Watkins. *Digest of the Laws of Georgia,* pp. 258–265; Marbury and Crawford, *Digest,* pp. 323–328.

[11] *Georgia Revolutionary Records,* II. 742.

[12] "A petition from Thomas Green, in behalf of himself and others, settlers at the Natches, was read, and referred to a special Committee. Ordered that Mr. Baldwin, Mr. Few, Mr. Brownson, Mr. John Houston, and Mr. Stephens be that Committee." Manuscript Journals of the House of Representatives, 1778–1786, p. 162. The petition has not been found.

[13] It was in this same year that Bourbon County, Kentucky, was erected and named in honor of the reigning house of France.

[14] The act was not engrossed until February 7, and so bears that date. Manuscript Journals of the House of Representatives, February 7.

[15] The committee was composed of John Houston, Fort, Few, Baldwin, and Porter.

[16] See *post,* p. 71.

Christmas, who were commissioned to administer it to the other justices.[17]

Of those who were named in the act, several were of Green's immediate family. Thomas Marston Green was his son and Cato West was his son-in-law. Abner Green, register of probates, was also his son. Others were prominent residents of the district, and most of them, it appears, had been named without their consent. Two of them afterward took a decided part in opposition to the scheme of Green.[18] The only ones who took part at any time in the negotiations were the four who were at the capital of Georgia when the act was passed, Thomas Green, Long, Davenport, and Christmas.[19] Although no distinction had been made between them and the other justices, these four appear to have regarded themselves in the character of special envoys.

Green and Davenport went to Natchez by way of the Ohio and the Mississippi and for a time appear to have journeyed together,[20] though they separated at some point on the route and Green reached Natchez some two weeks in advance of Davenport, Green probably on June 9,[21] and Davenport on June 24. Long and Christmas made their way through the Indian country and did not arrive until late in August. What occurred in Natchez from the time of Green's arrival is sufficiently revealed by the documents which follow. They are presented in the language in which they are found, except the Spanish translations of documents written in English. These have been translated back into English before printing. The Spanish documents have been printed in accordance with the copies obtained, including irregularity of accent.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

[17] See *post*, p. 71.

[18] See *post*, p. 77.

[19] Long had been deputy quartermaster-general of the Southern department (see *Jour. of Cont. Cong.*, May 7, 1776), and was a member of the assembly at the time of the Bourbon Act. He was afterward connected with the Yazoo speculation as a member of the Georgia-Mississippi Company. An account of him is in Gilmer, *Georgians*, pp. 227 ff. Of the antecedent history of Davenport and Christmas little is known. Something of Davenport's subsequent history is mentioned in the foot-note to his letter of May 22, 1786, to be printed in the next installment. Christmas eventually settled in Mississippi. Concerning the other men named as justices, particularly the Greens and Cato West, more or less information is found in the works on Mississippi already mentioned.

[20] Such, at least, seems to be a proper interpretation of a letter of Madison to Monroe, June 21, 1785. Hunt, *Writings of James Madison*, II. 146; Gilpin, *Writings of Madison*, I. 155.

[21] See *post*, p. 76, foot-note 42.

I. Act Organizing Bourbon County, February 7, 1785.[22]

Georgia.

An Act

For laying out a District of land situate on the river Mississippi and within the limits of this State into a County to be called Bourbon.

Whereas it is expedient and necessary for the accommodation of the Inhabitants of this State that a new County be laid out in the same.

Be it therefore Enacted, by the Representatives of the freemen of the State of Georgia in general Assembly met and by the Authority of the same that from and immediately after the passing of this Act, all that Tract or district of Country within the Charter boundaries of this State, which lies on the Eastern side of the River Mississippi and is contained and comprehended in the lines limits and discription herein after mentioned shall be and the same is hereby declared to be formed into a new County to be called known and distinguished by the name of Bourbon County.

And be it further enacted that the following shall be the lines limits and extent of the said County that is to say the same shall begin at the Mouth of the river Yazous where it emties itself into the river Mississippi thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi until it shall intersect the Northernmost part of the thirty first degree of North latitude south by a line to be drawn due east from the determination of the line last mentioned in the latitude of Thirty one Degrees North of the Equator as far as the lands reach which in that district have been at any time relinquished by the Indians, thence along the line of the said relinquishment to the said river Yazous, thence down the said river to the beginning.

And the said County shall comprehend and include all the lands and waters within the said discription. And Whereas it will not be propper at present to open a Land office for the purpose of granting out the lands in the said County, But nevertheless it is hereby enacted and declared that whenever that measure shall be determined upon by this or a future Legislature, there shall be a right of preference, agreeable to the laws of this State, reserved to any all and every honest and friendly possessor and possessors of the said Lands who shall be Citizens of either of the United States or the subjects of any power that was friendly to the United States during the War, provided such persons do actually live on and cultivate the said Lands or a part thereof and shall apply and present themselves on equal terms with other petitioners.

And be it further enacted by the Authority aforesaid, that when it shall be determined on to grant the said Lands, the price thereof shall not exceed one quarter of a Dollar per Acre.

And be it further enacted that the following persons[23] (to Wit) Tacitus Gilliard, Thomas Green, Sutton Banks, Nicolas Long, William Davenport, Nathaniel Christmas, William M^{c}Intosh Jun^{r}., Benjamin Farrer, Cato West, Thomas Marston Green, William Anderson, Adam Benjamin, and John Ellis shall be and they are hereby nominated and

[22] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, Acts of the General Assembly, 1778–1786, pp. 258–262. Printed in Watkins, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, pp. 304–305. The act was passed on February 3, but as it was not engrossed until February 7 it bears the latter date.

[23] The names should be Gaillard, Farrar, and Bingaman.

appointed Justices of the Peace,[24] and Abner Green Register of Probats for the said County and his Honor the Governor is hereby authorized and required to administer the oaths[25] of Allegiance and of Office to such of the said persons as can personally attend him in Council and to grant a special Commission directed to such as shall qualifie before him, to enable them or any two of them who shall so attend to qualifie the others in the same manner as they have been qualified when they shall repair to the said County of Bourbon.

And be it further enacted that the said Justices after being duly qualified as aforesaid shall be and they or any two of them are hereby authorized and empowered to administer the oath of Allegiance to this State to any person and persons Inhabitants of the said County who shall not have been proscribed by this or some other of the United States of America and thereupon such person and persons shall be entitled to vote for and serve as members of Assembly or Militia officers and the said Justices shall keep a list or roll of the names of all such persons as they shall Administer the oath of Allegiance to and transmit the same to his Honor the Governor as soon as may be in the course of the present year.

Signed in the House of Assembly Savannah in Georgia 7th February, 1785, and in the Ninth year of American Independence. By order of the House

JOSEPH HABERSHAM, Speaker.

II. INSTRUCTIONS TO THE JUSTICES OF BOURBON COUNTY.[26]

Friday February 11th 1785.

. . . . . .

The House proceeded to take into consideration the report of the Committee appointed to draw up private instructions for the Government of the Inhabitants of Bourbon, and agreed to the same as follows

To Tacitus Galliard, Thomas Green, Sutton Bankes,[27] Nicholas Long, William Davenport, Nathaniel Christmas, William McIntosh junr., Benjamin Farrow,[27] Cato West, Thomas Marston Green, William Anderson, Adam Bingaham[27] and John Ellis Esquires appointed justices of the peace for the County of Bourbon.

It having been deemed expedient, at the instance and on the application of several persons living on the river Mississipi to form a County in that district of the State and to nominate and appoint you the said Tacitus Galliard Thomas Green, Sutton Bankes,[27] Nicholas Long, William

[24] As first drawn the bill provided for six justices of the peace. Whether the amendment increasing the number was made in committee of the whole or in the council does not appear, as amendments were made in both instances. Manuscript Journal of the House of Representatives, January 24 and February 1.

[25] The oath was administered to Green, Long, Davenport, and Christmas personally, and a commission was issued to them February 8, empowering them to administer a like oath to the other justices, who are named personally in the commission. The original of this commission has not been found, but a Spanish translation of it was inclosed in Miró's letter (no. 210) to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, 1785, and is in Seville, Archivo General de Indias: Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Luisiana y Florida, estante 86, cajón 6, legajo 14.

[26] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, Manuscript Journal of the House of Representatives, February 11, 1785.

[27] The names should be Farrar and Bingaman, and probably Banks.

Davenport, Nathaniel Christmass, William M^cIntosh jun^r., Benjamin Farrow,[27] Cato West, Thomas Marston Green, William Anderson, Adam Bingaham[27] and John Ellis Esquires Justices of the peace thereof, you are as nearly as possible to conform yourselves to the following instructions.

1^st^. As it is by no means the wish or intention of this Legislature to do any Act, which may at present or in its consequences, bring on a dispute or the least misunderstanding with the Crown or Subjects of Spain, you will immediately on receipt hereof in a proper manner notify to the Officer commanding any party or detachment of Spanish Troops (if any such there be) within the Limits of your County, that the General Assembly of Georgia from a desire to organize the several parts of the State, and to form and arrange a System calculated for the free and happy administration of affairs have thought it adviseable to lay out that part of the State into a County so that the people settled therein may by electing representatives to meet their fellow Citizens in Assembly participate of the Government and contribute to the support of their Country. And in all respects share in the common benefits and be subject to the common operations of the Laws and Constitution of Georgia

2^ndly^. Should the said Officer (if any such there be)[28] make any objection against excersising the powers which your appointments give you within the said County or any part or portion thereof You are to signify to him that your present instructions enjoin you (as they most positively do) not to afford him any umbrage on that head. And you are authorized in that event to decline excersising any authority over such portion of your County as may interfere with the Spanish claim until you receive further orders in the premises, in this last case the people inhabiting the disputed Territory are until farther advice to consider themselves in the same plight and condition as they were in previous to the laying out of the County. But you are to avail yourselves of the earliest opportunity of transmitting a full and just account of the transactions herein, to His Honor the Governor of this State

3^dly^. Should there be no objection made you are authorized and empowered to accept and receive from any Spanish or other Officer who may incline to yeild up the same full possession in the name and behalf of this State of all such Forts Towns and places as may fall within the limits and description of your said County. But you are to use no coercive means whatever to obtain the same.

4^thly^. In case of their being no Spanish Troops or officers in any part of your said County, or in case of any voluntarily [*sic*] relinquishment as before mentioned then you are in all respects to conduct and govern yourselves, as are also the people under you agreable to the Laws and Constitution of this State, and to consider your County as a member of the same, or in case of the Spaniards claiming only a part of the said County then you are in respect to the other part which they do not claim to excersise the authority and proceed in the manner before in this Article mentioned.

[28] Apparently the legislature is studiously ignorant of conditions in Natchez. If Thomas Green did not enlighten the members he could easily have done so. Compare Miró's letter to Josef de Galvez, June 25, 1785, *post*, p. 95. Josef de Galvez was an uncle of Bernardo de Galvez, viceroy of Mexico.

5thly. You are by the most friendly offices and conduct to cultivate amity with the Indians and by no means suffer any of the people of your County, so far as you can restrain them from purchasing or in any shape encroaching on their hunting ground without a lawful authority for that purpose. But you are authorized and required to give every encouragement and protection to a generous and liberal Trade with such of those people as live within the limits of this State and to take every opportunity of assuring them of our good disposition towards their Tribes and Nations.

6thly. You are not without further orders and authority to engage in any dispute with either the Spaniards or the Indians about Territorial claims—the navigation of the Mississippi or any other matter whatsoever which may eventually involve this State in a contest. Should you or the people under you by any misconduct or Breach of these instructions draw on such, it will not be considered that you have any claim to the protection or support of your fellow Citizens in this Quarter of the State.

7thly. You are to lay out the whole of your County or such part thereof as falls within the foregoing instructions into Districts so as to enable the people to elect their Militia officers and do other matters appertaining to the due regulations of the County, agreable to Law.

8thly. And lastly, you are as often as occasions may require or opportunities offer to make communication of your situation and every other matter respecting your County or the people thereof to his Honor the Governor of this State, who will afford you every legal countenance in the prosecution of your duty.

III. Alexander McGillivray to Estevan Miró.[29]

Pensacola, May 16, 1785.

My Dear Sir:

It has been my desire ever since last summer to have the honor of visiting Your Lordship in person at New Orleans, but our proximity to the restless and turbulent American states, which keeps us in a constant state of alarm, has prevented me thus far from doing so.

I can inform Your Lordship, through authentic reports, that the Americans have sent commissioners especially to survey and fix the boundary of thirty-one degrees north latitude on the Mississippi, in conformity with the articles of peace between Great Britain and America. There is a body of Americans encamped at the mouth of the Ohio River, under the command of Generals Montgomery[30] and Clark,[31] in all about 2,500 men, determined to take possession by force as soon as the commissioners shall have concluded their task.

They are counting much on the belief that the inhabitants along

[29] Translated from the Spanish copy inclosed in letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 198, June 14, 1785 (*post*, p. 78). It is marked "Traduccion. No. 1°". Miró had become governor *ad interim* of Louisiana early in this year, succeeding Bernardo de Galvez, who had been made viceroy of Mexico. Miró's appointment as governor is dated July 14, 1785 (Fortier, *Hist. of La.*, III. 109), and he remained at the head of the province until 1791.

[30] The allusion may be to Colonel John Montgomery but more probably to Colonel Benjamin Logan or to Colonel George Morgan.

[31] General George Rogers Clark.

this river will unite with them in their views and purposes. The Americans certainly have these designs, and they certainly will put them into execution before long. I have always reported to the government my suspicions of the Americans, so that it might be prepared against any surprise.

I have the pleasure of informing your Lordship that the arrival here of Mr. Panton with a cargo of merchandise has given much satisfaction to the tribes, because they now know that the king has graciously confirmed the articles of the Congress of June, 1784, and will have the great confidence in His Most Catholic Majesty which is needed. These supplies will place the tribe in a position to make a powerful resistance against the Americans who advance toward the South beyond their natural boundaries.

I beg Your Lordship to permit me to offer you my most ardent acknowledgements for the suit of clothes which Your Lordship did me the honor to send me, and which I have received by the hand of Lieutenant-Governor Piernas. Allow me to add that I hope that the conduct of my tribe will continue on all occasions to merit the attention and favors which the government of the king has conferred upon them. For my part, I hope that my actions will always manifest the integrity of my heart towards him.

I have the honor to be, with the greatest respect,

Sir, Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY.[32]

IV. ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY TO VICENTE MANUEL DE ZESPEDES.[33]

PENSACOLA 22d May 1785

Sir

I take the Liberty by this opportunity of making Your Excellency my apology for not having done myself the honor of Waiting upon you long before this at St. Augustine it has always been my earnest desire to do so but being well acquainted with the Turbulent and Restless disposition of our American Neighbourhood and of Consequence I have been obliged to watch their motions with the most unremitting attention in order to make some discoveries of their designs either against my people or the Kings Territories. My being now at this place is owing to Something of these matters which I judged it proper for the Kings Governors to know. a short time ago I received Authentic Intelligence that some of the American States had appointed Commissioners to go and to ascertain the exact place where the 31st. degree of North latitude woud Include on the Mississippi and elsewhere and that a body of 2500 men under two Generals were on the said River ready to take possession by force and establish themselves wherever the Commissioners shoud direct.

The Inhabitants here before my coming down were alarmd with a report that the Americans were coming against this place. I have quieted their apprehensions on this Score by pointing out to them the Impracticability of such an attempt even if the Americans were Really Serious in such a design as not only the great distance by land but that they woud have to encounter with a powerfull Indian Nation thro whose country they woud be under a Necessity to march and that while those

[32] There is an account of McGillivray in Chappell, *Miscellanies of Georgia*. part I., ch. III., and in many other places.

[33] Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, CXIV., J 9.

Indians continued to be on the good footing that they are now on with the Spanish Nation. the Americans Never woud attempt any thing of the kind. . . .

I am with the Most Respectfull Esteem
Sir
your Excellencys Most Obedt. Servant
ALEX: MCGILLIVRAY

His Excellency Governor DeZespedes[34]

V. PEDRO FAVROT TO MIRÓ, JUNE 3, 1785.[35]

Mui Sor. mio y mi Coronel.

Aprobecho de esta ocasion para participar á V. S, que acaba de llegar de la Nacion Alibamon[36] el nombrado Simon con Thomás Mauvéz, que viene de Augusta el que dice ha visto en Villasecont[37] al Capitán Donsport,[38] Comandante de un Cuerpo de trescientos Americanos, hombres escogidos, y que le dijo partia para el Puesto de Natchéz, donde debia juntarse á un cuerpo de mil hombres de la Virginea y que bajaba[n] por el Rio Ohio otros mil Virginianos, que train Artilleria, que todos tres cuerpos se reunirian en Natchéz, donde intimarian al comand^te^. les entregase su fuerte, y que si lo rehusaba, lo tomarian por fuerza, por pertenecerles su distrito, segun la linea que habian tirado.

El Gefe principal de chicachás que ha tres dias llegó aquí, me ha hecho igual relacion Estas vozes son publicas en todas estas Naciones de Yndios. El mismo Gefe añadió q^e^. havia rehusado conceder tierras que le han sido pedidas por Diputados Americanos, sin haber querido admitir los regalos que estos le presentaron, por que bien veía que si les concedia tierras se fortificarian en ellas y depues les harian la ley.

El Ynterprete Fabre q^e^. acaba de llegar de la Nación Chactá confirma las noticias arriba dadas.

Puede V.S. mi Coronel estar assegurado que en breve tendrá bastante ocupacion, y sus luzes le dictaran lo que debe hacer en semejantes circunstancias.

Dios gue. á V.S. m^s^. a^s^. Movila 3 de-Junio de 1785.

B. l. m^o^ de V.S. su mas seguro y atento serv^or^.

PEDRO FAVROT.[39]

Sor. Dn. Esteban Miró. MIRÓ.

[34] Vicente Manuel de Zespedes became governor of East Florida in June, 1784.

[35] Inclosed in letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 14, 1785 (*post*, p. 78). It is marked "Copia. No. 2°".

[36] The Alibamu Indians, a tribal remnant belonging to the Creek or Muscogee confederacy, inhabited the region about the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa rivers. Consult Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, pp. 85–89, 120 ff.; Benjamin Hawkins, "Sketch of the Creek Country", pp. 35, 36 (*Collections* of the Georgia Historical Society, vol. III., part 1.); and report of Caleb Swan in Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes of the United States*, V. 251 ff. The Simon here mentioned is doubtless Simon Andry, who lived in that locality, as did also the interpreter Favre mentioned later in the letter. See Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile, passim*, and Bernard Romans, *Florida*, p. 332; also *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I., and *Mississippi Territorial Archives*, I.

[37] The place has not been identified.

[38] The allusion is evidently to Captain William Davenport, one of the Georgia commissioners, but this report like all the others was a great exaggeration.

[39] Favrot was commandant of Mobile. See *post*, p. 78, and compare Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, pp. 265, 282–283.

VI. Thomas Green to Felipe Treviño, June 12 [?], 1785.[40]

Colonel Trevino.[41]

Sir:

I returned home yesterday, and as I have matters of consequence and importance to communicate to you it will be some days before I can go to see you; however, I will do so as soon as possible.

I have the honor to be with respect, Sir,

Your most obedient and very humble servant,

Thomas Green.

June 12,[42] 1785.

VII. Thomas Green to Felipe Treviño, June —, 1785.[43]

Please permit me to inform you that I have received instructions from the very honorable Samuel Elbert,[44] Esquire, captain-general, governor and commander-in-chief of the state of Georgia, and from the Honorable House of Assembly of said state, to proceed with the civil government of the new county recently formed by deliberation of the said state, known by the name of the new County of Bourbon, whose boundaries I have transcribed to you in the copy of an act of the general assembly cited above, together with part of an act of the assembly concerning the map of boundaries of the said state of Georgia, and also a part of the instructions that I have received, of which I likewise inclose you a copy.[45]

Since I am well assured that your garrison and the district of Natchéz are within the limits of the said County of Bourbon, and in conformity with the instructions that I have received, I therefore make it known to you, and if you have any objection to this procedure, judg-

[40] Translated from copy inclosed in letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 199, June 20, 1785 (*post,* p. 91), marked "No. 1. Traduccion".

[41] Treviño had been commandant of Natchez since August, 1783.

[42] It is probable that this letter should be dated June 10 instead of June 12. Miró, writing to the Conde de Galvez, June 20 (*post,* p. 91), says that Treviño had stated in his letter of June 10 that Green had arrived the day before; and Green says: "I arrived yesterday." In his letter to Miró, June 15 (*post,* p. 82), Treviño says that on the day following his letter no. 189 (which, according to Miró, was dated June 10) Green had presented himself. This would place the interview on June 11. Although Green says: "It will be some days before I can go to see you", he probably went the next day. That this interview could not have been later than June 13 is evidenced by the fact that two or three days must have elapsed since the interview when Treviño wrote his letter of June 15.

[43] Translated from the Spanish copy inclosed in letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 199, June 20, 1785 (*post,* p. 91). It is marked "No. 6. Traduccion". The letter is without date but was presented to Treviño probably on June 11. See foot-note 42.

[44] Samuel Elbert was elected governor of Georgia in January, 1785. The Spanish text has here "Samuel Herbert".

[45] The copies which Green delivered to Treviño were: that part of the act of February 17, 1783, which defined the boundaries of the state (*ante,* p. 68); the first part of the act of February 7, 1785, ending with the words, "And the said County shall comprehend and include all the lands and waters within the said description"; and articles 1 to 4, inclusive, of the instructions of February 11 (*ante,* p. 71). In this copy the instructions are addressed to Thomas Green, Esq., and begin: "You are to conform yourself as nearly as possible to the following instructions." At the end Green has certified: "This is a true copy and agrees with the original of a part of the instructions." See the letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 210, July 22, *post,* p. 107.

ing that your garrison and district, or any part of it, do not come within these limits, I hope that you will let me know, writing me as soon as you can conveniently do so, defining the limits and boundaries which you hold in the name of His Catholic Majesty. Of this [reply] I am to send a copy at the first opportunity to the general assembly or to the governor of Georgia.

I am, sir, with assurances of the greatest esteem, your most obedient friend and truly humble servant,

THOMAS GREEN,
Lieutenant-Colonel of Bourbon County.

VIII. ELLIS, GAILLARD, AND BANKS TO THE CITIZENS OF NATCHEZ, JUNE —, 1785.[46]

Gentlemen and Fellow-Citizens:

The proceedings of Thomas Green in the state of Georgia are so alarming to the good people of this country that we think it necessary for the inhabitants to assemble in order to consider what means can be taken to prevent the ruin and destruction of this country if it should fall under the government of Georgia, which, we are ready to show, would result if this should occur. At the same time we declare our opinion to be, and it is founded upon reason and justice, that by exerting ourselves in time we may be able to completely undo this and become a separate state. In consequence, we ask that you come next Wednesday at ten o'clock in the morning to the house of Mr. Brocus,[47] where we will be, and we will present to you the reasons, which your own good judgment will show you, why, if this country remains subject to the state of Georgia, it will only prove its ruin and destruction.

As Thomas Green, officiously and of his own accord, has taken it upon himself to sacrifice this country to the state of Georgia, we think it very necessary to advise him that he ought to present himself and give his reasons for these irregular proceedings.

Hoping that every true friend of this country will be present as is requested, we remain unanimously your true friends and fellow-citizens,

RICHARD ELLIS.[48]
TACITUS GAILLARD.
SUTTON BANKS.

To the Inhabitants of the Country of Natchez.

[46] No English copy of this manifesto has been found. It is here translated from the Spanish translation which Miró sent to the Conde de Galvez with his letter of June 20 (*post*, p. 91). It is marked "No. 8. Traduccion". It is undated but was issued probably on June 12. It was evidently after Green's visit to Treviño (see *ante*, p. 76, n. 42) and it could scarcely have been later than June 12, for Treviño says (letter to Miró, June 15, *post*, p. 82): "Two days after this summons of theirs had been written and circulated in the district the said Tacito Gaillard sent to me one of Richard Ellis's sons to ask my permission to assemble the people." From the statement of Rodriguez (*post*, p. 85) it appears that the meeting took place on June 15.

[47] The name appears both as "Brocus" and "Brocas" in these documents. In *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I., *passim*, it appears as "Brocus"; but Davenport, who lodged at his house for a time, writes it "Brocas".

[48] Richard Ellis was probably the father of John Ellis, who was named as one of the justices of Bourbon County. Probably also he was the same Richard Ellis who had been made agent for prizes for Newbern, North Carolina, in 1776. *Journals of the Continental Congress*, April 23, 1776. At this time he was a large landholder in the Natchez district. See *American State Papers, Public Lands*, I.

IX. Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 14, 1785.[49]

Exmo. Señor. Mui S^or. mio:

Desde el año passado tube noticias vagas de que los Americanos se disponian en lo alto del Rio Ohio, para bajar á tomar posesion, por fuerza ó de grado del distrito de Natchéz, por comprehendido en los treinta y un grados latitud Norte, limites indebidam^te. señalados por los Yngleses en su tratado de Paz con los Estados Unidos: de que dí parte al Capitan general sobstituto Dn. Josef de Ezpeleta, limitando mis disposiciones, que aprobó á que el Comand^te. de Natchéz procurase indagar la verdad de estos rumores, y que siempre que tubiesen alguna verosimilitud, me avisase: lo que ha hecho en varias ocaciones, reduciendose todo á que segun las conversasiones generales, estaban persuadidos los mas de aquellos havitantes, á que en breve seria ocupado su distrito segun el citado tratado, por los Americanos;[50] cuyas vozes no me dieron cuidado alguno, persuadido á que la buena razón dicta la injusticia de la pretension á un territorio cedido por quien no es dueño de él; pero las noticias, que desde quince dias á esta parte he recibido hasta ayer, me ponen en el caso de no poder despreciarlas. Las primeras fueron que al Comand^te. de la Movila se le presentó un tratante que habia hablado con varios Yndios, que le participaron haber visto en la desembocadura del Rio Ohio en el Mississipí, un Campamento de tropas Americanas, que necesitó emplear todo el día para atravesarle: expresiones hiperbólicas de que sabe V.E. hacen uso los Yndios. Añadieron que tiraron los Americanos algunos cañonazos durante el mismo dia, y que les digéron anunciasen á su Nacion, se mantubiesen tranquilos, que no venian á hacerles daño. Las últimas son las que V.E. verá en las cartas, cuyas copias encluyo bajo No. 1°. y 2°. de Dn. Alexandro M^c.Gillevray[51] Comisario de la Nacion Talapuche, y Dn. Pedro Josef Favrot[52] comand^te. de la Movila.

En vista de ellas he dispuesto salga dentro de tres dias la segunda compañia de Granaderos del Regim^to. de mi cargo con quarenta y seis plazas, algunos viveres y municiones para reforzar á Natchéz, con lo que tendrá aquel Comand^te. cien hombres de Guarnicion, dándole la instruccion que V.E. verá en el documento No. 3,[53] por uno de cuyos artículos le autorizo á agregar los Voluntarios de que tenga confianza, con las prevenciones, que dicho artículo comprehende. Al mismo tiempo destáco mañana una Pirágua con un Cabo de confianza, y quatro remeros que suban como cazadores Rio arriba, á fin de retroceder con prontitud á dar aviso, en caso de que halle bajando los Barcos chatos con la tropa Americana; y sino debe seguir y reconocer el terreno de la embocadura del Ohio, y si aun allí no hallase gente alguna llegará á Ylinoa,[54] por no faltar ya mas que treinta leguas, con carta mia para aquel Comand^te, que prevenido quede mas facilmente descubrir los

[49] This letter (marked no. 198), with its inclosures, is in Mexico, Archivo General y Público: Sección de Historia, tomo 162 ("Carp^a. No. 3. Div^a. 4^a. del L°. No. 5.—No. 1° "). Copies of all of them, inclosed in letter (no. 82) of Miró to Josef de Galvez, June 14, 1785, are in Seville, Archivo General de Indias: Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Luisiana y Florida, estante 86, cajón 6, legajo 14.

[50] See a letter of Miró to Josef de Galvez, June 10 (reference as above).

[51] Letter of McGillivray, May 16, *ante*, p. 73.

[52] Letter of Favrot, June 3, *ante*, p. 75.

[53] See *post*, p. 85, note 72.

[54] The commandant of Illinois (St. Louis) was Don Francisco Cruzat.

movimientos de los Americanos para participarmelos. A todo me auxilia este Yntendente[55] con el zelo acostumbrado, caminando siempre ambos de acuerdo.

Permítame V.E[a]. haga mis reflexiones sobre los passos de dicha Potencia, supuesto hallarse apostado el referido cuerpo de Tropas, de que me parece hay poco que dudar, á menos de que la casualidad sea tanta que en quatro distintos parages se haya forxado la misma noticia, y quasi con las propias circunstancias. Permítame tambien siga con la pintura del estado de defensa de esta Provincia, y concluya con las representaciones que me dictten los desseos de conserbar estos dominios de S.M. y desempeñar todas las obligaciones de mi honor.

No hay razon ninguna, para que los Estados Unidos insulten las armas de S.M, bajo el pretesto de los límites concedidos tan injustamente por los Yngleses hasta los treinta y un grados en este Rio mucho menos aun la hay, para q[e]. lo executen al mismo tiempo que saben está nombrado por nuestra Corte un Enviado[56] cerca del Congreso para tratar de estos mismos límites en la forma debida; pues es S.M. poseedor del Continente en q[e]. deben señalarse: circunstancias q[e]. me persuaden no ser en el dia su intento venir á tomar posesión por fuerza de Natchéz; pero como ellos saben que al fin del presente Mes están ya las aguas bajas en el Ohio, y por lo tanto inpracticable el paso para Barcos chatos y Lanchones: conceptúo se han adelantado á apostarse en la desembocadura de dho. Rio al Missisipí con uno de los dos fines siguientes.

Primero: pensando favorablemente, y bajo la razón de que no es creible se empeñe dha. Potencia en una Guerra con nosotros en el Estado de Ynfancia, en que se halla, puede suceder seá la gente apostada en dho. parage un compuesto de familias y alguna tropa para formar algun establecimiento con un fuerte en la línea divisoria sobre el Mississipí.

Segundo: El vando que de orden de S.M.[57] he publicado con fha. de siete de Septiembre de 1784 prohiviendo la entrada del Rio á las embarcaciones de la citada Potencia, puede haberles hecho conceptuar que nuestra corte jamas adherirá á consederselo, discurriendo, como es claro, que es el unico medio de hacerles ínutiles las posesiones qualesquiera, que por los límites que se señalen, tengan en este Rio y que por lo contrario podrian dar con la libre navegacion tal fomento á ellas que en breves años se hallasen en estado no solo de hacerse dueños de esta Provincia, sino de estender sus conquistas y correrias acia lo interior de Nueva España. Este es el gran punto de dificultad que hay que vencer; y si, como es factible, la Ynglaterra por resentimiento de las perdidas que ha sufrido en la última Guerra, ha prometido sostenerlos es verosimil que el Cuerpo de Tropas arriba apostado, lo esté á fin de obrar hostilmente, sin dar lugar á que esta Provincia sea socorrida luego que se crean autorizados á ello por la negatiba.

En este caso las superiores luces de V.E. (que distinguirán si está ó nó remoto) no pueden menos de presentar á su imaginacion el triste estado de la Provincia, y condolerce de mí, por hallarme mandandola.

[55] The intendant of Louisiana was Don Martin Navarro.

[56] Gardoqui had arrived in Philadelphia May 20. *Dip. Corr. of U. S. A.*, 1783–1789, III. 142. He reached New York at the end of June and was received by Congress on July 2. *Ibid.*, p. 150, and *Secret Journals of the Continental Congress*, III. 563.

[57] See Josef de Galvez to Rendon, June 26, 1784, *ibid.*, III. 517.

La Tropa que tengo en esta Guarnicion en estado de poder marchar, son tres cientos veinte y tres Cabos y soldados, los dos tercios reclutas que V.E. acaba de embiarme, hallandose los restantes hasta seis cientos noventa y cinco, fuerza efectiba del primer Batallon de mi cargo, unico que guarnece esta Provincia, cubriendo los Puestos, todos mal guarnecidos, su armamento es quasi inutil, como tengo expuesto á V.E. con fha. de 1º. de Septbre de 1784, y sin ninguno de repuesto: lo que hice presente al Brigadier Dn. Josef de Ezpeleta en la formacion del segundo Batallon, por cuya razón parte del que usa en Panzacola es del tomado á los Yngleses, diferente calibre del de ordenanza.

Es principio sentado que el servicio de las Milicias es util quando está apoyado con número superior de Veteranos. Supongo no obstante que logre juntar como V.E., aunque distinto el caso, quinientos hombres blancos de ellas y dosientas de color, inclusos los esclavos. No dejarán de marchar unos y otros con repugnancia, si consideran al enemigo con el numero de Dos mil y quinientos, y si este logra hacer passar avisos de no perjudicar al Paisano que se mantenga tranquilo.

Por lo que toca á Artilleria y sus pertrechos estoy sumamente exhausto. Lo mas que podré havilitar sin dejar en esta Plaza defensa ninguna son dos cañones de á veinte y quatro ocho de diez y ocho, y dos de Batallon.

En toda la Provincia el unico feurte que puede hacer alguna resistencia es el de Natchéz,[58] con motivo de la obra que le añadí en el año de 1782, y aun esta proporcionado á la Artilleria que traigan los enemigos, por qe. tiene dos alturas, una que lo domina, y otra que le iguala á tiro corto de Cañón, siendo aquel terreno quebrado con varias eminencias á poca distancia unas de otras. Para que V.E. pueda formar juicio de la debilidad de este fuerte, voy á detallarle lo mas claro me sea posible. Figúrese V.E. un cono truncado que en la superficie superior se ha escavado á la profundidad de seis pies en el centro, hasta formar interiormente un pentágono regular de diez y ocho toesas de lado, quedando sin embargo un platén en la parte no escavada, donde están las explanadas y cañones, sin mas parapeto qe. una estacada de maderas, que se tocan uno á otros de un grueso quadrado capaz de resistir á la bala de fusil, y en ella portas para los cañones: de que resulta que asi estos, como los que los sirven están peor que si se hallasen enteramte. á descubierto; y solo en la Plaza interior formada por la escavacion es donde está la tropa y sus aloxamientos de abrigo. Los dos lados del Pentágono que miran al Rio, del que están á tiro largo, y mui incierto, no tienen mas defensa que la del mismo fuerte. En la parte opuesta está la citada obra que le añadi con Merlones de tierra, revestidos de madera, terraplenados á fuerza de pisón de diez pies de espesor, con cuyos baluartes y sus flancos cubre y protege los otros tres lados del fuerte, estando contigua á este, y seis pies mas baja que su nivel, con un foso de diez y seis pies de profundidad del lado de la escarpa, cincuenta de ancho en la cortina y treinta y seis por todo el resto, de cuyos estremos sale una estacada baja de once pies fuera de tierra, seis pulgadas de espesor, y fortificada en sus angulos, por no ser susceptible de la continuacion del foso el fuerte viejo, á causa de lo demasiado escarpada que que se halla la elevación en que está colocado.

[58] Fort Panmure, the old Fort Rosalie of the French period. Upon the British occupation after the peace of 1763 the fort was rechristened in honor of the Earl of Panmure.

Sobre la banqueta ó platén de dho. fuerte viejo en tres de sus ángulos hay tres torreones de piezas de madera de dos altos, que imitan en su construccion á los de la Plaza de Panzacola, y sirven para alojamiento de Oficiales, con una avertura en la parte alta, que corre por toda la circunferencia para la fusileria, y en la baja un cañoncito en cada uno de tres de sus quatro frentes, con catorce troneras en el recinto de su estacada, y diez y siete en la obra exterior: siendo el numero de piezas que se hallan montadas, todas en uno y otro, dos cañones del calibre de á 12, ocho del de á 6, ocho del de á 4, doce del de á 3, y tres de á una libra, con tres Pedreros de á media libra.

Esta es toda la fortificacion que hay en la Provincia, por q^e^. el fuerte de Baton Roúge como construido de faginas; no obstante las reparaciones, que se le han hecho, se halla mui deteriorado, assi por el discurso del tiempo, como por haberse el Rio comido aquella punta que flanqueaba parte de el.

Este es el estado de defensa á que se halla reducida la Provincia; y por lo que toca á las representaciones que arriba prometo hacer á V.E., me parece que despues de lo dicho, V.E^a^. mejor que yo sabrá si debo temer ó no una incursion graduará el numero de tropas que se necesitan para conservar estos dominios á S.M; y si V.E. supiese las instrucciones que lleba nuestro embiado al congreso, podria tal vez inferir si resultará ó no la Guerra: y assi solo me reduzco á embiar á V.E. la lista No. 4,[59] de armamento, Artilleria y sus pertrechos, y municiones, que en todos los estados embiados anualmente se han pedido á la Corte. Creo solamente mi zelo empeñado á decir aquí lo que comprehende por el conocimiento práctico que tengo del País, por las conversaciones que estoy impuesto han tenido los Americanos en general, y por los desseos que siempre han manifestado de venir á establecerse en este Rio: que jamas, ó con suma dificultad, se convendrán á estár privados de la navegacion del Rio: que de tenerla se seguirán con el tiempo gravisimos males; y q^e^. segun el estado actual de dha. Potencia ese preferible en el día la Guerra, á la q^e^. podrán hacer dentro de diez años, con tal que se cubra esta Provincia con un cuerpo suficiente de tropas, por ser el unico é inmediato punto de ataque que tienen sobre los dominios de S.M.

Desengañados que fuesen de la concesion de dha. navegacion, sin la qual les serán inutiles estas posesiones podrian convenirse (principalmente si la Ynglaterra no los sostiene) á recivir por ellas una suma, cediendo tambien el distrito de Ylinoa: con lo q^e^. quedarian mui separados, y mas facil la defensa de esta Provincia, estableciendo la que fuese precisa sobre el Ohio, por donde pueden siempre intentar incursiones.[60]

Concluiré este oficio prometiendo á V.E, que por mi parte pondré todos los medios posibles, y agotaré quantos recursos mi imaginacion me presente para contener al enemigo; y al primer aviso de que viene bajando de lo alto del Rio, si absolutam^te^. no puedo remediar tomen á Natchéz, passaré á apostarme sobre Punta cortada,[61] ó á la immediacion del Rio colorado,[62] con la Tropa y Milicias formando alli mi principal Punto de defensa para poner á cubierto las posesiones mas pingues de

[59] Omitted. It bears the date June 15, 1785.

[60] This suggestion of Miró has an especial interest in view of his subsequent efforts to detach the Trans-Allegheny region from the United States.

[61] Better known by the French name, Pointe Coupée.

[62] Red River of Louisiana.

la Colonia desde Nachitoches á la Balisa, haciendo poner en estado las dos Lanchas cañoneras y Galera, q^e^. me servirán de proteccion. V.E. conocerá que no puedo desprenderme de mas Tropas para Natchéz, por que si alli quisiese formar mi defensa les seria facil bloquearme, y assegurados de no encontrar en otra parte quien los resistiese, bajar á esta Capital, mayormente quando tengo poco q^e^. fiar sobre tres cientos hombres de armas que hay en Natchéz, por ser los mas Americanos, y por la posicion de sus haciendas, obligados de grado ó por fuerza á juntarse con el enemigo q^e^. se presente superior. En fin mientras reciba ordenes de V.E, estoy resuelto á hacer ver que mi opinion es q^e^. toda defensa debe tocar mas bien en lo temerario, que en lo prudente.

Dios nuestro Señor guarde á V.E. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 14 de Junio de 1785.

Ex^mo^. S^or^.

B.L.M. de V.E. su mas at^o^. Serv^r^.

Estevan Miró.

Exmo. S^or^. Conde de Galvez.[63]

X. Treviño to Miró, June 15, 1785.[64]

Muy Señor mio: y mi venerado Gobernador.

Al subsiguiente dia de la data de mi Oficio No. 189,[65] que dirigi á V.S. por la ocacion del Ayudante de este Fuerte Dn. Estevan Minor,[66] se verificó el que se me presentase el habitante de este Distrito Thomás Green, nuevamente llegado de la América, habiendo antes de berificarlo corrido las habitaciones de barios sugetos principales, p^a^. hacerles saber, y entregarles las comisiones que impresas, y autorizadas por los Magistrados de la Provincia de Georgia les há traido por haber sido electos Juezes de Paz, y oficiales de otra especie, á lo que me ha informado Dn. Adan Bingaman que ha visto las dichas comisiones, por ser uno de los comprendidos en la promocion, cuya comision se consta no ha querido aceptar. El referido thomás Green dió principio en su vista por pedirme le entregase el mando de este Fuerte y su Distrito, haciendome ver sucesivamente, y sin dexar de la mano los papeles que lo autorizavan á ello, y su nombramiento de Gobern^or^. de este Condado de

[63] Bernardo de Galvez, the predecessor of Miró as governor of Louisiana, had only recently been created Count de Galvez and appointed viceroy of Mexico, retaining the title of Captain-General of Louisiana and the Floridas. See Fortier, *Hist. of La.*, III. 103–109.

[64] Inclosed in a letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 199, June 20, 1785 (*post*, p. 91), marked "No. 2. Copia".

[65] Treviño's letter no. 189, which is missing, appears to have been dated June 10. See letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 199, June 20, *post*, p. 91, and foot-note 42, *ante*, p. 76.

[66] Stephen Minor was a native of Pennsylvania, for some years in the service of Spain. Brief accounts of him are in Rowland, *Mississippi*, II. 247–249, Claiborne, *History of Mississippi*, pp. 199–200, and Wailes, *Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi*, p. 92. In 1792 Gayoso de Lemos sent him on a mission among the Choctaws, and the journal which he kept (March 13 to April 3) is in Seville, Archivo General de Indias: Papeles Procedentes de la Isla de Cuba. In 1797, as commissioner for the Spanish government, he assisted in the survey of the Florida boundary. See Ellicott. *Journal*, and Mathews, *Andrew Ellicott, his Life and Letters*.

Borbon, segun lo nombran actualmente, cuyo papel reconocí estar impreso, con un Gran sello, y varias firmas que no se si lo autorizan. Concluida su arenga que fue bastante dilatada, le respondí que no pudiendo comprenderlo bien, falta de buen Yntérprete, y menos conservar en la memoria quanto me decia, esperava me entregase todos sus papeles, para por ellos imponerme á fondo de su Comision haciendolos traducir despacio por la persona mas inteligente que pudiese encontrar (con animo de enviar á V.S. sin perdida de tiempo los mismos originales) á lo que me respondió que para este efecto habia sacado copia de los que me concernian, las que me entregó con una carta suya, que dijo le habian encargado me escribiesse á su llegada, cuyos papeles acompaño á V.S. adjuntos para que se imponga de ellos; Me dixo aci mismo el referido Green, sentia infinito la partida de Dn. Estevan Minor por que se persuadia que solo el seria capaz de dar el berbadero sentido, y nervio á la traducion de sus papeles, lo que era muy interesante, pero que no habiendo otro remedio aguardaria algunos dias para que le diese la respuesta que necesitava, á fin de comunicarla á sus Gefes, en consequencia de las Ordenes que le habian dado, á lo que le contexte que no obstante de no estar impuesto del contenido de sus papeles, no necesitaba de tiempo para satisfacer á su demanda, pues por su arenga conocia reducirse, á que le entregase el mando de este Fuerte, y su Distrito lo que no podia acordarle de ningun modo, dandole á este efecto al pie de la letra la respuesta que cité á V.S. en mi referido oficio No. 189, me proponia darle, y me contextó le hera imposible pasar á esa Capital á haberse con V.S. pero que esperaria en este Puesto la resolucion de V.S. para inmediatamente dar aviso de ella á sus superiores, consequente á lo que le habian prevenido, debiendo adbertirme no tuviese el menor recelo de su conducta en este Distrito, pues permaneceria en el, sin hacer la menor videncia, ni fuerza para intentar tomar el Fuerte, sino se lo entregavan, pues sus ordenes en la actualidad solo se reducian á comunicar la determinacion que se le diese, y esperar á que se le enviasen ordenes precisas de lo que debia executar en lo sucesibo, dando en esto cumplimiento á su embaxada, y concluyendo de hablar dixele que estaba bien, pero que era preciso me diese una noticia exacta de los efectos, y Mercaderias, que conducia en su Chalan,[67] como el numero de remeros, y Pasageros que venian con el; para que con mi pasaporte saliesen estos del Distrito en el termino de tercero dia, y me respondió no haber traido ningun genero ni Mercancia y solo seis hombres entre Remeros, y Pasageros, que haria se me presentasen para tomar su pasaporte, pero que uno de ellos no podia retirarse, hasta contextacion de V.S. por venir destinado desde la Georgia, á ser el conductor de su Correo, á lo que no me opuse por no agriar la combersacion que se concluyo con esto.

Segun las noticias que he podido adquirir, he sabido que el referido Thomas Green, continua visitando todo el Distrito, haciendo juntar las gentes en barias habitaciones indistintamente no se con que fin, lo que si se es que todos los dias se devulgan nuevas especies nada convenientes, como la de que deben venir mil y quinientos hombres por tierra de la Provincia de Georgia, y baxar por el Rio otro número considerable, con otras de este tenor, y aun que nada de esto creo, no tiene duda que todas estas especies contribuyen infinito á agitar, y sublevar los animos de

[67] Scow or flat-boat. *Chalan* seems to be used interchangeably with *barco chato*.

estos habitantes en la mayor parte dispuestos á todo, y me recelo que si estas noticias pasan como es natural, á las Naciones donde se hallan refuxiados los varios Foragidos que con frecuencia suelen infestar este Distrito con sus Piraterias, y de que tengo á V.S. hablado en mi oficio No. 179, me temo que aprobechando esta ocacion favorable que se les presenta, vengan y ocacionen un lebantamiento general que sin duda producirá la destruccion de este distrito por muchos años.

Tambien he sabido que ademas de Dn. Adan Bingaman há, habido otros sugetos que con distintos fines, se han negado á recibir las comisiones que les ha traido el mencionado Thomas Green, unos por recelo, y dudar del buen resultado de su embajada, y empresa, y otros por no poder sufrir que este sugeto sea el destinado á mandarlos y ellos á ser sus subditos, en que se concideran agraviados, por la razon de suponerse con mayores luces, mérito, y nacimiento que el; de este número considero al Teniente Coronel tacito Gaillard, sutton Banks, y Ricardo Ellis, que sin mi conocimiento se han atrevido á escribir, y hacer saber á todos los habitantes, un Papel[68] combocatorio, cuyo original he podido recoger, y acompaño á V.S. adjunto para que se imponga de sus depravadas ideas.

Despues de dos dias de tener escrito, y publicado en el Distrito su dicho papel convocatorio, el mencionado Tacito Gaillard, me envió uno de los hijos de Ricardo Ellis, á pedirme permiso para juntar el Pueblo, sin citarme parage, como lo hace en su referido papel, con el fin á lo que decia, de hacer conocer al Pueblo que Thomás Green hera un hombre cabiloso, y de mal caracter, que no debia ser creido, pues de ningun modo podia pretender ser Gobernador de este Puesto, que solo pertenecia á la España, sin que la Provincia de Georgia tubiese á él el menor derecho (dorado pretexto con que ha pensado, y creido encubrir sus perversos intentos) á lo que le mande á decir que nuestro sistema de Gobierno solo permite al Juez en casos muy urgentes, juntar el Pueblo para hacerle saber sus determinaciones, y que de ningun modo tenia facultades para concederle esta autoridad, aconsejandole tranquilizase su animo, y permaneciese quieto en su habitacion sin pensar en mezclarse en lo que no le correspondia, y devia despreciar, dandole al mismo tiempo las gracias por su (aparente) zelo; pero no obstante mi denegacion, hé sabido se han juntado, y que el dho. Tacito Gaillard fue el que sostubo la arrenga, hablando con la mayor libertad, y viveza, exponiendo que sin pérdida de tiempo, devian sacudir el Yugo de la dominacion Española, y declararse independientes, sin consentir someterse á ninguna otra dominacion, y aun me han asegurado adelanto su discurso, hasta proponer sitiar el Fuerte, ofreciendo haría los gastos de quanto se necesitase, lo que he sabido por el conducto de Dn. Juan Rodriguez Guarda Almacen de este referido Fuerte, á quien comisioné para que pasando á la casa donde habian citado, preguntase al amo de ella Guillermo Brocas (sugeto de toda mi satisfaccion) lo ocurrido, que testificará á V.S. la certificacion del referido Dn. Juan Rodriguez,[69] que adjunta acompañó á V.S.

Este hecho del ya citado Tacito Gaillard y sus seguaces, es á mi modo de entender mas detestable que el de Thomas Green, y que á primera vista ofrece al parecer peores consequencias: Pero tengo la

[68] See *ante*, p. 77.

[69] See *post*, p. 85.

satisfaccion de informar á V.S. que las proposiciones que hizo en la junta el referido Tacito Gaillard, fueron despreciadas por la mayor parte de los concurrentes, del mismo modo que lo han sido hasta ahora los pasos, y procederes de Thomás Green.

No puedo omitir á V.S. que en el dia de oy ha llegado de la Nacion Chicachá, el nombrado Faif Habitante de este Distrito, á quien V.S. tenia concedido permiso para que fuese á recoger varios caballos que le pertenecian, este individuo me ha daho la noticia, que en la dicha Nacion se cuenta por cosa positiva, que habian salido de la Provincia de Georgia seis Compañías, que componen el número de quatrocientos hombres destinados á tomar posesion de este Fuerte, y Puesto, no por sitio, ni violencia, sino por cesion que les hemos hecho, lo que confirma una carta escrita de la misma Nacion, al Capitán de Milicias Dn. Ricardo Harrison.

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años como deseo. Natchéz 15 de Junio de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y subdito,

FELIPE TREVIÑO.

Sor. Dn. Estevan Miró.

XI. STATEMENT OF JUAN JOSEPH RODRIGUEZ, JUNE 16, 1785.[70]

Dn. Juan Joseph Rodriguez Guarda Almacen del Fuerte Panmure de Natchéz &a.

Habiendo sido embiado por el Sor. Dn. Felipe Treviño Teniente Coronel de los Rs. Exercitos de S.M, y Comand^te. del expresado Fuerte para que averiguase lo resultado en la Junta[71] qùe hayer se executó en la casa de el Habitante Guillermo Brocas. Hallé que á mí llegada salian varios habitantes de dha. Casa, y solicitando por el mencionado Brocas la causa de tanta Gente, me respondio hera la Junta que el Teniente Coronel Dn. Tacito Gaillard habia convocado, y solicitando á lo que hiba, supe que dho. Gaillard les habia advertido que de ningun modo admitiesen á Tomás Green por Gobernador de este distrito, que no hera sugeto capaz para ello, y que lo mejor que debian abrazar, hera el que ni la América, ni otra Potencia sugetasen su Cerviz, sino defender la Libertad, haciendo independiente este Distrito, cuya razon pocos de los presentes abrazaron. Y retirandome de dha. Casa vine á la de Benjamin Wellt, y hallé la misma novedad. Lo que certifico baxo mi palabra de honor, segun la interpretacion de el mencionado Brocas, y á peticion de dicho Señor Comand^te. doy la presente en el referido Fuerte de Natchéz á diez y seis de Junio de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco.

JUAN JOSEPH RODRIGUEZ.

XII. MIRÓ TO TREVIÑO, JUNE 16, 1785.[72]

Ynstrucciones para el Comandante de Natchéz Dn. Phelipe Treviño. Las noticias que acabo de recibir de varios parages de que hay un

[70] Copy inclosed in letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 199, June 20, 1785 (*post*, p. 91), marked "No. 9. Copia". The original was inclosed by Treviño in his letter to Miró, June 15 (*ante*, p. 82).

[71] See *ante*, p. 77.

[72] Although this document is dated June 16 it is nevertheless an inclosure (marked "No. 3.") in the letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 14, 1785 (*ante*, p. 78).

cuerpo de Americanos que se disponen á presentarse delante de ese Fuerte me obligan á enviar á Vm. de refuerzo la segunda Compañía de Granaderos con quarenta y seis plazas á fin de q^e^ tenga Vm. cien hombres de Guarnicion no obstante de q^e^. la buena razon repugna á creer que al mismo tiempo que el congreso sabe que está nombrado por nuestra corte un Enviado,[73] que yá ha salido de la Havana para arreglar los dos puntos de limites, y navegacion del Rio con dha. Potencia medite apoderarse á viva Fuerza de él terreno compreendido en este Rio hasta los treinta y un grados latitud Norte por q^e^. la Ynglaterra, sin derecho alguno se lo cedio en el último tratado de Paz.

Sin embargo de todo para evitar en lo posible ser sorprendido haré á Vm. las prevenciones siguientes.

Enviara Vm. un cabo, y quatro hombres que camparán en la desembocadura del Rio Yasoux, si las aguas altas lo permiten ó en las inmediacion^s^, para q^e^. siempre que viesen algun numero de Chalanes, ó Lanchones aun que no sean mas que dos baxen á darle á Vm. aviso, procurando, en caso de que no vean alguna piragua adelantada que pueda cortarles, asegurarse de quantos son, y si traen mucha gente. De lo q^e^. me despachará Vm. una piragua pequeña con dos hombres, para darme aviso, á la qual ha de seguir otra, antes de parlamentar, luego que tenga Vm. alguna seguridad del número de gentes y barcos chatos que puede Vm. adquirir antes que lleguen apostando alguno á caballo á una, ó dos leguas para tener tiempo de comunicarme la noticia, teniendo escrita ya la carta de modo q. no tenga Vm. mas q^e^. poner los números. Dicho destacamento tomará los víveres q. Vm. juzgue conveniente de manera que sea mudado á los doce, ó quinze dias ó el tiempo q. Vm. hallase á proposito.

Como segun la noticia parte de dichas Tropas debe venir por tierra, destacará Vm. tambien otros quatro hombres con un cavo en el parage que Vm. crea áproposito en second Crick, ó mas adelante en su camino de manera q^e^. Vm. pueda tener tiempo de darme la noticia, á cuyo efecto es necesario tengan dos caballos, con la circunstancia de que cada quatro dias venga uno á dar á Vm. parte si hay ó no novedad, para q^e^. VM, este seguro que existen, á menos que no prefiera Vm. que se mude el Destacam^to^ cada quatro dias, en lo que hará lo q. juzgue mas conveniente. Este Destacamento tendrá las mismas órdenes q. el del Rio.

Llegado el caso q^e^ se presenten á pedir les entregue Vm. el Fuerte, les responderá que tiene Vm. orden mia de proponerles suspendan á lo menos toda hostilidad hasta que me dé Vm. parte, en la inteligencia que yo subiré á parlamentar con ellos, que espero de un instante á otro las resultas de nro. Enviado á Philadelphia, con las q^e^. es regular me halle quando lleguen, pues salió de la Havana á principios de Abril, las que evitaran seguramente on rompimiento, y que de todas suertes, como en mi recide la responsabilidad de toda la Provincia, soy yo quien debe unicamente satisfacer á sus demandas; pero si no obstante esta respuesta amistosa insisten en querer atacar á Vm. se defenderá hasta el último extremo, baxo la seguridad, de que con quanta tropa y Milicias pueda juntar subiré á sostenerle á la primera noticia.

La posicion de Vm. es delicada por que tiene poco ó nada q. fiar de los habitantes de ese distrito, y está quasi reducido á contar con la tropa de su Guarnicion; pero como entre ellos hay Realistas q. tienen

[73] See foot-note 56, *ante*, p. 79.

naturalm^te^. aversion á los Americanos, desde luego procurará Vm. hablando á cada uno en particular atraherlos á su partido, y si tiene Vm. la confianza debida en ellos, les propondra si quieren encerarse á defender el Fuerte q^e^. Vm. facilitará á sus Mugeres é hijos su manutencion en Punta cortada para lo q^e^ puede de antemano preparar las piraguas, ó Berchas, facilitandoles Vm. el Lanchon q^e^. sube, el q^e^. de todas maneras ha de procurar Vm. no lo tomen si es posible. Estos voluntarios no han de pasar en numero la mitad de la Guarnicion de Vm. empleandolos solo para el manejo del cañon, ó tiroteo de fusil, sin ponerlos de centinela. Esta operacion de encerrarlos, y de hacer baxar sus mugeres, y niños no ha de ser sino despues que tenga Vm. noticia por los Destacamentos avanzados de que han visto al enemigo.

Todos aquellos de quien Vm. tiene confianza debe emplearlos para q^e^. le noticien quanto pase en el Distrito, y quanto sea conducente á que Vm. no sea sorprendido.

En quanto á los demas que han venido de América, y han hecho juram^to^. de fidelidad quando llegue ya el caso de saber Vm. va á ser atacado publicará un Vando declarando que el que faltase al juram^to^ prestado será severamente castigado; pero al mismo tiempo no los empleará en cosa alguna, exigiendoles solamente los auxilios de viveres, y demas que no sean personales en calidad de comprados.

El Señor Yntend^te^. envia á Vm. harina con Menestras y sal, la que empleará Vm. para tener un repuesto de Carne para dos meses á lo menos, debiendo dicho Respuesto estar spre. existentes en el Fuerte en carne, y Menestras ó Maiz en su lugar, con cuyo solo mantenimiento puede en la necesidad mantenerse el hombre.

Hará Vm. concluir las esplanadas del Hornabeque, recorrer todas las cureñas, y ponerlas en estado, plantar una estacada dentro del foso aunque sea de perchas, que han de tener seis pies fuera de tierra.

Dispondrá Vm. á mas del Almazen de Polvora del Fuerte que haya otro para uñ repuesto en el Hornabeque.

Se construiran los tiros de Metralla de las balas que se remiten, y las que hay.

Se asolearán los Lanzafuegos, y Estopines se pondrá algun cañon de los de menor calibre en la Estacada baxa, con portas p^a^. su uso.

Las reglas generales de esta instruccion no impiden el que por si ponga Vm. en practica quantos medios juzgue conducentes á la mexor defensa del Fuerte, segun las noticias de la mayor, ó menor vecindad del enemigo y si alguna de las prevenciones arriba hechas se hiciere, ó fuere impracticable por las ocurrencias, la cambiará Vm. ó la suspenderá segun mas convenga.

No dudo q^e^. tendra Vm. por maxima principal el dexar bien puesto el honor de nras. Armas teniendo presente q^e^. toda defensa que toca en temeraria dá mucho lustre, y honor á quien la sostiene.

Nueva Orleans 16 de Junio de 1785. Estevan Miró.

XIII. Opinion of Francisco Bouligny, June 16, 1785.[74]

Dictamen del Teniente Coronel graduado y Sargento Mayor del Regimiento de Ynfanteria de la Luisiana Don Francisco Bouligny,[75]

[74] Seville, Archivo General de Indias: Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba.

[75] An account of Bouligny, by Professor Alcée Fortier, is in the *Publications* of the Louisiana Historical Society, vol. II., pt. III. (1900), pp. 16–26. See also French, *Historical Memoirs of Louisiana* (1853), p. 182.

sobre los seis Articulos que en la Junta[76] de ayer noche manda el Señor Don Estevan Miró Coronel de este Regimiento y Gobernador de Provincia exponga cada uno su parecer.

1° No se deve dudar en vista de la reunion y concordancia de las noticias que el Señor Gobernador comunicó ayer noche verificadas ya en parte con la comicion que dicen trae Tomas Green; que los Americanos estan resueltos á pedir y exigir con mano armada, las posesciones sobre este Rio á ellos concedidas por los Yngleses en el ultimo tratado de Paz entre estas dos Naciones. Si no tuviesen intenciones de obrar hostilmente no se dirijirian aqui con semejante demanda pues no deven ignorar que un Gobernador particular no tiene facultades para concederla y que estas solo reciden en la superioridad, á quien era mas natural y devido dirijirse exponiendo las rasones en que se figuran fundar su derecho. Si la Comicion que Tomas Green trae de la Georgia de pedir el Fuerte de Natchez es cierta ya no se deve dudar un instante de sus disposiciones hostiles y que estan prontos é immediatos los dos mil y quinientos hombres que anuncian las noticias para apoyar una demanda irregular intampestiva insultante y que por si sola miro yo ya como hostil.

2° Aun quando no fueran ciertas ni tan vero similes como son las noticias que el Señor Gobernador comunicó á la Junta no se deve perder un minuto en poner en estado de servicio toda la Artilleria de la provincia pues en ella esta no solo nuestra principal defensa, sino tambien la unica arma que tenemos ofensiva y defensiva particularmente la gruesa pues que los Americanos no pueden bajar con Cañones que exedan el calibre de seis á ocho libras de bala, lo mas.

3° No solo no se puede ni se deve excusar el gasto de hacer subir de la Balisa[77] la Galera para ponerla en estado de obrar, sino que se deven tambien componer inmediatamente las dos Lanchas Cañoneras y construir otras con la mayor prontitud para montar todos los Cañones de grueso Calibre que hay en la Provincia pues en ellos solo veo por lo presente nuestro principal recurso siempre y quando se puedan colocar en la parte superior de Natchez siendo de la ultima importancia cubrir con la mayor prontitud un fuerte guarnecido de veinte Cañones, y entre ellos algunos de calibre grueso y que podrian sernos mui perjudiciales si llegasen á poderarse de ellos los enemigos cuyo objeto miro ser sobre todos de la mayor importancia.

4° De todas las poseciones que S.M. tiene en America esta es la sola que amenazan y pueden atacar los americanos por si sola merece esta Provincia la mayor atencion y mucho mas si se atiende que la naturaleza la ha constituido Barrera y ante moral de la Nueva España contra unos enemigos numerosos, inquietos, y turbulentos y que de la noche á la mañana puede caernos encima un numero muy crecido de ellos sin que tengamos aqui la menor noticia de su venida, ni preparativos y con la ventaja y prontitud que les da la corriente que tienen á su fabor por cuyas razones hallo muy util y preciso pedir auxilios y socorros á la Havana y á nuestro Capitan General haciendole presente que la poblacion de las orillas del Ohio exede ya en el dia el numero de veinte mil almas.

[76] See letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 20, *post*, p. 91.

[77] The Balize was near the South East Pass. See Hodder, *Pittman's Mississippi Settlements*, p. 38, and French, *Hist. Mem. of La.*, V. 29–30 (Memoirs of Dumont).

5° En las circunstancias actueles hallo muy preciso é indispensable que V. S. se coloque en el parage mas comodo para recibir con prontitud las noticias y poder dar sus ordenes a toda la Provincia con mas facilidad como tambien que todas las tropas y fuerzas de la Colonia se pongan en parage de recibir al enemigo dado caso que su designio seá de quererse internar en medio de nuestros Establecimientós con el pretexto de venir á colocarse en los 31 Grados de Latitud que caen mas abajo de la punta cortada.

6° Muy combeniente seria detener los cumplidos que estan proximos á marchar, y recojer los que andan esparcidos en el pais pues son hombres experimentados y la buena conducta honrradez y valor con que se han portado en las ultimas campañas los hace muy utiles en la presente situacion al servicio de S.M.

Esto es quanto alcanso relativamente á las seis questiones que se me manda contextar pareciendome combeniente añadir en consequencia del ultimo parrafo algunas reflexio[ne]s generales sobre este asunto.

Si los Americanos vienen de mano armada á tomar posecion de los territorios inclusos hasta el 31 grado devemos y estamos obligados á no permitirlo y á rechazarlos con la fuerza siendo solo de temer que no llegamos á tiempo de detenerlos mas arriba de Natchez por vivos y prontos que sean nuestros preparativos.

Si los Americanos se atreven á cometer este acto de hostilidad como todo lo indica aunque la razon lo repugna, devemos temer que no cometan otros mayores contra la misma provincia pues quien puede fiarse á la razon y prudencia de hombres que empienza á obrar con tanta sinrazon é irregularidad yo me inclino á creer ó que no haran ningun acto hostil ó que si hacen uno haran otros muchos.

Si los Americanos vienen y tenemos la fortuna de podernos colocar con la gruesa Artilleria en la parte superior de Natchez apoyada y sostenida por un par de Buques con 15 ó 20 Cañones podemos de tenerlos y por poco que la fortuna nos favorezca destruirlos y escarmentarlos y si par mas diligencias que se hagan no podemos llegar a tiempo para cubrir á Natchez podremos á lo menos cubrir la punta cortada, y presentarnos á las immediaciones de ellos con fuerzas que se veran precisados á respetar y con las que cubriremos los principales establecimientos de la Provincia.

Si los Americanos no tienen preparativos ni intencion ninguna de obrar hostilmente, que inconveniente puede haver en hacerles ver fuerzas y resolucion para contener sus deprabados designios ya sean presentes, ya venideros. Los gastos para un asunto de tanta entidad no se deven economisar mayormente quando la situacion de este pais en qualquier parage que los Americanos fijen sus limites exige por mas promesas y protestaciones que hagan que tengamos en su inmediaciones fuerzas poderosas para contenerlos desde ahora y para siempre.

Nueva Orleans 16 de Junio de 1785.

Francisco Bouligny.

XIV. Vicente Manuel de Zespedes to the Conde de Galvez, June 19, 1785.[78]

Exmo Sor.

Muy Sor mio:

La traduccion literal que acompaño á V.E. de un acto[79] de la Asamblea de Georgia, manifiesta en mi humilde concepto, con tanta claridad, las miras ambiciosas, y usurpadoras, bien que todavia impotentes, de aquella Colonia, en particular, y de las unidas en gral, que considero de mi indispensable obligacion exponerlo á la superior penetracion de V.E.; haciendole al mismo tpo prestemo[80] que el distrito de Nachez, está comprehendido en la Citada Descripcion, y que los mas de los sugetos nombrados por Jueces de Paz, viven actualmte. en el, baxo la proteccion de S.M.; pero debo en Justicia añadir, que se me há informado que algunos de estos, especialmte. los quatro, cuyos nombres ván rayados,[81] lexos de haver solicitado, ó admitido semejante nombramte. son opuestisimos á los Americanos, y siendo esto asi, el nombrarlos habrá sido un tiro machiabelico de los Georgianos, ó bien pa. atraerlos á su partido, ó de lo contrario hacerlos sospechosos á la superioridad de la Luisiana, y de ese modo desarraigarlos de aquella Prova.

Lo expuesto arriba, y lo que participo á V.E. con No. 84[82] de la confederacion Yndia, me hacen conceptuar que respecto á que S.M. tiene un embiado en la America Suptemtrional, conducirá tal vez, al Rl. Servicio, que Yo le comunicára en derechura qualquiera acaecimto. Extraordinario.

En esta intelliga. supco. á V.E. se sirva comunicarme sus orñs, sobre el particular; pues sin ellas no me puedo considerar autorizado, á dar semejante paso.

Participo á V.E. que con esta numo. y fha, hago todo lo expresado prestemo. al Exmo Sor. Miñtro de Yndias.

Dios gñe a V.E. muchos felices años como deseo, y necessito. Sn. Agn. de la Florida 19 de Junio de 1785

Exmo Sor. Conde de Galvez

XV. Miró to Thomas Green, June 19, 1785.[83]

La clase de V.m., la poca instruccion que se le conoce y el genio inquieto que ha manifestado son razones fuertes para que yo no deba creer la autoridad que V.m. supone le ha dado el Estado de la Georgia en las copias[84] que ha presentado al Teniente Coronel Don Felipe Treviño

[78] From a draft (marked "No. 85"), in the Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XL. In the marginal summary the date 19 is changed to 18. A draft of an identical letter to Josef de Galvez, minister of the Indies, dated June 19, is in *ibid.*, XLIII., D 1. The original is in the Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid.

[79] The Bourbon County Act.

[80] Tiempo presente.

[81] The names underscored in the copy of the act which accompanies the letter are Tacito Gaillard, Suton Bank, Guillermo MacIntosh, and Benjamin Farrar.

[82] A draft of Zespedes's letter no. 84 here mentioned is in the Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XL.

[83] Inclosed in letter (no. 199) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 20, 1785. The text here used is that of the copy in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. It is marked "No. 7°. Copia". See foot-note 90, *post*, p. 91.

[84] See *ante*, p. 76.

Comandante del Fuerte y Distrito de Natchez, y si difiero mandarle prender es por la concideracion que me merece solo el citado Estado con que V.m. se apoya tal vez falsamente aunque estoy auctorizado de cualquier manera por ser V.m. un vasallo de S.M. habiendose obligado y prometido al Comandante de este Fuerte Don Carlos de Grand Pré[85] vivir bajo nuestras sabias Leyes quando V.m. llegó á él en Mayo de mil setecientos ochenta y dos con toda su familia sin pasaporte y como huido de su Patria, pidiendo establecimiento el que le concedí:[86] por lo que mando á V.m. que inmediatamente que reciba esta baje á presentarse á esta Capital á fin de entregarme los documentos originales si los tiene, para que despues de examinados y cerciorado y ó que son efectivamente sus firmas las de los representantes de dicho Estado les satisfaga con mi respuesta siendo ya sospechoso en V.m. el mero hecho de no venir á mi directamente y el haber eludido el hacerlo no obstante que se lo propuso el Comandante de este Fuerte pues en un asunto de tanta importancia es patente y claro á la mayor ignorancia que solo el Gobernador de la Provincia es á quien debió V.m. haber presentado los Documentos con que se cree auctorizado respecto á que el es quien unicamente puede admitirlos y contestarlos.

Con esta fecha doy orden[87] al Comandante de este Fuerte para que facilite á V.m. cuantos auxilios pueda necesitar para que baje á esta Ciudad á tratar conmigo directamente estos asuntos.[88]

Dios Guarde á V.m. muchos años. Nueva Orleans diez y nueve[89] de Junio de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco. ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

Dn. Thomás Green.

XVI. MIRÓ TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ, JUNE 20, 1785.[90]

Exmo. Señor.

Muy Sor. mio:

Despues de escrito á V.E. mi oficio No. 198,[91] he recibido carta del Comandante de Natchéz con fecha de 10 del presente,[92] en que me

[85] Don Carlos de Grand Pré was commandant of Natchez from July, 1781, to September, 1782, and again from 1786 to 1792.

[86] See Miró's statement in his letter to the Conde de Galvez, June 20, below.

[87] This document is missing.

[88] Davenport says (letter to Governor Elbert, July 17, *post*, p. 105) that on receipt of this letter Green left Natchez and set out for the Indian Nations. For particulars of his conduct, see Treviño's letter to Miró, July 11, *post*, p. 101, from which it appears that he probably left on July 10. Some time afterward he wrote from the Chickasaw country to Governor Elbert, giving an account of his mission to Natchez, but only the wrapper of that letter can now be found in the archives of Georgia. See Elbert's reply, November 9, to be printed hereafter.

[89] The copy of this letter in Mexico (Arch. Gen. y Púb.: Sección de Hist., tomo 162) appears to be dated June 13, which cannot be correct.

[90] The original of this letter (no. 199), accompanied by all the inclosures, is in Mexico, Arch. Gen. y Púb.: Sección de Hist., tomo 162 ("Carp^{a}. No. 3, Div^{n}. 4^{a}. del L^{o}. No. 5.—No. 1"). Copies of the letter and inclosures are in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba, and a copy of the letter is in the same archives, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Luisiana y Florida, estante 86, cajón 6, legajo 14. The texts in Mexico have been used for the letter and all inclosures except the letter of Miró to Thomas Green, June 19, 1785 (*ante*, p. 90).

[91] June 14, *ante*, p. 78.

[92] See foot-note 42, *ante*, p. 76.

participa haber llegado el dia antes Thomas Green y que se habia esparcido en el distrito venia con poderes del Estado de Georgia, para intimar se le entregase el Fuerte, y su Distrito, anunciando ya alguna cosa de consequencia la carta[93] que le escribio á su arribo, cuya Traduccion acompaña baxo el No. 1º.

Efectivamente con fha. del quinze me ha despachado el expresado Comandte un Correo, para participarme se habia verificado dha. intimacion en los terminos que expresa en su carta[94] No. 2. y la respuesta que le dio apuntada solamente en ella, es que siendo un mero Subalterno, y Substituto mio, no se hallaba con facultad para determinar, y responder, para lo que podria pasar á verse conmigo que le daria positivamente una respuesta cathegorica.

Hallará V.E. inclusas las copias que cita Dn. Phelipe Treviño en su ultimo mencionado Oficio baxo sus respectivos numeros. El tercero[95] compreende la Deliberacion del Estado de Georgia, en que establece todos sus limites.

El quarto[96] es la Traduccion de otra deliberacion del mismo Estádo, para formar en un distrito de tierra situado en el Misisipi un Condado que debe llamarse de Borbon, señalando sus limites desde la desembocadura del Yasou hasta encontrar baxando por el primer Rio los 31 grados latitud Norte, y demarcando toda su extension.

El quinto[97] es parte de la Ynstruccion dada al referido Thomás Green, para pedir á los Comandantes Españoles los Fuertes, lugares, y Plazas, que puedan caer dentro de los limites del enunciado Condado.

Y el sexto[98] es la carta del expresado Comisionado al Comandte. de Natchéz, para que evague el Fuerte, ó haga sus objecciones.

Antes de pasar adelante describire á V.E. las circunstancias de Thomás Green: es un hombre de más de sesenta años, que en Mayo de 1782, procedente de los Estados unidos, baxó por el Rio Cumberland en Barcos Chatos, y se presentó en Natchéz con doce familias casi todas sus cabezas hijos, hiernos y parientes inmediatos suyos, con cerca de docientos esclavos, solicitando establecerse baxo la dominacion Española, cuya emigracion de su patria executó furtivamente huyendo de las calamidades de la guerra; por lo que les condedí tierras, y quedaron establecidos como Vasallos de S.M. lo que aprobó V.E. en contestacion á mi oficio de 5 de Junio 1782. En el año de 1783 fue el referido Thomás Green procesado por Dn. Phelipe Treviño por haber sido acusado de que suministrava Medallas á los Yndios, y tenia correspondencia con algun fugitivo de Natchéz refugiado en la Nacion Chicachás; pero examinado aquí su proceso, con parecer de mi asesor, le absolví, sirviendole de correccion la prision qe. padecio merecida con respecto á los indicios de su delito: poco depues, y antes que recibiese yo ninguna orden, para cortar toda comunicacion con los Estados unidos, le permití pasar á arreglar asuntos de familia á Georgia, de donde regresa ahora con la comision arriba referida; siendo de notar que tanto como él es caviloso, pleitista, y alocado, parece el resto de su familia, hijos y Yernos rasonables, y utiles por aplicados al cultivo del Tabaco.

[93] Green to Treviño, June 12, *ante*, p. 76.

[94] Treviño to Miró, June 15, *ante*, p. 82.

[95] Part of the act of February 17, 1783. See *ante*, p. 68.

[96] Part of the act of February 7, 1785. See foot-note 22, *ante*, p. 70.

[97] Green's selections from the instructions to the justices of Bourbon County, *ante*, p. 71, and see foot-note 45, *ante*, p. 76.

[98] See *ante*, p. 76.

Esta descripcion ha sido necesaria, para q^e^. halle V.E. fundada la carta No. 7°. que le escribo con motivo de su arribo y demandas, siendo mi principal intencion en evitar darle respuesta alguna, el embarazarlo sobre el partido que ha de tomar y si se conforma en vaxar, antes de enviar correo alguno al expresado Estado de Georgia, tendré tiempo de poner en practica mis operaciones, y tal vez recibir el socorro que V.E. me envie.

Suplico á V.E. tenga aqui presentes todas las noticias que refiero en mi oficio No. 198, y sus documentos, para que dé el peso que merece á la de haberse esparcido en Natchéz desde el arribo de Green que deben venir por tierra mil quinientos hombres de la Provincia de Georgia, y baxar por el Rio otro numero considerable, la q^e^. coincide con la de McGillibrey, y el nombrado Mauvez, pudiendo ser hija de la confianza q^e^. Green, que no puede ignorar la verdad de ella, puede haber hecho á alguno.

En vista de todo, hallandome determinado á ponerme en marcha con la Tropa veterana y la Artilleria competente, no queriendo sin embargo obrar por mi solo dictamen, formé el quinze dell corriente una junta de guerra[99] con ocho Vocales, cuyos pareceres que conservo, unánimes fueron debia empezar á hacer los gastos necesarios, para emprender mi viage, luego que se verificase la demanda de Green.

Baxo este supuesto se está trabajando con el mayor vigor para poner en estado las dos Lanchas cañoneras de la invencion de V.E. y dos Lanchones, que montaran unos y otros un cañon de á 18: asi mismo he dado providencia suba la Galera que se halla en la Valiza[100] y monta otro de 24, la que saldrá despues, si por su deterioro no puede hacerlo conmigo.

Aunque en mi oficio No. 198, digo que solo puedo habilitar dos cañones de á cuatro por haber hallado despues en el Bergantin Galveztown ochocientas valas de este calibre y otra porcion que hoy se van á comprar del de á 18, Seis y 4 en casa de un Negociante podré llevar tres cañones de á 6, y 4 de á 4, con lo que no subire mas Artilleria gruesa que la de los Barcos.

Así mismo juntaré quatro cientos hombres del Regimiento de mi cargo, con motivo de haber detenido las licencias á los cumplidos que me han venido del segundo Batallon.

Por ahora no empleare las Milicias, atento á la pérdida que ocacionaria en sus cosechas, y hasta cersiorarme si son efectivos los dos mil quinientos Americanos que por el Rio, y por tierra anuncian las noticias, á cuyo fin pediré á los Capitanes de cada compañía la Relacion de aquellos, que quedando sus familias con apoyo y no expuestos á una evidente miseria, puedan subir.

Tambien voy á mandar vengan de Panzacola dos Piquetes con cinqüenta hombres cada uno y dos oficiales; pues, no estando aquella Plaza amenazada por ningun lado, me persuado es debido acuda á la mayor urgencia y si ha llegado su Comandante Dn. Arturo O. Neilly,[101] dispondré venga el Ten^te^. Coronel Dn Pedro Piernas,[102] por q^e^. podrá

[99] See "Dictamen" of Bouligny, June 16, *ante*, p. 87.

[100] The Balize. See foot-note 77, *ante*, p. 88.

[101] Arturo O'Neill, commandant of Pensacola, 1784 to 1792.

[102] On Piernas consult Gayarré, *History of Louisiana, passim*. From May, 1770, to May, 1775, he was commandant of Upper Louisiana. From November, 1782, to June, 1783, he was in command at Natchez.

sérme muy util, y á fin de que en todo evento haya oficial de alguna graduacion y experiencia, que pueda ponerse á la Cabeza de la Provincia.

Tengo en mi idea dos parages que se hallan en el mismo distrito de Natchéz, en los quales puedo fortificarme, sin perder la protecion del Rio, con facil retirada por él, el uno á media legua del Fuerte, y el otro á cuatro, ambos antes de llegar.[103] Es mi proyecto, si nuebas ocurrencias no lo inpiden, apostarme en uno de ellos con los citados quinientos hombres, inclusos los dos Piquetes de Panzacola para obrar en favor del Fuerte, segun las circunstancias, y llamar, á medida q^e^. las noticias vayan aclarandose, á las Milicias resuelto á batirme, aunque se verifique la llegada de los 2500 hombres, persuadido á que mi posicion les causará respeto, y á que los rechasare, si me atacan.

Considéreme pues V.E. al recibo de esta en dha. posicion, esperanzado en que me socorrerá V.E. lo mas pronto posible con mil hombres á lo menos, de tropa, la Artilleria Municiones, y Pertrechos correspondientes; debiendo rogarle encarecidamente que pues tengo el honor de mandar esta Provincia tres años y medio hace, á satisfaccion de V.E, disponga el envio de tropas de modo que el que venga mandándolas no tenga mas graduacion ni sea mas antiguo Coronel que yo, que lo soy desde 8 de Febrero de 1781.

Por haberme expuesto Dn. Phelipe Treviño, que sus males le obligan á suplicarme substituya otro en aquel mando, pidiendo continuar á sus ordenes, hasta q^e^. se tranquilisen estos disturbios hé nombrado al Sargento Mayor Dn. Franco. Bouligny, que saldrá despues de mañana, ó al otro dia[104] con la segunda compañia de Granaderos detenida por cinco dias consecutivos de lluvia.

Notará, puede ser, V.E. que no haya hablado de Yndios: la experiencia que su continuo trato me ha dado de la ninguna utilidad que puede esperarse de ellos, y lo costosisimo que es su mas pequeño servicio, me determina á no emplearlos, contentandome solo con que no sean mis enemigos, lo que creo conseguiré, haciendoles valer mucho, aunq^e^. se me ofrezcan, mis deseos de conservar su sangre á fin de q^e^. cotejen y estimen la diferencia entre otra Dominacion y la nuestra: sin embargo la Nacion Cadós[105] es la única, de quien tal vez me fiaré, admitiendo un corto numero de cinquenta á cien hombres que pueden ser de alguna utilidad, por no haber jamas conocido Yngleses ni Americanos, habiendoseme ofrecido su Gefe, q. acaba de salir de esta con un entusiasmo inexplicable.

Po[r] lo q^e^. toca á los ultimos capitulos de la Carta[106] de Treviño No. 2, sobre los siniestros pasos del Ten^te^. Coronel Gaillard, y los nombrados Ellis, y Sutton Banke manifiesto en los números ocho[107] y nueve,[108] mandaré á Dn. Franco. Bouligny, les aprehenda y forme su proceso, pub-

[103] In his letter of June 14 Miró says that he intends to take up his position at Pointe Coupée or in the vicinity of Red River (*ante*, p. 81).

[104] Bouligny did not arrive in Natchez until July 23. See his letter to Miró, July 24 (second installment).

[105] The Caddo tribes of Indians occupied the region on Red River, northwest of Natchez. Consult Gatschet, *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*.

[106] Letter of June 15, *ante*, p. 82.

[107] The manifesto of Ellis, Gaillard, and Banks, *ante*, p. 77.

[108] Statement of Rodriguez, *ante*, p. 85.

licando un Bando[109] en mi nombre, para tranquilizar el resto de aquel distrito.

Dios nuestro Señor guarde á V.E. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 20, de Junio de 1785.

Ex^mo^. Sor.

B. L. M. de V.E. su mas at^o^. Serv^r^.

Estevan Miró.

Exmo. Sor. Conde de Galvez.

México 17 de Julio de 1785.

Vease en Junta extraordin^a^. de Guerra y Rl. Hacienda.[110]

Galvez.

XVII. Miró to Josef de Galvez, June 25, 1785.[111]

Excmo. Señor.

Muy Señor mio:

Despues de escrito el anterior oficio Número 82[112] he recibido carta del Comandante de Natchéz con fecha de 15 del presente, que me ha obligado á despachar el Bergantin el Galveztown, que salió el 21 para Veracruz con Don Vicente Folch[113] Teniente del Regimiento de Infanteria de la Luisiana de mi cargo, para llevar el oficio, y documentos cuyas copias incluyo á V. E., en las que verá las nuevas ocurrencias, y mi resolucion de subir á apostarme á las inmediaciones del Fuerte de Natchéz, cuyo viage no podré emprender hasta mediados de Julio proximo, por los pocos obreros de que se puede echar mano para habilitar las Lanchas cañoneras, y haber emperado las aguas que atrasan el trabajo.

Confio será de la aprobacion de S. M. mi ausencia[114] de esta capital, y el proyecto meditado que refiero en mi oficio al Capitan General, para conservar estos Dominios, persuadido á que seria culpable la menor negligencia de mi parte, despues de un Fuerte pedido por un Estado vecino, y de las noticias esparcidas de hallarse en marcha tropas para sostener su demanda, siendo tanto mas necesario en mi no perder tiempo, quanto hasta mediado de Agosto no podré llegar á mi proyectada posicion, por razon de la distancia al parage amenazado, y al rigor de la estacion que me obligará á hacer pequeñas jornadas al remo, y contra corriente, y aun asi el mayor enemigo que mi imaginacion me presenta

[109] In the article, "Bourbon County", in Rowland, *Mississippi*, I., are printed extracts from a proclamation of Miró, to which is assigned the date June 23, ordering the arrest of Gaillard, Ellis, and Banks. If the date is properly June 23, and not July 23 (the date of Bouligny's arrival in Natchez), the proclamation was not published and enforced until a month later. The arrest did not take place until after Bouligny's arrival, probably on July 26. See Bouligny to Miró, July 30 (second installment).

[110] Miró's despatches reached Mexico, July 16, and the junta was held on July 18. See letters of the Conde de Galvez to Miró and to Josef de Galvez, August 2, to be printed hereafter.

[111] It is no. 83 and is marked "Reservada de Preferencia". The original of this letter is in Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional. A copy is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Audiencia de Santo Domingo, Luisiana y Florida, est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14.

[112] In the archives at Seville, *ibid.* It merely transmits to this minister the letter of the same date, with its inclosures, to the Conde de Galvez.

[113] Afterward commandant of Pensacola.

[114] As will appear later, Miró did not leave New Orleans. See his letter of August 14, to be printed hereafter.

son las enfermedades que en este tiempo sin fatiga extraordinaria se padecen generalmente en este pais.

La irregularidad que experimento en el proceder del referido Estado de Georgia es digna de notar, y puede inferirse que no será extraño obren precipitadamente y contra toda razon; pues en primer lugar parece estan destituidos de ella unos representantes que envian á intimar á un Commandante particular entregue un Fuerte, no ignorando que se halla sin ordenes de su Soberano para ello, quando sin esta circunstancia en ningun Capitan general existe la facultad de hacerlo.

En segundo lugar fingen en la Ynstruccion que dan á Thomas Green que ignoran haya en su pretendido Condado de Borbon Fuerte, y Tropa Española,[115] quando les es notorio que el de Natchéz y su distrito están dentro de los limites que le establecen, y en esta inteligencia, con designio premeditado, han comisionado á Tomas Green cuya aparente ignorancia supone malicia y deseo de encontrar pretexto para un rompimiento. Aun quando despues de todo no se presenten las tropas que refieren las noticias, el solo motivo de la fermentacion que fomentavan Tacito Gaillard, Ricardo Ellis, y Suton Bankes, merece la mayor atencion para evitar la perdida de los habitantes en general del mencionado distrito, que seria muy dificil despues de volver al estado floreciente en que oy se halla por el cultivo del Tabaco.

Dios guarde á V. E. muchos años. Nueva Orlean 25 de Junio de 1785.

Excmo. Señor, B. L. M. de V. E. su mas atento servidor,

Estevan Miró.

Excmo. Señor Don Joseph de Galvez.[116]

XVIII. John Gordon to George Profit.[117]

Natchez, June 25, 1785.

Esteemed Friend:

I have purposely omitted some opportunities to write you of late certain news of the above place which were then being spoken of softly, but which are to-day matters of open conversation. Thomas Green, went hence to Georgia, more than a twelvemonth ago, took, as is said, the liberty of presenting a memorial containing the names of various inhabitants of Natchez, petitioning the governor and state council of Georgia to take us of Natchez under their protection, which they graciously conceded to him, and have sent him with the title of lieutenant-colonel to establish a new county beginning at the Yasú River. and thence running down to the Mississippi, as far as the latitude of thirty-one degrees, and thence, east, etc. One Captain Davenport has arrived here. He is one of the four commissioners (Green is one). The other two are coming by way of the [Indian] nations, and are expected any day. At this point, the above-mentioned Captain Davenport has come to get me, and since for lack of a better, I am acting as interpreter of this post, I find myself under the necessity of accompanying them to see the commandant, to whom he must present his

[115] Miró probably has in mind the parenthetical phrase occurring twice in the instructions to the commissioners, "if any such there be".

[116] Joseph (also written Josef, sometimes José) de Galvez, Marqués de Sonora, the minister of the Indies.

[117] Translated from a Spanish copy in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

credentials to-morrow. A few people have come down with this captain, among them a doctor[118] (a surgeon) and his family. The inhabitants here are more quiet than could be expected. They talk much of erecting a free, sovereign and independent state (if the Spaniards will cede it to them), and are determined under no consideration to become a county of the state of Georgia. It is reported that a thousand families are ready to come down as soon as the boundaries are known. The name of the new county is to be Bourbon. The name of the Congress has not been mentioned as yet, and it is only the state of Georgia which is making the demand. It is not believed among us that anything will be done or can be done for some time. At least you may take for granted that the inhabitants of Natchez will make no movement, since a number of them now talk of moving lower down if they are granted permission. The Georgians have made a code of laws[119] for this recently formed county, one of the provisions of which is that no one may possess more than a thousand acres of land, and that all the Spanish decrees and concessions of land be annulled and [the lands] sold for the benefit of the state. He who has lived in possession of land for some time is given the preference of purchase at the rate of a half *peso fuerte* (half a dollar) per acre.[120] There are still others which it makes me angry to mention. | So far as I am concerned, I form no special opinion, but I must say that I shall prefer the Spanish government to the American, for the taxes give me the headache[121] whenever I think of them.

I have been confined lately for seventeen days by the most severe attack of gout. The water has driven me from my first house with part of my effects, which, together with other losses, has been a great detriment to my sales. Captain Davenport, who is now with me, says that this place must of necessity belong to Georgia, and then afterward petition the government to become a free state. I hope that the two commissioners who are coming will bring something more solid after all that we have seen. While writing the above I have been interrupted twenty times. Davenport says that I have made a mistake in some of the laws above mentioned. May God keep us Spanish, with which supplication, I remain, although in great haste, yours,

JOHN GORDON.[122]

Remember me to all the friends who inquire after me.
George Profit.

[118] It has not been discovered who this surgeon was.

[119] On February 3, 1785, immediately after passing the Bourbon County Act, the assembly of Georgia passed the following resolution: "Resolved that a Committee be appointed to procure for Mr. Thomas Green such of the laws of the State as are in force and can be had together with the constitution of the same and for the cost of which a draft on the Treasury shall be given by his Honor the Governor in Council." Doubtless the exhibition of these laws by Green gave rise to the idea that a code of laws had been enacted expressly for the government of Bourbon County.

[120] Compare the Bourbon County Act, *ante*, p. 70.

[121] In the Spanish text the word is "jaquecas".

[122] The names John Gordon and George Profit appear among the signers to a memorial from the inhabitants of Louisiana inclosed in a letter from Miró to the Conde de Galvez, March 1, 1785. Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

XIX. Treviño to Miró, July 4, 1785.[123]

Muy Sr. mio y mi venerado Gobernador:

En consecuencia del aviso que tengo dado á V.S. de la llegada a este Puerto de Dⁿ. Guillermo Davemport con su familia y demás personas que conduce su chalan con fecha de 23[124] del pasado en mi oficio nº. 193[125] pasados algunos dias que he considerado tiempo suficiente para reconocer la sanidad del referido Davemport y la de dicha su familia procedido del correspondiente examen le he permitido que con ella saliese a tierra en consideracion a la comision y caracter con que se dice venir, como tengo á V.S. noticiado en mi citado oficio; pero no contento con la gracia que le he acordado me ha pedido la misma para tres de los sugetos que vienen con él y que dice acompañarle en su comision, lo que en el modo mas político le he denegado por tres veces distintas que se me ha presentado con la misma súplica diciendome que en la última que siendo los tres sugetos por quien se interesaba personas de la mayor distincion y que autorizaban su comitiva, estrañava no les hiciese el mismo acojimiento que a su persona, pues estava cerciorado que á los sugetos que componian la comitiva de nuestro Embaxador llegado ultimamente á Philadelphia habian sido tratados con la mayor generosidad y urbanidad como era debido,[126] pero que si las noticias del modo con que se les habia recibido aqui llegaban á saberse (como era natural por una o otra via) por los suyos no dudava que el Gran Congreso se sirviese á la recíproca para con nosotro á lo que le contexté que no mezclandome en asuntos politicos que no me tocava decidir me figuraba no podia tener el menor motivo fundado de quexa por el modo con que lo trataba pues lo distinguia no obstante que aun no me habia hecho ver papel alguno por donde me hiciese constar su caracter y comision sin embargo de habermelo prometido á su llegada lo que era esencialisimo, sin poderle permitir lo dilatase por ser preciso y de mi obligacion instruir á V.S. de todo verdadero y solo modo que no sufriese retardo el asunto de su Comision y que no teniendo V.S. la menor idea de su venida por no haber sido anunciado á tiempo por persona que le precediese o bien con avisos dados en cartas como es costumbre entre todas las Potencias; por esta razon no podia tener sentimiento de V.S. que ignorava aun su llegada y comision no dudando merecerle me disculpase por mi parte pues como súbdito de V.S. y con muy pocas facultades no podia escederme de las que V.S. (sin preveer este caso) me tenia concedidas sobre el particular comprometiendome lo bastante en tomar sobre mi la libertad que a el y á su familia concedia con lo que pareció quedar satisfecho prometiendome volver al dia siguiente á presentarme todos sus papeles lo que no cumplió (no sé por qué razon) y dudo lo hubiera ejecutado en el dia de hoy a no ser por lo ocurrido de haberme dado aviso una de las espias secretas que tengo de que el referido Davemport de acuerdo con Thomas Green habian resuelto en una conferencia[127] que tuvieron en el dia de antes de ayer

[123] This is no. 197 and is inclosed in letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, no. 210, July 22, 1785 (*post*, p. 107), marked "No. 1. Copia".

[124] Davenport says (letter to Governor Elbert, July 17, *post.*) that he arrived on the 24th.

[125] Treviño's letter no. 193 is missing.

[126] It is altogether improbable that Davenport had learned of Gardoqui's arrival in Philadelphia (May 20), and he could certainly know nothing of his reception in New York (July 2).

[127] Compare Treviño's conjecture (letter of July 11), *post*, p. 101.

en presencia de varias personas volver en este mismo dia el dicho Davemport á reiterar su demanda por las gentes que tienen intereses para que les permitiese salir a tierra y que de no concederselo habian determinado tomar el partido de mandarlos salir el mismo, haciendo fuego sobre la Guardia si se les oponia y aunque no he dado entero crédito á esta noticia que me ha sido sin embargo dada por un hombre de toda mi confianza no obstante me ha parecido prudente tomar el partido de hacer conducir á este Fuerte todas las gentes que se hallaban en el referido chalan recojiendoles siete carabinas dos fusiles, y dos pistolas que tenian y se han encontrado cargadas en cuya disposicion los mantendré hasta que V.S. me avise su determinacion.[128]

Con motivo de mi providencia se me ha presentado el dicho Dⁿ Guillermo Davemport entregandome copia de sus instrucciones que son en todo iguales á las de Tomas Green con sola la diferencia de que en ellas se habla con su persona la de Tomas Green, Nicolas Long y Nathaniel Crismas y no con solo la del dicho Green como ha supuesto en las suyas este sugeto por lo que omito dirigirlas a V.S.[129] Tambien me ha presentado su comision y otros papeles de que incluyo copia para que se imponga V.S. de todo.

Succesivamente me insinuó el referido Davemport serle sensible la determinacion que habia tomado con las gentes de su chalan á lo que le respondí se tranquilizase pues de ningun modo era por desconfianza que tubiese y si solo por dar cumplimiento á las ordenes que habia recibido de V.S. por la ocasion de Dⁿ. George Fitz Gerard[130] que acaba de llegar en este dia y a tiempo para encumbrirles mi razon diciendole que las órdenes no eran directas por él pues aun no habia tiempo (como lo podia conocer) para la contextacion de V.S. lo que me parece haberle satisfecho.

Este paso me ha parecido tanta mas necesario quanto las gentes que han venido con Tomás Green a quien previne me los presentase inmediatamente para determinar lo que fuese mas conveniente y no habiendo dado cumplimiente á mis ordenes naturalmente por sus consejos cuatro de los sugetos que vinieron con el referido Green y algunos otros que les acompañan cuyo número ignoro han robado en dos dias un negro y dos caballos del ayudante de este fuerte Dⁿ. Esteban Minor otro negro del habitante Juan Ran[131] y una negra de ricardo Luiray[131] con varios otros caballos de otros habitantes que todos se quexan amargamente sin que me sea posible poner un remedio eficaz á estos males por la situacion del Pais pues aunque he hecho salir en la primera noche al subteniente Dⁿ. Antonio Soler con un cabo y cuatro soldados, con ocho habitantes de confianza indicandole el parage donde me habian informado se recojian de dia distante a cuatro leguas de este fuerte, para que los sorprendiese al amanecer he tenido el desconsuelo que mis medidas no hayan tenido efecto pues no pudieron dar con ellos por mas diligencias que hicieron quedando sin fruto este paso que los

[128] See Miró's criticism of Treviño's course in this matter (letter to Bouligny, July 16, *post*, p. 104).

[129] Compare *ibid.*

[130] George Fitzgerald. See *Mississippi Territorial Archives*, I. 393, 450, and *Amer. State Papers, Public Lands*, I.

[131] The reading of these names is evidently uncertain, since the transcripts vary. Possibly they should be John Row and Richard Swayze, both residents in the Natchez district at this time.

habitantes han mirado y conocido ser una prueva del paternal amor con que son protexidos en nuestro gobierno, permitiendome V.S. le observe que el solo modo de precaver en parte estos robos y piraterias es de castigar con el mayor rigor los sugetos que se descubran haberlos protexido, y facilitado lo que no puede dexar de ser y que haré cuanto esté de mi parte para averiguar.

Por lo demás solo puedo informar a V.S. que los habitantes permanecen bastante quietos sin tomar a lo que parece interés por ningun partido prefiriendo (a lo que dan á entender) nuestro dulce gobierno a todo otro ansiosos de que su suerte sea decidida, que es cuanto puedo noticiar á V.S. en esta ocasion.

Celebraré merezca la aprobacion de V.S. el modo con que me he manejado hasta ahora en los presentes asuntos del distrito contemplandome feliz y satisfecho si he podido conseguir el complacer a V.S. sola cosa que anhelo, y que me sacrificaré por obtener.

Deseo á V.S. la mas perfecta salud y pido á Dios guarde la importante vida de V.S. m^{s}. a^{s}.

Natchez 4 de Julio de 1785. B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y súbdito,

PHELIPE TREVIÑO.

Sr D^{n}. Esteban Miró.

XX. STATEMENT OF STEPHEN MINOR, JULY 10 [?], 1785.[132]

I, the undersigned, declare that on Saturday last, in the visit which Captain Davenport made me, he told me that on the preceding day he had been at a dance which was given at the house of Job Corry,[133] a resident of the district, and that the guests had asked him the following questions:

First, some of them asked him with what intentions he came to the district and what were his purposes. To which he replied that he had come to demand the fort. In the second place, being asked by others with regard to his idea relative to the forces of the place, whether he believed it impossible to take it and whether he did not believe it could be taken by force of arms, he replied that on the contrary he judged it quite possible, as he presumed there was no place that could not be taken. Upon this reply the majority assured him unanimously that if he should command them they were ready to attack it with all their might. To these he replied that he had no idea of committing any act of hostility.

I declare also that the said Captain Davenport told me that since his arrival in this district all the inhabitants who have visited him have questioned him upon the same subject, but that his replies have given them very little satisfaction, as he said to some that the fort could be taken by strategem, to others that he actually had forces on the way, and to others that they need have no fear but might continue to cultivate their lands as heretofore; in other words, that he had given them as a reply the first idea that occurred to him. At the same time he

[132] Translated from a copy (marked "Traduccion número 2.°") inclosed in letter (no. 211) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, *post*, p. 108. The original was inclosed in letter of Treviño to Miró, July 11, *post*, p. 101.

[133] The name appears usually as Corey. See *Amer. State Papers, Public Lands*, I.

begged me to inform Señor Treviño of this so that he would not take seriously or become alarmed at his replies, and to assure him that he used this means only the better to conceal from the inhabitants themselves his real purposes.[134]

That on the Sunday following, when he was again in company with Captain Davenport, the conversation fell not only upon the demand which the state of Georgia had made of this district but also upon the proceeding of Mr. Green relative to it. With regard to this matter he told me that when the governor of Georgia and the assembly of representatives decided to send the four commissioners to solicit and fix the boundaries between the province of Georgia and the Spanish possessions, they had entrusted to these envoys a certain number of blank commissions[135] which they were to fill in with the names of officials agreeable to the inhabitants, in order to form a battalion for the defense of the country; and as these commissions were deposited in the hands of Mr. Green he had filled one in with his own name as colonel, without the knowledge or participation of Captain Davenport or any one else.

The aforesaid Captain Davenport also said to me that if the governor agreed to treat with him upon the subjects which had been confided to him and upon which he had authority, he would have the honor to visit him and communicate to him all his papers.

And finally that after he had discoursed a long time upon the matter, the aforesaid captain said to him that the Americans looked upon this country as their own, as it had been granted to them by England, and consequently they were determined to take it sooner or later.

STEPHEN MINOR.

XXI. TREVIÑO TO MIRÓ, JULY 11, 1785.[136]

Muy Señor mio y mi venerado Gobernador:

Conseqüente á lo que V.S. me tiene prevenido en su oficio[137] de 21 del Pasado mandandome observar el modo de proceder de Tomás Green luego que recibiese la carta de V.S. que apertoria me incluyo V.S. para que se la entregase, previniendome V.S. le diese aviso sin perdida de tiempo del partido que tomase el referido Tomás Green: devo decir á V.S. que conociendo á fondo el caracter orgulloso del dicho Green, previne á la persona conductora de la carta observase el pormenor de acciones y palabras que el citado Gren produjese conc[l]uida la lectura de su carta, para referirmelas sin quitar ni poner advirtiendole que aparentando no hacer alto en cuanto dixese y sin entrar en contextacion alguna con él le pidiese una respuesta para comprobar con ella haber dado cumplimiento á mi encargo. El que ha desempeñado la mencionada persona á mi satisfaccion, refiriendome que luego que entregó la carta al dicho Green, le preguntó este quien se la habia dado y respondiendole que yo dixo estrañava que el sobrescrito solo decia á Tomás Green habitante de Natchez y concluyendo de leerla dice que el color inmutado y colérico prorrumpió en ex-

[134] Compare letter of Davenport to Bouligny, July 30, to be printed hereafter.

[135] See Treviño to Miró, July 11, *post*, p. 103, foot-note 141.

[136] Inclosed in letter (no. 211) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, 1785, *post*, p. 108. It is no. 202 and is marked "Número 1. Copia". There is another copy among the Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba in the same archives.

[137] The letter of June 21 from Miró to Treviño is missing.

presiones las mas fuertes sin objeto determinado concluyendo con decir le parecia haberme hablado con bastante claridad y hecho constar suficientemente por los papeles que me habia presentado, su comision y el caracter con que se hallaba, pero que pues se dudaba de ello él lo haria conocer de otro modo[138] finalizando con esto su discurso á lo que la persona le dixo le diese una respuesta que debia volverme, y le respondió me advirtiese que se prepararia para baxar á esa capital, y que el dia siguiente pasaria á verme lo que no habiendose verificado en el término de tres dias, ni podido saber en este tiempo la ocupacion del mencionado Tomás Green hasta el dia de ayer que se divulgó la especie de que habia marchado del distrito, y preparandome para hacer la averiguacion mas exacta a fin de avisarlo á V.S. con seguridad, ha venido el dia de hoy el que se dice su compañero en el encargo y comision Dⁿ. Guillermo Davemport de quien tengo á V.S. hablado en mis anteriores oficios y me ha dicho venir á noticiarme la partida del Coronel Tomas Green (asi lo nombran) creyendo ser su deber darme este aviso, lo que habia sabido el dia antes que el referido Green en el momento de su partida, paso á verlo para arreglar con él cuentas particulares y haciendo estudio de no parar la consideracion le contexté que sin el nos pasariamos[139] . . . y que si sabia la razón que habia obligado al referido Thomás Green á emprender un viaje tan precipitado retirandose sin pasaporte mio, a lo que me satisfizo se persuadia era en consecuencia de las ordenes que tenia para ello de sus Jefes, le reitiré si le habia confiado su destino y las personas que le acompañaban en su viaje, y me respondió que segun le habia dicho se dirigia á la Capital de Georgia y sin otra compañia que su negro de confianza con lo que mudé de conversacion porque no se presumiese me inquietava de ello, no quedandome género de duda en que este paso del referido Green ha sido por consejo[140] del dicho Davemport; este es el partido tomado por Thomás Green, de resultas de haber recibido la carta de V.S. y cuantas noticias puedo dar a V.S. por la presente en este asunto, de lo que podrá V.S. tirar las consecuencias que su prudencia le dicte.

Con este motivo debo avisar á V.S. he sabido por una de mis espias de confianza que hace tres dias hubo una gran fiesta (no sé si dada al propósito) en casa del habitante nombrado Job Corry en la que se halló Dⁿ. Guillermo Davemport, que aprovechando el momento en que conoció hallarse ebrio[s] cuasi todos los presentes, llamandose la atencion prorrumpió diciendoles que no habiendo tenido su comision el debido efecto y la satisfaccion que se prometia se veia precisado á tomarsela por si mismo, obrando en otros términos que los que se habia propuesto seguir y que en consecuencia tenia pensado tomar este fuerte por sorpresa ó estratagema por lo que contava con ellos persuadido no habrian olvidado lo que debian á su amada patria y compatriotas, no dudando un momento se les uniesen y decidiesen á una empresa que tanto les interesaba y conviniendo con sus ideas la mayor parte de los concurrentes, les dió las gracias por su buena disposicion y se retiró asegurandoles les haria saber sus disposiciones lo que hasta ahora no ha tenido otras resultas que el haberse dirigido el referido Dⁿ. Guillermo

[138] Compare Miró to Bouligny, July 19 (first letter), *post*, p. 106.

[139] Both copies indicate here an apparent lacuna.

[140] Compare Treviño to Miró, July 4, *ante*, p. 98.

Davemport al Ayudante de este Fuerte Dⁿ. Esteban Minor explicandose con él en los términos que hará ver á V.S. la declaracion de este oficial que acompaño á V.S. adjunta: igualmente acompaño á V.S. la copia de uno de los despachos o comisiones[141] que trae consigo Dⁿ. Guillermo Davemport, y me ha hecho ver impresos para los oficiales del batallon de Milicias que deben formar en este Condado de Borbon.

Este manejo del citado Davemport me lo hace cada dia mas sospechoso sin que por esto mude la idea que de él tengo formada de hombre de capacidad y travesura: pero su conducta me parece haberme autorizado lo bastante para arrestarlo lo que no he hecho por no saber si complaceré á V.S. en ello, como por considerar este asunto delicado, respecto al caracter de enviado con que se dice estar autorizado este sugeto por lo que me he propuesto disimular lo que me sea posible fingiendo ignorar todo y vivir con la mayor precausion hasta la llegada del Teniente Coronel Dⁿ. Francisco Bouligny que con arreglo á las instrucciones de V.S. obrando con mayor libertad arregle los asuntos presentes.

Debo noticiar á V.S. haber sabido por algunos sugetos de mi confianza que el Teniente Coronel Tácito Gaillard, tiene escrito al Gran Congreso[142] con la mayor libertad sobre los asuntos presentes de este distrito y hecho una representacion la mas fuerte en nombre de todos los habitantes que ha pretendido hacer firmar á los mas principales, y en lo que efectivamente han consentido algunos (segun me han informado) cuyo número y nombres ignoro como los términos en que está concebida su representacion confirmandome esta noticia, el aviso que me ha dado Guillermo Vousdan[143] Agrimensor de este puesto que dice haber pasado á su casa el referido Tácito Gaillard solicitandole á que firmase en la dicha representacion y pidiendole igualmente el plano de este distrito; pero habiendose denegado á consentir en uno ni otro, segun dice llegó el dicho Tácito Gaillard á ofrecerle una suma por que le entregase el citado plano lo que le rehusó igualmente; Expongo á la penetracion de V.S. el pormenor de estas noticias para que pueda V.S. tomar con tiempo sus medidas siendo las solas de consideracion que he podido saber desde el último aviso que tengo dado á V.S. que hallandose impuesto de todo con su conocido talento decidirá lo que sea mas conveniente.

Por lo demás el Comun del Pueblo parece permanecer con bastante quietud que es cuanto puedo avisar á V.S. en esta ocasion.

Deseo á V.S. la mas perfecta salud y pido á Dios guarde la importante vida de V.S. muchos y felices años. Natchez 11 de Julio de 1785. B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y súbdito,

Felipe Treviño.

Sr. Dⁿ. Esteban Miró.

[141] See Minor's statement, *ante*, p. 100. The blank commission translated into Spanish and certified by Minor, is inclosure no. 3 in letter (no. 211) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, *post*, p. 108.

[142] A limited search has been made for this petition among the papers of the Continental Congress, but without success. Neither can any reference be found to it in the *Journals*.

[143] A brief account of Vousdan is in Rowland, *Mississippi*, II. 887.

XXII. Miró to Bouligny, July 16, 1785.[144]

Contexto al oficio de Dⁿ. Felipe Treviño su fecha 4 de Julio nº 197 que he recibido las dos copias que le ha entregado Dⁿ. Guillermo Davemport: habiendo conservado en su poder otras que por ser iguales á las que presentó Thomás Green no me remite[145] las que me dirigirá V.m. pues en esta secretaria en donde deben parar siendo del caso que conste las diferencias de las del citado Green en nombrarse solo Gobernador.

No ha hecho bien el haber arrestado en el fuerte la comitiva del referido Davemport pues que me persuado estaran ya libres respecto a haber yo ya escrito podian desembarcar del Chalan, la conversacion[146] que supo se tuvo entre él y Thomás Green debia haber le solamente inclinado á aumentar la Guardia que observava el Chalan y si Davemport le hubiese representado sobre esta novedad decirle el motivo porqué por lo tanto se lo hara V.M. saber al referido Davemport reconviniendole de mi parte sobre dicha conversacion y que espero no me dara ningun motivo de creer quiera cometer alguna hostilidad que sabré contener debiendo haber considerado que el comandante no podia haber obrado de otra manera en la detencion de su chalan, respecto a las ordenes que tenia mias ni yo podia distinguirle en ellas pues jamás entró en mi idea su venida.

Asi mismo le hará V.M. saber que el presentar solamente copias de los documentos que le autoricen a ser recibido en ese distrito lo miro desde luego como un desprecio á la Nacion Española y un proceder nunca vista no solo por una comision como la suya perteneciente á un oficial subalterno; pero ni tampoco en ningunos embaxadores y asi le dira V.M. que debe entregarle los originales para que yo los vea y examine si no quiere tomarse el trabajo de baxar á presentarlos que vistos por mi y examinados daré la respuesta conveniente que me persuado satisfará a los Señores Estados de Georgia.

Le hara V.m. ver tambien que noto una diferencia entre las copias[147] que entregó á Dⁿ. Felipe Treviño y la comision que á su arribo manifestó á este Comandante trahia esta se reducia á estar autorizado para señalar los limites conjuntamente con oficiales españoles y aquellos condecoran Juez de Paz del Condado de Borbon con instrucciones para su manejo sin que halla cláusula alguna que le faculte para demarcar límites con oficiales españoles. Quando no fuese debida la presentacion de documentos originales esta sola circunstancia me moveria á exijirlos, por lo tanto si no se conforma á enviarlos o á baxar con ellos le prevendrá V.m. salga del distrito con toda su comitiva dandole un corto término de algunos días y si rehusase uno y otro lo mandará V.m. prender y me lo remitirá con toda seguridad, en cuanto á los demás que le han acompañado los remitirá V.M. en el citado caso si tubiese alguna sospecha de ellos, pudiendo dexar aquellos de quienes no hubiese y que por ser solamente remeros se hubiesen empeñado á trabajar en algunas haciendas.[148]

[144] Inclosure no. 2 in letter (no. 210) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, *post*, p. 107.

[145] See Treviño to Miró, July 4, *ante*, p. 98.

[146] See *ibid.*

[147] The distinction which Miró makes is between the terms of the act of February 7 and the more definite instructions of February 11.

[148] On receipt of Treviño's letter of July 11 Miró ordered more stringent measures to be taken. See the three letters of July 19, *post*, pp. 106–107.

Apruebo en todo lo demas la conducta de Dⁿ. Phelipe Treviño y V.m. procurará como prender á los ladrones que me cita haciendoles sumaria si los coge con la cual los hara conducir á esta Capital. Dios guarde a V m. mˢ. aˢ.

Nueva Orleans 16 de Julio de 1785.

Estevan Miró.

Sr. Dⁿ. Francisco Bouligny.

XXIII. William Davenport to Samuel Elbert.[149]

Near Fort Panmure 17th, July 1785

Sir

I arrived here by Water from the falls of Ohio, the 24th of June and found that part of the Country which forms the County of Bourbon, in possession of the Spaniards, and under the imediate command of Lieutᵗ. Col: Traveno one of his most Catholick Majesties Officers which made it necessary that I should wait upon that Gentˡⁿ relative to my Business, who informed me he could not confer with me, neither permit me to Execute my Instructions, untill he first received orders from Govʳ Miro, and further informed that the men who rowed the Boat with four Gentlemen who accompanied me could not be permitted to land untill they had rode currentine a few days, who remained untill the 4th. of July: when an Officer's Guard call'd upon them and march'd them to the fort where they were imediately confind, and obliged to sleep in the Calaboose, much inferior to our Dungeons.[150] I am at a loss to account for this proceedure, unless it was from the imprudent conduct or measures taken by Mʳ. Green who Arrived some days before me.

It is with pain I find myselfe obliged to acquaint you with the particulars of his proceedings, Viz. Upon his arrival without waiting on the Commandant who had full possession of this Country, endeavoured to Assemble the Inhabitants, in order to appoint Inferior officers under him shewing a Commission filled in his name as Col. of the County, then calling on those Gentlemen, mentioned for Majestraits that he might administer the Oath of Office to them,[151] knowing that our Instructions say not less than two shall proceed to that Business, which has not only thrown the People into a confused Commotion, but they say they would of choice remain under the present Government, than be subject to any Authority which comes through him.[152]

Govʳ. Miro wrote him a letter[153] upon receipt of which, he set out for the Indian Nations, without answering his letter, a copy of which I have sent you.

Since his departure the people are become reconciled and wait contented for the result.

[149] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, bundle marked "Foreign Affairs, 1785".

[150] Compare Treviño's letter of July 4, *ante*, p. 98, and Bouligny's letter to Miró, July 25 (second installment).

[151] Compare Treviño's letter of June 15, *ante*, p. 82.

[152] See the manifesto of Ellis, Gaillard, and Banks, *ante*, p. 77.

[153] The letter of June 19. See foot-note 88, *ante*, p. 91, and compare Treviño's letter of July 11. The copy of Miró's letter to Green, which Davenport says he incloses, could not be found in the archives of Georgia.

Col. Traveno informs me in a few days he expects Lieu^{t}. Gov^{r}. Bouleny, through whome he expects Business will be Settled, untill which time matters rest.

I have the Honor to subscribe
myselfe y^{r}. Ob^{t}. St.

W. Davenport

His Excellency
Sam^{l}. Elbert.

XXIV. Miró to Bouligny, July 19, 1785.[154]

Por la carta de D^{n}. Felipe Treviño de 11 del corriente numero 202 quedo enterado de haber salido de ese distrito Thomas Green: V.m. sabe todas las noticias que yo he recibido de que estaban tropas americanas en marcha por tierra dirigiendose ahí; es pues muy conveniente que V.m. indague cuanto le sea posible si la expresion de Thomas Green de que vendrá de otro modo[155] puede contraerse á que haya gente de armas apostada con la que piensa presentarse á fin de darme aviso.

Dios guarde á V.M. m^{s}. a^{s}. Nueva Orleans 19 de Julio de 1785.

Esteban Miró.

Sr. D^{n}. Francisco Bouligni.

XXV. Miró to Bouligny, July 19, 1785.[156]

En oficio número 202 D^{n}. Felipe Treviño me dice que la mayor parte de los concurrentes en el Combite del habitantes Job Corris convinieron en las ideas de tomar ese fuerte que les manifestó D^{n}. Guillermo Davemport de que en otro oficio de hoy hablo á V.m.

Aunque me es doloroso el perjuicio que ha de resultar á ese distrito en general de promover una causa criminal contra ellos: No es ya posible poder disimular, y asi hará V.m. las diligencias de aprender á los culpados en esta proyectada sedicion y formarles su causa con arreglo á ordenanzas para que sean puestos en consejo de guerra ordinario: sin embargo si en la causa formada á Davemport no resultase ninguno culpado y estuviese V.m. plenamente persuadido, que solo convinieron en el calor del vino, y estando ebrios, habiendo despues hasta el recibo de esta que habrá pasado un mes comportadose con tranquilidad sin haber celebrado junta alguna ni repétido su promesa de unirse al citado Davemport, dexo á la prudencia de V.m. obrar del modo que le pareciese, hasta sufocar el asunto si lo cree mas conveniente al servicio de S.M. y bien del distrito en general.[157]

Dios guarde á V.m. m^{s}. a^{s}.

Nueva Orleans 19 de Julio de 1785. Esteban Miró.

Sr. D^{n}. Francisco Bouligni.

[154] Inclosed in letter (no. 211) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, 1785. It is no. 1 and is marked "Copia número 4°".

[155] Green's statement was, according to Treviño, that "él lo haria conocer de otro modo". See *ante*, p. 101 (letter of Treviño to Miró, July 11).

[156] Inclosed in letter (no. 211) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, 1785. It is no. 2 and is marked "Copia número 5°".

[157] In his letter (no. 249) to the Conde de Galvez, November 10, to be printed in our next number. Miró puts a strained interpretation upon his instructions to Bouligny relative to the trial of Davenport. See also his letter (no. 99) of same date to Bouligny, *ibid.* The explanation of this attitude is found in the criticism of Miró by the Conde de Galvez (letter of September 22, *ibid.*).

XXVI. Miró to Bouligny, July 19, 1785.[158]

Es indispensable tomar la providencia que merece el atrevimiento de Dⁿ. Guillermo Davemport de haber segun me dice Dⁿ. Felipe Treviño en su oficio número 202 en el Convite del habitante Job Corrys[159] prorrumpido que pues no tenia su comision el debido efecto y la satisfaccion que se prometia se veia precisado á tomarsela por si mismo obrando en otros términos que los que se habia propuesto seguir, y que en cons cuencia tenia pensado tomar ese fuerte, por sorpresa ó estratagema induciendo á aquellos habitantes á que se le uniesen. A fin de no obrar con precipitacion, y que nunca tenga el Estado de Georgia motivo justo de quexa, juntará V.m. en ese fuerte á cuatro o seis de los habitantes de mas juicio que se hubiesen hallado en el referido convite, y haciendolos entrar uno despues de otro en un cuarto separado por medio de dos intérpretes, tomará V.m. á cada uno de ellos las declaraciones necesarias á averiguar si prorrumpio ó no Dⁿ. Guillermo Davemport en las expresiones arriba citadas. Observará V.m. que á medida que los declarantes vayan evacuando sus respectivas declaraciones, se separen á uno de los parages del Fuerte, sin que por el menor pretexto salga alguno hasta que todo esté concluido, y si Davemport resultase criminal, antes de salir los declarantes del fuerte, y sin que se transpire la menor cosa, lo arrestara V.m. en uno de los cuartos decentes del Fuerte con centinela de vista y le formará V.M. con arreglo á lo prevenido en las reales ordenanzas en las causas contra oficiales el correspondiente proceso el que concluido me lo enviará V.m. con el reo.[160] Dios guarde á V.m. mˢ. aˢ.

Nueva Orleans 19 de Julio de 1785.

Estevan Miró.

Sr. Dⁿ. Francisco Bouligny.

XXVII. Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, 1785.[161]

Exmo Sr.—Muy Sr mio:

La carta[162] adjunta del Comandante de Natchez impondrá a V.E. de lo ocurrido entre él y Dⁿ. Guillermo Davemport y mi respuesta[163] de lo que he providenciado sobre este asunto: Los documentos[164] que acompañan baxo nº 3 y 4 compreden el nombramiento de Jueces de Paz en

[158] Inclosed in letter (no. 211) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, 1785. It is no. 3 and is marked "Copia número 6".

[159] See Treviño's letter of July 11, *ante*, p. 101, and the statement of Stephen Minor, *ante*, p. 100.

[160] On the action taken in consequence of this and the preceding letter see Bouligny's letter to Miró, August 10 (next installment), and the letter of Long, Davenport, and Christmas to Governor Elbert, September 13, *ibid.*

[161] Copies of this letter (no. 210) and its inclosures, all inclosed in letter (no. 95) of Miró to the Marqués de Sonora (Josef de Galvez), July 22, 1785, are in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis. y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14.

[162] Treviño to Miró, July 4, *ante*, p. 98.

[163] Letter of Miró to Bouligny, July 16, *ante*, p. 104.

[164] No. 3 is the commission to Green, Long, Davenport, and Christmas (February 8, 1785) empowering them or any two of them to administer the oath to the other justices, and prescribing the oath. See *ante*, p. 71. No. 4 is a Spanish translation of the act of February 7, 1785.

varios habitantes de Natchez y la deliberacion para establecer el condado de Borbon que en sus últimos párrafos se diferencia de la copia[165] que presentó Thomas Green inclusa en mi oficio nº 199[166] bajo el número 4º.

Es digno de notar que los representantes del Estado de Georgia afectando ignorar en la instruccion dada a Tomás Green[167] (que remití á V.E. con el oficio arriba citado) que haya Fuertes ni Plazas Españolas en el pretendido Condado de Bordon, nombren Jueces de Paz de él á Jacito Gaillard, Suton Bankes y los demas conociendolos por vecinos del distrito que creen pertenecerlos. Este en mi concepto es el mayor indicio de que el referido estado busca un pretexto para el rompimiento.

Asi mismo mandan que los dichos Jueces de Paz tomen el juramento de fidelidad a todas las personas del dicho condado que no hubiesen sido proscriptas con la circunstancia que sus nombres sean enviados lo mas tarde en el curso de este año al Gobernador de la Georgia[168] esto prueba que ó ellos estaban seguros que á la primera insinuacion se les entregaria el expresado distrito o que es un asunto que de cualquier modo debe terminarse segun dichas ordenes.

La penetracion de V.E. podra mejor distinguir lo que se debe esperar y darme sus ordenes en consecuencia.

Dios guarde á V.E. mˢ. aˢ. Nueva Orleans 22 de Julio de 1785.

Exmo Sr. B. L. M. de V.E. su mas atento servidor,

Esteban Miró.

Exmo Sr. Conde de Galvez.

XXVIII. Miró to the Conde de Galvez, July 22, 1785.[169]

Exmo Señor—Muy Sr mio:

Con fecha de 11 del presente me comunica Dⁿ. Felipe Treviño lo que V. E. verá en la adjunta copia de su carta número 202 y sus documentos[170] a que he contextado en tres oficios separados cuyas copias acompañan baxo los números 4, 5, y 6 enteraran a V. E. de mis providencias en vista de lo ocurrido.[171]

Con motivo de esta novedad y habiendo llegado el Teniente Coronel Dⁿ. Pedro Piernas con los cien hombres que pedí al Gobernador de Panzacola, he dispuesto salga la primera compañia de Granaderos á

[165] See foot-note 45, *ante*, p. 76.

[166] June 20, *ante*, p. 92.

[167] Inclosure no. 5 in letter (no. 199) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 20, *ante*, p. 92. See *ante*, p. 71, and foot-note 45, *ante*, p. 76.

[168] See the provision in the Bourbon County Act, *ante*, p. 71.

[169] This letter (no. 211) and its inclosures are in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis. y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14. They were all inclosed in a letter (no. 96) of Miró to Josef de Galvez, July 22. There are two other letters of the same date (nos. 97 and 98) from Miró to Josef de Galvez, which inclosed extracts from newspapers relating chiefly to the navigation of the Mississippi. One of the extracts (from the *Jamaica Gazette*, May 7) related to rumors concerning Natchez.

[170] The statement of Stephen Minor, *ante*, p. 100, and the form of militia commission mentioned, *ante*, p. 101.

[171] The three letters to Bouligny, July 19, *ante*, pp. 106–107.

reforzar el fuerte de Natchez a fin de atajar la fermentacion de aquel distrito y para poder prender y contener á los culpados de sedicion.

Continúo siempre en los preparativos resuelto á subir á fin de Agosto o principio de Septiembre segun el estado de salud de la tropa aun cuando no reciba ninguna noticia mas sobre las ideas de los Americanos, y antes si tengo aviso que se acercan á hostilizar; pues el haber desaparecido Tomás Green con la amenaza de que volveria de otro modo,[172] mas parece corrobora que destruye las anteriores noticias de estar resueltos los Americanos á tomar por fuerza el expresado fuerte.

V. E. con sus superiores luces podrá darme sobre el asunto las ordenes que crea mas convenientes al servicio de S. M. deseando sean de la aprobacion de V. E. las disposiciones que mientras he tomado.

Dios guarde á V. E. m^s^. a^s^. Nueva Orleans 22 de Julio de 1785.

Exmo Señor B. L. M. de V. E. su mas atento servidor,

Esteban Miró.

Exmo Señor Conde de Galvez.

XXIX. The Conde de Galvez to Zespedes, July 23, 1785.[173]

El Governador interino de la Nueva-Orleans acaba de comunicarme haberse solicitado por parte de un Diputado del Congreso de la Georgia la entrega del Fuerte de Natchez, que conquistaron las Armas de ñro soberano sobre el Rio Misisipi en la prox^ma^. pasada guerra a los Yngleses, creiendo pertenecer aquel distrito a los estados Unidos de la America por haberselo cedido la Corte de Londres en sus ultimos tratados de Paz.

Con ésta novedad, y la de saber tambien por varias partes D^n^. Esteban Miró que del referido estado de Georgia, y el de Virginia han vaxado hasta 2500 hombres de tropa situandose a la altura del Rio ohio, (quizas con intento de sobstener a la fuerza su demanda) se ha prevenido igualm^te^. dicho Gefe para todo acontecimiento, pidiendome algun socorro; y Yo impongo a V. S. de la citada ocurrencia para que enterado de ella pueda assi mismo precaberse, y estar por su parte a la mira de las operaciones de los Americanos por lo que sobreviniese, y para participarme tan oportunam^te^. como le sea posible qualesquiera mobim^to^. ó resolucion, que V. S. llegue á entender meditasen contra nras Posesiones en ambas Floridas, y conozca merece trasladarse a mi conocim^to^. sin retardo.

Dios gũe á V. S. m^s^. a^s^. Mexico 23 de Julio de 1785.

El C^de^. de Galvez.

S^or^. D^n^. Vicente Manuel de Zespedes.

[Indorsement:]

Mexico 23[174] de Julio de 85

Del Ex^mo^. Señor Virrey. Conde de Galvez

Contex^da^. en 3. de Henero de 86.

[172] See *ante*, pp. 101–103, 106 (letter of Treviño to Miró, July 11, and Miró to Bouligny, July 19, first letter).

[173] Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XXXIX., M. 3. This is marked no. 27.

[174] Above the figures 23 Zespedes has written 26, and below the following endorsement: Nota, En el Dup^do^. es 26 la fha.

XXX. The Conde de Galvez to Gardoqui, July 24, 1785.[175]

Mui S^or^. mio:

Desde mui poco despues de ajustada la paz corrieron varias voces vagas en la prov^a^. de la Luisiana de que los Americanos pensaban hacerse dueños del distrito de Natchéz por creerlo comprehendido en los Territorios cedidos p^r^. los Yngleses en virtud de sus Tratados con los Estados Unidos.

En los ultimos dias de Mayo y hasta mediados de Junio proximo pasado se avivaron mas estas especies, y recibio el Gov^or^. de aq^a^. Prov^a^. noticias contextes y fidedignas de diversos parages que no solo confirmaban las prim^as^. sino añadian hallarse ya 2500 hombres en lo alto del Rio Ohio con este objeto.

Teniendo dispuesto el Gov^or^. de la Luisiana darme quenta p^r^. extraordin^o^. de esstas occurr^as^. sobrevino la de haberle escrito el Com^te^. de Natchéz avisandole como se le habia presentado un tal Tomas Green con Poderes del Estado de Georgia intimandole le entregase el Fuerte y su distrito ó que de no acceder á su pretencion se lo dixese asi, pues en tal caso trahia ordn. de dar quenta á los que le habian enviado y esperar las resultas sin proseguir á nada mas.

El Com^te^ de Nathéz manifestó en resp^ta^. al Enviado q^e^ el no era arbitr[i]o de resolver por si en un asunto de esta naturaleza; pero que daria parte al Gov^or^ de la Prov^a^ y le comunicaria su contestacion. Este Gefe dio la que era regular á semejante embajada; y en seguida habiendo dictado quantas provid^as^. pudo y consideró oportunas para precaverse de qualquier insulto en tan critica situacion; me despachó sin perdida de instante el Berg^n^. que conduce esta para instruirme radicalmente de todo lo ocurrido p^r^. medio de sus Of^os^ de 14 y 20 de Jun^o^ prox^o^. pasado, y de varios docum^tos^ que los acompañaron. Son adjuntas sus copias bajo los núm^os^ 1° y 2°.

Con este motivo y p^r^. si saliesen ciertos sus rezelos, me pide aquel Gov^or^. le envie varios auxilios asi de Tropa como de din^o^. y municion^s^ pero habiendose conferenciado el asunto mui detenidam^te^ en la Junta de Guerra y Rl. Haz^da^ á que convoqué y se celebro en 18 del que sigue (cuya copia es la del num^o^. 3°.)[176] se resolvió en ella, con poderosos fundam^tos^. que por ahora solo se remitan á la Luisiana un par de Buques proporcionados con algun din^o^. armas y Municiones, pues de extenderse á mas el socorro seria causar dilacion^s^. y exponerlo todo á las conting^as^ del Mar en los meses mas rigorosos del año: Y en conseq^a^ de este acuerdo tardarán poco en dar vela del Pto. de Veracruz los expresa^dos^ dos Bastim^tos^

Como estas ocurrencias han sido anteriores á la llegada de V.S. á ese destino, estoi persuadido á que con ella estará ya todo disipado; que habran desistido los Georgianos de sus pretenciones; y q^e^ se hallará el Gov^or^ del N^vo^ Orleans libre de los cuidados con que quedaba á la fha. de sus cartas. Sin embargo me ha parecido mui oportuno enviar

[175] Mexico, Archivo General y Público, Sección de Historia, tomo 162 ("Carp^a^. No. 3. Div^n^. 4^a^. del L^o^. No. 5.—No. 1.").

[176] The record of this junta, together with the related correspondence, accompanies this letter in the archives of Mexico. The essential facts are well summarized in the letters of the Conde Galvez to José de Galvez and to Miró, August 2, 1785, to be printed hereafter.

á V.S. el Galveztown[177] con estas noticias para que le sirvan de Govierno y se instruya de mis determinaciones.

A fin de tomarlas con mas acierto ruego á V.S. me despache sin perdida de tiempo al mismo Galveztown ó qualquiera otro Buq^e^ que V.S. tenga por conveniente con la respuesta de esta y q^tas^. noticias crea V.S. que puedan importarme para el arreglo de mis ulterior^s^ provid^as^. en un asunto en que tanto interesa el servicio del Rey y el honor de sus R^s^ armas.

Ratifico á V.S. mis deseos de complacerle y pido al S^r^ lo gue. m^s^ a^s^ M^co^. 24 de Julio de 1785.

S^r^ Dn. Diego Gardoqui.

[177] The *Galveztown* did not reach New York until late in September (letter of Gardoqui to Floridablanca, September 24, Archivo General Central, Ministro de Estado, legajo 3886). Gardoqui had, however, heard rumors of the trouble brewing at Natchez and had written (July 25) to Floridablanca concerning them (*ibid.*). That an inkling of the project had reached New York even earlier is shown by Madison's letter of June 21, already mentioned (*ante*, p. 69, footnote 20).

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Per la Scienza dell' Antichità. Saggi e Polemiche. By GAETANO DE SANCTIS. (Torino: Fratelli Bocca. 1909. Pp. xii, 531.)

E, questo, un libro di battaglia. For apart from three articles (I., II., VI.) and a lecture on *War and Peace in Antiquity*—all of which have been published already elsewhere—it contains simply criticisms and polemics. It falls into three main divisions. In the first De Sanctis appears as the champion of multiplicity of authorship for the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey,* in the second as the advocate of a many-sided, as contrasted with an exclusively economic, interpretation of history, and in the third as the laudator of temperate criticism in the investigation of Roman history. And it cannot be denied, we think, that he appears favorably in each role.

In his Homeric controversies he deals urbanely yet incisively with the problems which are at present most in need of close consideration. He thus strengthens and defends the view that the repetitions, inconsistencies, contradictions, and inequalities of style and treatment which are manifest in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are best explained, in the first as defects occasioned by the addition of later elements to an original nucleus, in the second as the faults of a poetaster who combined in one poem two or more original epics. That is to say, he protects the present-day critical orthodoxy against Blass, who attributed the blemishes in the *Odyssey* to late interpolations, and against Fraccaroli, who in his notable work on *L'Irrazionale nella Letteratura* found no lapses in Homer more serious than those committed by other great writers.

The rest of the book gives us in America much to think about. We have been assured recently by a visiting German professor that the aversion of our scholars to everything polemical is not a mark of their innate politeness, or of their spirit of scientific detachment, but of their lack of real interest in their work; and he probably finds a confirmation of his diagnosis in the fact that his observations passed unnoticed. Be that as it may, to us, oftentimes, the judgments passed by German scholars upon one another seem harsh and uncharitable. Nor can we do aught but regret that the German manner has invaded Italy. The reviewer was struck in reading De Sanctis's *Storia dei Romani* by the freedom with which he inferred general incapacity from specific errors and misinterpretations. The reviewer did not find the criticism lacking in discrimination; but he thought it a trifle peremptory

and needlessly provocative. And provocative it certainly has been—of criticism not equally discerning, and much less courteous. In fact, De Sanctis's opening volumes have been assailed virulently by apparently every brand of writer in Italy. They emphatically did not deserve such treatment, and we believe that Italy must eventually endorse the favorable judgment of the scholars of the rest of the world; but up to the present they have drawn a continuous fire of dissent from socialists, jurists, dilettants, and historians. In the volume now under review De Sanctis replies to his critics. His knowledge of the ancient and modern literature of the subject is astonishingly wide and accurate, and he proves himself a dangerous controversialist. He writes with passion and he makes general and detailed charges of ignorance and incapacity against his assailants. With men like Ciccotti, De Marchi, Bonfante, and Ferrero he has easy work. It is simply a slaughter of the innocents. Nor can it be said that Pais proves invulnerable to his attack. No productive scholar could stand such fierce onslaughts; certainly not one so original and daring as Pais has been. To us it seems a matter of regret that the two men whose work has destroyed the clear supremacy of Germany in Roman history should be thus lacking in mutual respect.

W. S. Ferguson.

The Ancient Greek Historians (*Harvard Lectures*). By J. B. Bury, Litt.D., LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. x, 281.)

Professor Bury was well inspired in choosing the Greek historians for his theme. A good monograph on this subject has long been a desideratum. Professor Bury's book is extremely readable and very much up-to-date in the citation of the latest finds and discussion of the newest hypotheses. Much of his comment is of necessity common property. There is space to mention only a few of the more striking or novel suggestions. Something more than justice is done to Hecataeus of Miletus and great stress is laid on his Ionian rationalism and the largely conjectural indebtedness of Herodotus to him. The lost history of the *Sequel to the Reign of Darius* by Dionysius of Miletus is said to be the probable source of Herodotus's account of the Persian War. Into the framework of facts and dates thus supplied Herodotus wove the oral tradition of the Greeks and gave the whole an Athenian as opposed to an Ionian coloring. These books (vii.–ix.) were composed before his travels, and the architectonic unity and symmetry of the whole work, well brought out by the Alexandrian division into nine books, was achieved by an afterthought. Herodotus's work is more than a graciously garrulous epic narrative. It is a study in the history of civilization and a lesson in the unity of history though Herodotus does not himself formulate the idea. His philosophy and his rationalism, to which much space is given, are Ionian, not Athenian. "He

belonged entirely in temper and mentality to the period before the sophistic illumination, which he lived to see but not to understand" (p. 74). The story of the debate at the Persian court on the three forms of government is due not, as Dümmler, *e. g.*, supposes, to a sophistic tract followed also by Euripides in his *Suppliants*, but to some Ionian publicist whose philosophical fiction was naïvely accepted for fact by the historian.

Thucydides is the first really philosophic and critical historian. Mr. Cornford's cavils on his use of πρόφασις and αἰτίαι in relation to the causes of the Peloponnesian War are rejected for reasons essentially the same as those given by the present reviewer in the *Dial* of October 1, 1907.

The interesting chapter on the speeches contains the perhaps fanciful suggestion that the peculiar contorted style which the schoolboy dreads, and which is not confined to the speeches but is also found for example in the reflections on Corcyra and in the Melian dialogue, is a notice to the reader that Thucydides is making points of his own in the elaborate rhetoric learned in the school of Antiphon. Professor Bury infers that the *Epitaphios* is not Periclean but expresses Thucydides's own half-sympathetic, half-ironical analysis of the Periclean ideal. The argument is weakened rather than strengthened by the fancy that Cleon's words (II, 38. 7), "ζητεῖ ἄλλο τι ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἢ ἐν οἷς ζῶμεν", are a retrospective sneer at Periclean idealism. The space gained by practically ignoring the "essentially mediocre" mind of Xenophon is given to Cratippus, whom Mr. Bury agrees with Grenfell and Hunt in regarding as the author of the extensive fragment dealing with the years 393–394, published in the fifth volume of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*. Nothing is said of the interesting Oxford lecture in which Wilamowitz, attributing the fragment to Theopompus, regrets his earlier conformity to the convention which brackets the author of the *Philippica* with what he now sees to be the greatly inferior intellect of Ephorus. Somewhat less than justice is done not to the influence but to the intelligence of Isocrates and his school. Interesting chapters on Roman historiography and the views of the ancients concerning the uses of history conclude the work. A brief appendix argues that Thucydides retouched his history after 404 but allowed some inconsistencies to stand. The entire πεντηκονταετία is an afterthought.

To conclude with a few cavils, it is, I think, a mistake to infer that Hecataeus's very expression, when he says that the λόγοι of the Hellenes are absurd, suggests a contrast with the non-Hellenes (p. 51). The contrast is with Hecataeus's own opinion, and the phrasing is almost a formula in Greek literature for contemptuous reference to popular belief.

Professor Bury makes very interesting reading out of Von Scala's and Cuntz's notion that Polybius as his thought became more positive rejected the conception of Fortune (τύχη) with which he began under

the influence of Demetrius of Phalerum, and that the "evolution" can be traced by contradictions and "post-Gracchan" interpolations in his work. But the discovery is a mere mare's nest of philology disposed of by a few judicious words of Croiset. I have examined all the τύχη passages in Polybius and am confident that on a fair interpretation of the context they will not support the theory. I had intended to show this in detail, but may spare the space as I now find that the work has been excellently done in the sensible dissertation of Robert Hercod, *La Conception de l'Histoire dans Polybe* (Lausanne, 1902), overlooked in Professor Bury's bibliography.

PAUL SHOREY.

Malaria and Greek History. By W. H. S. JONES, M.A., Fellow of St. Catharine's College, Cambridge. To which is added *The History of Greek Therapeutics and the Malaria Theory.* By E. T. WITHINGTON, M.A., M.B., Balliol College, Oxford. [Publications of the University of Manchester, Historical Series, Number VIII.] (Manchester: University Press. 1909. Pp. xi, 175.)

THE historian is constantly obliged while investigating ancient problems to sharpen his perceptions by watching parallel developments in modern times; for the rich materials there available suggest to him a multitude of questions which otherwise he would be unable to put to the fragmentary reports of ancient experience. A prerequisite for the helpful transfer back to antiquity of modern observations, however, is that they are really empirical; that they have first been derived from a careful scrutiny of modern materials, and that they have been thoroughly tested where they can be tested best. This prerequisite has not been met in the present case. It is true that the deplorable results of malaria in modern Greece are impressed upon the reader at the outset by the statistics which have been compiled by the Hellenic Anti-Malaria League for the education of the Greeks to a more intelligent campaign for the mastery of the disease; but we need to know more than that. We need to know to what extent malaria has entered as a retarding factor into, let us say, the last hundred years of modern Greek development, or into the life of Italy, France, and Holland since Macculloch in 1827 wrote the alarming sections of his work on *Malaria* which Jones quotes on page 111.

Jones's thesis—to which Withington gives a mild concurrence in his well-informed appendix on *Greek Therapeutics*—is that malaria made its appearance in Greece as a general scourge at the time of the Peloponnesian War; that it caused a rapid weakening of the physical, moral, and intellectual vigor of the people, which was accompanied by a recourse to supernatural aids when medicine proved powerless, and also by an increased dependence upon the ministrations of the wife or mother—to the great social advantage of the gentler sex. Malaria

is thus made responsible for the changes—mainly for the worse—which the old school of Greek historians agreed in attributing to the fourth century B.C. This responsibility, we must in justice add, it shares with other factors; and, indeed, at one point in the book the problem is mooted, and left unsettled, as to the priority of agricultural decay and malaria.

That he has not proved his thesis we believe the author himself would admit; for such theses from the very nature of the evidence can never be proved. Moreover, we find ourselves not in the least shaken in our conviction that malaria—which certainly existed in ancient Greece, though doubtless not in every case where "fever" is mentioned, and obviously not as a recognized scourge in any of the pre-Christian centuries—was a static factor in Greek history, and hence destitute of social, economic, and political importance in specific periods. Jones's theory proves too much. It proves a decline of intellectual and moral stamina in the fourth and third centuries B.C., which, to say the least, is rather awkward, since it is precisely this which our best modern authorities think they have disproved. We commend to the author's attention on this matter the works of Beloch, Wilamowitz, Niese, Kaerst, and the histories of Greek mathematics and astronomy. His theory, moreover, is largely gratuitous, since he might have found tolerably satisfactory explanations of the real changes in Greek life to which he alludes, if he had only taken the trouble to look for them. *Malaria and Greek History* is in substance a pamphlet issued in the interest of the anti-malaria propaganda; and, since it manages to suggest that Pericles, Alexander the Great, and Philopoemen died of the disease, and that it was St. Paul's "thorn in the flesh", it probably will be a good pamphlet.

W. S. Ferguson.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Siena: the Story of a Mediaeval Commune. By Ferdinand Schevill. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1909. Pp. xii, 433.)

The varied equipment of Professor Schevill has enabled him to present us with the most satisfactory monograph on Siena that has yet appeared. Fully alive to the romantic charm of the ancient city, his delight in her artistic and spiritual achievement is no less keen than his sympathy for her struggle to develop a civic consciousness. Since, however, his predecessors have emphasized more especially the religious and artistic aspects, the reader of this book finds attention chiefly arrested by the admirable handling of civic history; and one can hardly praise too highly the ability with which Dr. Schevill has drawn order out of confusion and enabled us to distinguish trend and significance in a tale which is too often to the casual reader a phantas-

magoria of bewilderment. Interest in the free communes of the Middle Ages is rising with the democratic interpretation of history; in these half-conscious experiments, Siena played an important if secondary role. No previous writer has rendered so comprehensibly as Professor Schevill the confused process by which the city, like Kipling's ship, struggled to find herself. In his dramatic pages we perceive how the necessity for self-help was forced on her by "that dominant system of misrule, feudalism"; how the rise in the commune of great commercial houses created a new feudalism, as it were, in the midst of the old; how foes without and faction within ravaged her, and how valiant with all its imperfections were her efforts after that political self-consciousness which she never really attained. For Siena never thoroughly "found herself"; even in the days of her most splendid achievements, "that longed for product, the modern state", did not appear on her hills. Yet because she drew near to the goal and because the very obstacles that prevented her from reaching it were typical, her story is well worth telling.

The separate chapters of the book are admirable for firm workmanship, wise proportion, and clear narrative. But one hesitates concerning the general method. Professor Schevill has chosen the most obvious way of presenting an intricate whole: he has isolated the strands in the web of Sienese life and followed thread by thread. Thus he tears apart what was in experience a living whole and is frequently betrayed into awkward repetitions. In the early chapter on the Church, he naturally tells the thrilling story how Siena dedicated herself to the Virgin. But this story loses half its dramatic cogency unless shown in its proper place, as prelude to Montaperte; and when the account of the battle is reached a backward reference fails to quicken in us a sense of the mystical ardor that inspired the Sienese on that memorable day. In like manner, as we read of the government by the Nine, we need to be aware how the city is growing in visible glory under their rule; but we must wait for the chapter on the Civic Spirit to learn what is happening. Professor Schevill gives an ingenious *apologia* when he tells us in the preface that he determined to illuminate the House of Life erected by the Sienese from as many angles as possible; but the trouble is that the general reader needs to have the edifice reconstructed before it is illumined. To use another metaphor of the author's, he expects his colored cubes "to fall into suitable relations of their own accord". That is a good deal to expect of cubes; and one wishes that the artist had put his mosaic together. A final summary, handled with Professor Schevill's unusual power of concise and vivid expression, might have mitigated the difficulty—inherent, for the rest, in all historical writing—which seeks perforce in vain to show simultaneously "what in its nature never can be shown piecemeal nor in succession".

The book is extremely well written: vigorous, cogent, and never dry.

One notes with pleasure the sensitiveness of the author's eye to that peculiar beauty of the town—so austere on first approach, so full of delicate charm to him who lingers long enough to feel the changing mysteries of light and hue. It is a relief to find that Professor Schevill disapproves of the sentimental and sensuous Sodomas that travesty the story of St. Catherine, and appreciates the noble expressiveness of Vanni's portrait. Indeed, the taste throughout the book is unerring—and taste is an important element in the equipment of an historian of Italy.

Does one carry away a vivid picture of that "town personality", of which our author writes so well? More vivid, surely, than one can obtain from the pages of Gardner or even of Langton Douglas. Yet, in spite of valuable hints, found especially in the chapter on the Artistic Spirit, that personality, "shy as a swallow", evades one still. Sienese psychology is indeed as fascinating as elusive. One reason for his partial failure may be found in Professor Schevill's limitations of temperament when he approaches the religious aspects of Sienese life. His treatment is full of sympathy and reverence; he has some keen remarks, as where he describes medieval life as characterized by "a passion for excess crystallized into a code of conduct". Yet on the whole, and especially in the discussion of St. Catherine, his treatment must be judged conventional and unillumined. Despite his all but masterly presentation of the outer and inner life of his city, he has not understood that paradoxical union of contemplative passion with commercial and militant ardor which marks her character, produces her art and her saints, and differentiates her from the rest of Tuscany and particularly from her great rival on the Arno. If "cor magis tibi Siena pandit" the secrets of that heart are not easily read; nor can we say that Professor Schevill has fathomed them to their depths, in spite of his excellent and truly intimate friendship with the City of the Virgin.

VIDA D. SCUDDER.

Brügges Entwicklung zum Mittelalterlichen Weltmarkt. Von RUDOLF HÄPKE, Dr. Phil. Mit einem Plan. [Abhandlungen zur Verkehrs- und Seegeschichte im Auftrage des Hansischen Geschichtsvereins herausgegeben von Dietrich Schäfer. Band I.] (Berlin: Karl Curtius. 1908. Pp. xxiv, 296.)

THE Hanseatic Historical Society, finding within measurable distance the completion of its work in the publication of the sources of Hanseatic history, begins in the present volume a series of monographs on the history of commerce, which will be devoted particularly to the history of German trade and navigation, but, according to the prospectus, may embrace topics in commercial history the world over. The printing of sources will be merely incidental to the finished studies of which the series is to be composed.

Häpke's volume makes a natural transition from Hanseatic history to a broader field. After an introductory section on the early history of Bruges, the author describes its commercial relations at a time when it was an important station of German trade, and completes his study by a description of its political and commercial organization about 1300. The author bases his book almost entirely on printed material, but covers so wide a range of original and secondary sources, and shows such ability in selection and construction, that his work will be welcomed by students of economic history as an interesting and valuable contribution to the subject.

Häpke corrects the impression left by Ehrenberg that the growth of Bruges depended, from a very early period, on its position as a world-market, in which the exchanges of Europe and of the East were perfected. The town grew up as an export station for the industrial products of the Flemish back-country, relying for its business chiefly on the cloth manufacture, which had already reached the stage of the commission system (pp. 203, 253). In the closing decades of the thirteenth century the active trade languished, partly as a result of an unfortunate social and political constitution, which sapped the strength of the mercantile class (pp. 64, 198, 268); and Bruges then developed on lines with which we are already familiar. The activity of Flemish counts in the Crusades had little or no influence on the development of an active trade with the Mediterranean (p. 149); and the importance of spices and drugs in the commerce of northern Europe has generally been exaggerated (p. 252).

Among the contributions of the author to the topic of commercial organization may be noted: his comment on the wandering merchant (p. 131), and his protest against the application, in the Middle Ages, of the terms wholesale and retail merchant, for which he would substitute the English contrast of merchant and shopkeeper; further, his descriptions of the staples of England and of Bruges, of the status of alien merchants and of the importance and functions of brokers. He makes no mention of Sombart's theory of the rise of the capitalist class, but would certainly take sides against it with Flamm, Strieder, and other critics. There is evidence, it is true, of a serious rise in city ground-rents before 1300, but the leading families owed their wealth chiefly to trade, and sought investment in other fields only as the competition of foreign merchants forced them to it (pp. 193 ff).

CLIVE DAY.

Ezzelino von Romano: Eine Biographie. Von FRIEDRICH STIEVE, Dr. Phil. (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. 1909. Pp. 133.)

IN the first ninety-nine pages the author states in flowing language the complete life of Ezzelino. Foot-notes refer to original sources. The text is followed by twenty-eight pages of notes and four pages of new documents.

Ever since Dante in the *Inferno* and in the *Paradiso* mentions the torch "che fece alla contrada un grande assalto", the personality of Ezzelino exercises a peculiar fascination over authors. The author of the book under review utilized the efforts of his predecessors, avoided their errors, and substantiates whatever new views are maintained. By an independent research of the sources he establishes his claim to a serious attempt in solving the problem of the character of this prototype of all subsequent rulers, who by *virtuosità* acquired, maintained, and finally lost a *signoria* over an Italian city-state.

The author has solved the difficult task of developing his narrative in proper proportion. He does not burden his story with every siege on the plains or with each petty revolution and conspiracy of the warring city factions, but usually relegates these matters to the notes. By dint of compression and avoidance of polemics with previous authors his attention is given to a summary of the sources and, in case of doubt, of his views thereon. By this means his story develops Ezzelino not as an angel changed into demon form nor yet as a tyrant needing a whitewashing, but as the greatest of his warring rivals on a desperately crude stage.

The constant need of being on his guard and his successful egotism and unbridled lust for power were the factors which made Ezzelino unique among his rivals, none of whom had these qualities developed to so unital a purpose and to so pre-eminent a degree. "Neither the party warfare nor the communes of the March had ever been able to bend him. He feared neither the Holy Roman Empire nor the Papacy. He recognized no law save only that of his will and exercised this will for self-aggrandizement with limitless energy, hardened by the needs of his surroundings to relentless cruelty and contempt of humanity."

Yet Ezzelino's individualism fighting for his own hand and causing silent desolation to take the place of peace throughout his domain, anticipates, in political phases on a tiny but detailed plane the breach of political ideals which distinguished the Renaissance from the Middle Ages. He broke up all ideals of authority, created a modern state, and thus helped to make mankind politically free. Yet he died a martyr to that religion of rulers which finds its catechism in the *Principe*.

That book was written too late and Machiavelli might well have said, we give good precepts when too old to give bad examples. Ezzelino long ago had covered every phase of Italian statecraft, first applied to each intricate problem of ruling discordant and widely separated city-states remedies, theretofore unheard of, and never carried out so ruthlessly. The story of such a life is an interesting human document. The work has been well done by the author. It seems ungracious to note on page 98 a slip of the pen. Boso de Duera has his share of infamy among the traitors.

> "Io vidi, potrai dir, quel da Druera
> Là dove i peccatori stanno freschi" (*Inf.*, XXXII. 116,

117), but not for carrying out the ghastly slaughter of the family of Alberico da Romano. That infamy belongs to the Venetian Marco Badoer, and to the Marchese d'Este.

JOHN M. GITTERMAN.

Historical Portraits: Richard II. to Henry Wriothesley, 1400–1600. The Lives by C. R. L. FLETCHER, formerly Fellow of All Souls and Magdalen Colleges, the Portraits chosen by EMERY WALKER, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. With an Introduction on the History of Portraiture in England. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1909. Pp. xxiii, 199.)

THIS is an extremely interesting collection of historical portraits. It is practically a Tudor gallery, as but eight or ten of the persons represented belong to the fifteenth century, and a still smaller number lived over into the Stuart period. The portraits are judiciously selected and admirably reproduced. It is hard in some cases to be restricted to one portrait of a noted person when several exist, but that being the plan of the book we ought not perhaps to complain. Of the arrangement of the portraits, however, some criticism can fairly be made. While the order is chronological in the main, the mere fact that in some cases two, three or four portraits are reproduced on one page relegates them to an entirely different place in the book. It is unnecessarily confusing, after having come all the way down to Shakespeare, to begin again with Margaret of Anjou and Humphrey of Gloucester; and then having worked all the way down to Walsingham, to have to begin again with the Woodvilles. Something more than the mere size of the picture ought to be considered before putting the first Lord Howard of Effingham later in the book than the second, and placing Grindal far away from the sheet shared by Parker and Whitgift.

There is an interesting and suggestive introduction on the history of portraiture in England, in which one meets again the familiar figure of the foreigner as the purveyor of everything of a higher type of civilization to the Englishman. With the decision of the editors not to say anything about the individual portraits, but instead to give a biographical sketch of the person portrayed, we take issue. It would be of far more value to have the origin and characteristics of the pictures discussed, to be told what can be told, if anything, about the curious group of royal portraits of such striking similarity of style from Henry V. to Richard III., to be informed as to what other portraits exist of each subject, where only one is given, and such other expert knowledge as the editors could doubtless give us, than to be given a somewhat hackneyed biographical sketch.

This is the more disappointing as the written accompaniment to the illustrations falls much below the selection of portraits in scholarly characteristics. It is not the mere fling at "half-educated Americans", nor the occasional incorrect historical statements, nor even the gro-

tesque estimates of such men as Henry VIII. and Wolsey, nor the frequent repetition of the same matter under successive headings, but a general practice of giving vapid and exaggerated ethical judgments, that is so objectionable. "A more subtle, false and selfish scoundrel never dragged a great cause in the dust", is said of the Duke of Northumberland; "In private life he was brutal and of ill repute, in public, a merely pliant tool of his great but brutal master", of the Duke of Norfolk; "No one had a good word to say for such a thorough scoundrel", of Lord Seymour of Sudeley. Serious historians no longer feel called upon to sum up, condemn or commend in a few words the moral character of historic personages.

It would not be justifiable probably to make these small criticisms of an excellent book, if it were not that other volumes are announced for publication, so that it may be hoped that in them there will be a more satisfactory order of the portraits, more information of the kind that is not easy to obtain, and less of that which is so easily available and of such doubtful value.

The Scottish Staple at Veere: a Study in the Economic History of Scotland. By the late JOHN DAVIDSON, M.A., D.Phil., and ALEXANDER GRAY, M.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. xii, 453.)

THIS volume was projected by Professor Davidson, who was for many years engaged in collecting material on Scottish economic history. After his death the difficult and delicate task of organizing and of rounding out Professor Davidson's work by new researches fell to Mr. Gray. He has added much valuable material from local Dutch historians and the archives of Veere, Middelburg, Rotterdam, and the Hague.

Part I. is introductory in character. It consists of entertaining chapters on the organization and general nature of early Scottish commerce, on the risks from piracy, on mercantilist theories, and the organization of the burghs. It is meaty, but frequently disconnected, showing signs of the boiling down process the notes had to undergo in order to come within the scope of the present work. Part II. presents the external history of the Staple. Down to 1406 it is the record of a stormy and chaotic period during which even the *Convention Records* habitually speak of foreign trade as "wyld aventouries". Through the following century the Scottish Staple was located at Bruges. Thence it was removed in 1507 to Zeeland, where, after a spirited rivalry between several cities, it was secured by Veere (*Campvere* of the records). And there it remained till its dissolution by order of the French in 1799. Part III. deals with the organization of the Staple, its officers, court, etc.

The Scottish Staple, the authors point out, differs radically from the

English Staple both in its origin and in its purpose. Unlike the English Staple it was not a fiscal device by which trade was concentrated at one or more places in order to facilitate the collection of the customs. It had nothing to do with the collection of the revenue, though by virtue of the fact that the "staple trade" consisted of all articles on which customs revenue was collected, the Scottish Staple was closely connected with the body politic. Only merchants of the Royal Burghs could participate in the trade. In 1579 they were incorporated, but the basis of incorporation lay solely in the enjoyment of the privileges of trade to the Staple town, not, as in the case of the Merchant Adventurers Society, of self-government also. The Adventurers constituted a corporate body with officers, laws, and ordinances of their own making and choosing in the general court of the society assembled in the mart town on the Continent. The Scottish Staple, on the other hand, was controlled at all times by the Convention of Royal Burghs of Scotland, which made the rules governing the Staple trade and appointed the conservator, save when the king interfered. In its government, therefore, it resembled more nearly the control by the Hanseatic League of its foreign factories.

The material for the official side of the history of the Scottish Staple is found largely in the *Records* of the Burgh Convention. For the history of the life at Veere the authors acknowledge their indebtedness to Yair's *Account of the Scotch Trade in the Netherlands,* etc., published in 1776. This estimable little volume is a primary source of much value for this phase of the history, Mr. Yair having been for forty-five years, from 1739 to 1784, minister of the Scottish church at Veere. Nevertheless, objection may fairly be made to a too generous use of Yair, when we find that two of the five documents reprinted in the appendix are "as given in Yair", especially when the originals are available. Besides, as Mr. Gray himself points out, the reproduction on page 182 shows that Yair's rendering is often far from reliable. The source for the last document is not given. The brief bibliography would be better for some well-placed critical comments. One might also suggest a word as to the records of the Staple Court, beyond what one finds incidentally in notes. There is "A Court Book and Book of Church Accounts" at the British Consulate at Rotterdam, yet we have to look on page 332 in a foot-note to learn to what period the entries belong.

But these are minor faults in a work so generally meritorious. The presentation of the subject is clear and logical and the method is scholarly. Official and private sources have been ransacked for material which is both pleasing and satisfying in its variety and originality. There is also a sound understanding of the broader historic conditions amid which the Scottish Staple developed. The work has an atmosphere of maturity that reflects the years of patient study of the subject. Historical scholarship is indebted to Mr. Gray for his

able use of Professor Davidson's material, as well as for his own considerable contribution to a volume which may well remain for many years the authoritative work on this phase of Scottish economic history.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

The Archbishops of St. Andrews. In two volumes. By JOHN HERKLESS, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews, and ROBERT KERR HANNAY, Lecturer in Ancient History in the University of St. Andrews. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1907. Pp. iv, 271; iv, 267.)

THESE are days of reconstruction in history, and special studies of limited fields are the handmaids to the reconstruction of wider problems. No period requires reconstruction more than that of the Protestant Reformation. Mr. Gairdner has aided this work for England by his recent and, it must be added, rather disappointing book on *Lollardy and the English Reformation*, and *The Archbishops of St. Andrews* has its place in this general scheme. It was not until near the end of the fifteenth century (1472) that St. Andrews had an archbishop and the dignity endured for only about a century, according to Presbyterian reckoning, though there were Anglican prelates, if the term be permitted, down to a much later time. But the few years of the Roman Catholic archbishops saw tremendous events. The present-day visitor to the little gray city on the east coast of Scotland finds a vast unroofed cathedral with empty tombs before what was once the high altar. They are witnesses still to the fierceness of the religious passions that swept over Scotland in the sixteenth century, and this work, a careful study of the lives of some who were laid in those now empty tombs, will help to explain why the fever of the strife was so acute.

In these first two volumes the authors have made only a beginning of their task. Volume I. covers the history of the first four archbishops, Patrick Campbell, William Schevez, and the two royal prelates, James Stewart and Alexander Stewart, the latter of whom was killed in the Battle of Flodden in 1513. Volume II. deals with but one archbishop, Andrew Forman, whose rule lasted from 1516 to 1521. The gap between Stewart's death at Flodden in 1513 and Forman's appointment is filled by a struggle for the see in which Forman won. It takes up far too much space in the book, for it is dead to our age and dull to any age. It is clear that the authors plan their work on a scale even more generous than that of Dean Hook's *Archbishops of Canterbury*; if they take a volume to Forman what will they do when they come to the strenuous days of Beaton and of the final revolt under John Knox?

The work itself is scholarly and based on first-hand material. But

there is hardly any touch of vigor and picturesqueness in the writing. What we have is a plain attempt to unravel the tangled thread of negotiation and intrigue that affected St. Andrews. And, in doing so, the authors go far in explaining why Scotland broke away so violently from her old ways. The rulers of the Church were wholly out of touch with the people. Not one of these five archbishops was a bad man, but the life of each is centered in the doings of an upper circle in church and state, which, like the polished Roman society in the days just before the fall of the Western Empire, was wholly occupied with its own interests and took little heed of the currents of thought and action in the surrounding world. St. Andrews had an income of some £8000 a year and he who sought its bishop's seat desired conspicuously a good thing. So we have James IV. getting the office for his own brother, a lad of nineteen, and a little later going one better by securing it for his own bastard son of eleven. He was only twenty when killed at Flodden, and Erasmus, who knew him in Italy, wrote a glowing panegyric on his love of learning. But what place could such a boy have in solving the vital problems of the Scottish church of which he was the head? There is no scandal like it in the story of the archbishops of Canterbury, and the slackness in Scotland goes far to explain the terrific climax of Knox's days. Such a tale could have been filled with dramatic interest. But there are no dramatic pages in these volumes, which will be read by few but those compelled to seek information on their special topic. Yet they are a record which the future historian of religion in Scotland will find useful.

Italy from 1494 to 1790. By Mrs. H. M. Vernon (K. Dorothea Ewart). (Cambridge: University Press. 1909. Pp. viii, 516.)

Mrs. Vernon has produced a useful book. She saw clearly what she wished to do, and she has done it clearly. Judging rightly that the period from 1494 to 1559 has been frequently told with sufficient detail, she contents herself with describing the main lines of development during those years, and then expatiates on the succeeding two centuries and a half. Even so, it required unusual skill in selection and condensation to bring the story within the space of 370 pages. The difficulty arises, of course, from the fact that the collapse of the Italian States after the Renaissance seems on the surface to present only a spectacle of various stages of dissolution. If we regard Venice as a separate nation, Italy, except for her papal contacts, had dropped out of the current of European progress. The petty changes in Modena or Siena or even Florence seemed hardly worth recording. But among them, along with the obvious dissolution, the forces of life were quietly working; and such movements as the Counter-Reformation, and the ascendancy in turn of Spain, France, and Austria, had much more than

a limited significance. The struggle of Venice in the seventeenth century, first with the Spanish-papal league and then with the Turks, supplies the stuff for an important study.

All these topics Mrs. Vernon treats with ample knowledge. Her method is to find some dominant theme for each chapter and around that theme to group the secondary events. This is necessary in order to bring some sort of intelligible scheme out of the apparent chaos. It is also legitimate, because, when we analyze closely, we shall perceive that the interference of Richelieu, for instance, or of Mazarin, practically determined the contemporary policy of the Italian States. After narrating the political history in this fashion, Mrs. Vernon gives a survey of the social, religious, artistic, and intellectual conditions of each period. These summaries, which have the value of brief but comprehensive monographs, enable us to see the general state of mind out of which the political development issued.

Taking into account the great number of events and persons that she deals with, and the brevity imposed upon her, the accuracy of her statements and her fairness in judging character are surprising. She might, at times, have been more dramatic without sacrificing either of these qualities, but in most cases, even where she falls short in emphasis, she does not mislead the reader. The most noteworthy lack occurs with Sarpi, whom she dismisses in a little more than a page. But Sarpi is one of the world's great men, and his defense of Venice against papal encroachment is probably the fact of farthest-reaching significance with which Mrs. Vernon has to deal. To devote more attention to Cosimo I., Grand Duke of Tuscany, than to Fra Paolo betrays a defective sense of proportion. We mention this point because it is exceptional. In the main, we repeat, the book excels in perspective. It abounds in thumb-nail portraits, many of which are striking likenesses. As a specimen, take this divination of Pope Pius VI.: "He was vain and timid, constantly fluctuating between extremes of obstinacy and extremes of concession, as he was led by alternate fits of vanity and timidity. Diplomats soon gauged his character and played upon his vanity. Conscious of his saintly countenance, his stately figure and beautiful manners, he thoroughly enjoyed a great ceremony in which they might all be displayed. He could be made to believe that he had gained a substantial advantage if he were provided with a crowd which shouted his praises and knelt for his benediction."

Mrs. Vernon has filled a gap in historical manuals for English readers. In a second edition a chronological table, with lists of rulers, ought to be added. It is unfortunate that the continuation of Italy's history in this series should already have been entrusted to the late W. J. Stillman, whose mind was a bundle of prejudices, and whose historical sense was *nil*.

William Roscoe Thayer.

Social Reform and the Reformation. By Jacob Salwyn Schapiro, Ph.D., Tutor in History, College of the City of New York. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Volume XXXIV., Number 2.] (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. 160.)

To attempt to sketch a picture of the social conditions in Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century in the space of eighty pages is a difficult task; it ought only to be tried by one who has well mastered the field and has taken account of the considerable number of local studies, especially into agrarian conditions, which have recently been published by German students. This has not been done in this case.

The first chapter is an indictment, in somewhat twentieth-century phraseology, of the trade conditions in Luther's time and of the oppressive monopolies of the Fuggers and Welsers. The second chapter gives the traditional view of the evil influences of the introduction of the Roman law; it is drawn in considerable part from Janssen and contains many of the exaggerations of his bitter diatribe against the "foreign code". It shows no acquaintance with anything written on this subject during the last twenty-five years—not even with Georg von Below's important volume on *Die Ursachen der Rezeption des Römischen Rechts in Deutschland* (1905). The statement of the agrarian conditions, in the third chapter on the Peasants' Revolt, rests on a few sources drawn from southwest Germany, but it is not made clear that the statement can apply only to this region. Here the author is familiar with Zimmermann and Belfort Bax but not with Gothein and Theodor Knapp. His general conclusion as to the cause of the Peasants' Revolt is that "the condition of the peasantry was rapidly deteriorating" (p. 54). The fourth chapter, dealing with Luther's attitude toward the peasants and based on Luther's own statements, is excellent. These four chapters make up part I.

Part II. contains in translation six very interesting plans of reform current in Luther's time: the so-called Reformations of Sigismund and Frederick III.; the utopian schemes of Eberlin von Günzburg and of Geismayr; and the peasant demands expressed in the Twelve Articles and in Hipler's manifesto. As none of these except the Twelve Articles have hitherto been easily accessible, the author has made a convenient addition to the Reformation literature in English. To each of the documents he has prefaced a good brief summary of the theories of its origin; in the case of Sigismund's Reformation it is a pity he did not make use of the last edition published by H. Werner in 1908. The author's translations are free, readable, and fairly accurate with a few exceptions. For instance, through failure to understand the use of *dann* in the sense of "except", he makes it appear that in Eberlin's Utopia it was decreed that "no gambling shall ever be held in public" (p. 119). It should read: "No game [referring to checkers which

Eberlin permitted as an amusement, not to gambling which he had already forbidden under all conditions] shall be played except in a place where one may see the players as he walks by." The same mistake occurs in the paragraphs relating to dancing and to servants. *Fuckerei* does not mean "deceit" (p. 120), having nothing to do with *Fuchs,* but refers to the monopolistic extortion of the great merchants like the Fuggers, of which there was so much complaint in the sixteenth century.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Villeroy, Secrétaire d'État et Ministre de Charles IX., Henri III. et Henri IV. (1543–1610). Par J. NOUAILLAC, Ancien Élève de l'École Normale Supérieure, Docteur ès-Lettres. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1909. Pp. xxiii, 593.)

THE author of this work has for some years past been recognized as one of the foremost living authorities on the period of the first Bourbon king of France. An interesting monograph on *Les Croquants du Limousin,* an edition of the letters of François d'Aerssen, diplomatic representative of the United Provinces at Paris from 1599 to 1603 (noticed in the last issue of this journal, p. 849), and perhaps most useful of all a couple of scholarly articles in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* for 1907–1908 on the historical literature of the reign of Henry IV.—"sources, travaux, et questions à traiter"—have already emanated from his pen. The present volume, by far the most considerable work which he has yet produced, worthily maintains the high standard of excellence set by its predecessors.

Nicolas de Neufville, seigneur de Villeroy, secretary of state and minister of Charles IX., Henry III., Henry IV., and Louis XIII., was the first scion of a family of fishmongers to attain high distinction in the service of his country. Considering the fact that his term of office extended over a period of half a century, and that, in foreign affairs at least, he left the imprint of his policy deep on the history of his time, it is somewhat surprising that he has hitherto lacked a biography worthy of the name. The explanation probably lies chiefly in the fact that the popular conception of the reign of Henry IV., during which Villeroy attained his greatest prominence, has been so much moulded, up to very recently, by the great work of Sully, who if he was not exactly Villeroy's rival, was certainly jealous of the influence which the latter exerted over his master, and therefore took no pains to preserve his memory. From this it is not to be inferred that the two men were in any such hostile relation to one another, as were often, for instance, the leaders of opposing factions in the council of Philip II. of Spain. For both, the end to be attained was the same—the re-establishment of peace after the devastating civil wars. In many of the internal means of attaining it, too, they were at one, *e. g.,* in the matter of toleration to the Huguenots and maintenance of the Edict of Nantes. But in foreign affairs, the sphere in which Villeroy was unquestionably most active,

the *secrétaire d'état* took a stand opposed to the majority of his colleagues, and counselled, whenever it was possible with honor, a policy of peace with Spain. The causes which led Villeroy to adopt this attitude—from his first apprenticeship under Charles IX., through the period of his enforced retirement and disgrace (1588–1594) owing to his close identification with Mayenne and the League—to the time when, in the regency of Marie de Médicis, he was able, temporarily at least, to carry his ideas into practice—are recounted at length; a sane and moderate statement of the many justifications of this policy follows; indeed the kernel of the book is to be found here. Doubtless a number of M. Nouaillac's points will be challenged, especially his estimate of the value of the great peace of 1612–1613, which was largely his hero's doing. But it should be remembered that the situation in Villeroy's day was by no means as clear as it later became. Because Richelieu staked all on an anti-Spanish policy and won, posterity has been prone to fall into the grave error of thinking that this was the sole possible line to take in 1610. That this was far from being the case M. Nouaillac's book plainly shows, and adds thereby one more to a long and imposing list of warnings that the problems of the past were by no means as simple as some glib writers, who forget that they have the advantage of a perspective of centuries, would make their readers think.

Did space permit, we should gladly dwell at greater length on this able and scholarly volume. It merits a high place among the works of Mariéjol, Bourrilly, Hauser, Courteault, and others who have recently done so much to illuminate the history of sixteenth-century France. If we ventured on any criticism it would be to remark that the relations of France and England are somewhat less completely worked out than the rest of the diplomacy of the time; and the omission of any mention of the Elizabethan calendars, especially the Spanish and Foreign (though the latter only goes to 1582) from the list of "Sources Anglaises" on page xx is certainly a matter of surprise. This comparative scantiness on the English side is however a defect almost inevitably inherent in the biography of a sixteenth-century Frenchman who has been called a "père de la paix d'Espagne", and as the tendency hitherto has been decidedly to neglect the Spanish side of the period in favor of the English, M. Nouaillac's omissions should not be remembered against him.

ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN.

An Historical Introduction to the Marprelate Tracts: a Chapter in the Evolution of Religious and Civil Liberty in England. By WILLIAM PIERCE. (London: Archibald Constable and Company. 1908. Pp. xix, 350.)

REV. WILLIAM PIERCE, a graduate of Brecon College in Wales, and now pastor of the Doddridge Church in Northampton, England, has long been a student of the beginnings of Nonconformity, though the volume before us is his first extensive publication on the theme. The work,

though written from the point of view of strong sympathy with the Puritan movement, is a worthy tribute to his patience in investigation and scholarly ability. No discussion of the Marprelate Tracts which has yet appeared so fully puts the reader in a position to understand the circumstances of their production, the immediate controversies out of which they grew, or so carefully analyzes the vexed question of the authorship of these first considerable attempts at the use of satire in English. The introduction and first two chapters, some one hundred and thirty-four pages, are devoted to a review of the English ecclesiastical situation from the beginning of the reign of Elizabeth, and especially to the first years of the primacy of Archbishop Whitgift—a review designed to show the policy of the queen and her chief prelate, and the aims of those opposed to it.

Coming to the tracts themselves, Mr. Pierce is able to make evident that the immediate antecedents of the controversy are to be found in a small anonymous tract of 1584, probably by William Fulke, master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, entitled *A Briefe and Plaine Declaration,* etc.; and bearing the running caption, *A Learned Discourse of Ecclesiasticall Government,* which has been "confused by all modern writers who have touched upon the matter with Walter Travers's *Ecclesiasticae Disciplinae. . . . Explicatio,* the English translation of which bore the title *A Full and Plaine Declaration*". It was in reply to this *Learned Discourse* and not to the work of Travers that John Bridges, dean of Sarum, wrote his bulky *Defence of the Government Established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Matters,* of 1587, which, in turn, called out the first of the Marprelate Tracts in 1588.

Mr. Pierce discusses the printing of the tracts, in the light of evidence obtained by subsequent legal examination, with great thoroughness. In his judgment they "are a protest against oppression; a cry for more liberty; first, for religious liberty, and then by necessity for civil liberty. . . . It will be clearly seen with what little ground the Marprelate Tracts have been denounced as seditious, heretical, blasphemous, and scurrilous."

Regarding their authorship Mr. Pierce presents the evidence with great thoroughness and with candid suspense of judgment. The ascription of them to Henry Barrowe made by Henry Martyn Dexter, he shows, as Powicke had already demonstrated in his *Henry Barrow* (1900), to be untenable on theological grounds. Undoubtedly John Penry and Job Throckmorton were deeply in the undertaking, but Mr. Pierce is unable to ascribe the authorship to them with the complete confidence manifested by Arber in his *English Scholar's Library* (1880). "In regard to the housing of the press, the provision of printers and distributors, there is no doubt that Penry is the principal figure"; but considerations of style make it impossible that he could have been the author of the most characteristic portions of the tracts. Circumstances point strongly to Job Throckmorton, whom Wilson in the *Cambridge*

History of English Literature (1909) regards as the not proved but scarcely to be questioned "principal agent". Mr. Pierce is disposed, however, to give some weight to Throckmorton's affirmation, "I am not Martin. I knewe not Martin." Much points to him; but Mr. Pierce cautiously concludes:

All that we are compelled to say in a spirit of unprejudiced fairness is, that the identification of Job Throkmorton as Marprelate is not complete; and nothing that we have been able to adduce positively shuts out the existence of a Great Unknown, or makes it quite incredible that the assumptions of "Martin Junior" and "Martin Senior" and the solemn denial of Throkmorton, are in agreement with historic fact. We await the lucky discovery of the next student of these interesting documents to set our perplexities at rest.

It may be hoped that Mr. Pierce will soon publish the annotated edition of the text of the Marprelate Tracts which he has had for some time in preparation.

WILLISTON WALKER.

The Wars of Religion in France, 1559–1576: the Huguenots, Catherine de Medici, and Philip II. By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, Ph.D., Associate Professor of European History in the University of Chicago. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1909. Pp. xv, 635.)

THE eighteen chapters of this important work have been skilfully distributed by the writer into five parts, each part, except the first, of 100 pages. The first 130 pages sketch the condition of France from the death of Henry II. to the outbreak of the first civil war. The second describes the first civil war, the resultant brief war with England, and concludes with an excellent chapter on Early Local and Provincial Catholic Leagues; one of the most original and important parts of the book. One hundred pages are given to the royal tour of the provinces and the Conference of Bayonne, in which the author deftly makes evident the internal situation of France and her external relations. The fourth section consists of an account of the second and third civil wars. The final section of the book opens with a chapter on the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and the last two chapters sketch the formation of the *politique* faction, its relation to the crown and to the Huguenots until the Peace of Monsieur in 1576.

In a modest preface the author gives his "reasons for venturing to write a new book on an old subject". His book is his best excuse and he needs no other. Mr. Thompson's book is not only newer but also broader than Baird's excellent work on the *Rise of the Huguenots*, where the author limited his field by his title. And most important of all, in describing that bitter turmoil of interests and ideals Mr. Thompson is scrupulously impartial. Not that the able and scholarly Professor Baird ever showed the smallest indifference to evidence, but that his strong bias in favor of the Huguenots, naïvely shown by his use of adjectives, sometimes led him unconsciously to select for narration such

facts as produced on the mind of the reader a one-sided impression. The restrained and logical mood of Mr. Thompson and the colder tone of his narration have helped his scholarship to produce a just impression on the reader's mind without much need of considering the personal equation.

Copious foot-notes indicate the reasons for the conclusions presented in the condensed and swift narrative of one who is not afraid to throw his chips into these baskets and is not anxious to dazzle his readers by showing how skilfully he handles the tools of an historian. Occasionally, indeed, Mr. Thompson cites evidence which appears to me somewhat inconclusive. For example, Claude Haton, whose journal he uses, on the whole very skilfully, does not seem a strong authority on the intimate motives of the great personages at court. Occasionally Mr. Thompson omits a piece of evidence which might have made his narrative clearer. For example, an allusion to the letters from Catherine de Medici practically calling him to arms to aid the crown, which Condé exhibited, would have made plainer the rooted distrust of the Huguenots for the woman whose mind, they knew, was generally dominant at court. Without that rooted distrust, "small politics" would not, because it could not, have renewed the wars, and that distrust was not caused by the suspicions of a league for extermination formed at Bayonne, it was rather the cause of those suspicions which in their turn increased it. But, of course, the question of what to leave out in a condensed narrative is in each case a matter of personal judgment.

Mr. Thompson makes a very just claim, in the preface, to be "the first to acquaint English readers with some of the results of recent research in the economic history of sixteenth century France". Very skilfully, at proper intervals, he reminds his readers of the things that were making Frenchmen miserable and therefore desirous of change and apt for war. And it is natural that he should at times somewhat minimize the part that religion played in the wars of religion. But his own narrative shows that, however large programmes the Huguenots might put out at the beginning of a war to attract as many recruits as possible, the irreducible minimum of their demands when peace came in sight was always security for life and property, some liberty of worship, and guarantees that these promises should not be broken (pp. 190, 340, 346, 392). Not, of course, that the Huguenots were in any sense champions of toleration. What they wanted at first was a chance to convert France to Calvinism. Their ideal was plainly a country like England, where Roman Catholic opinion was tolerated and Roman Catholic worship, which they regarded as idolatrous, vigorously suppressed. If this ideal faded from their minds as the wars progressed, it was not because they grew more tolerant, but merely because they became less hopeful of converting France. Two types of Christianity, each hardened into a system and an organization, each much adulterated by anti-Christian tempers and desires, and therefore bitterly intol-

erant, were struggling to master France. In this desperate situation the crown was unwilling to throw its influence definitely on either side, and was afraid to venture on the rash wisdom of diverting this zeal and fury into a renewal of the war with the hated Spaniard which had been the chief cause of the disorder of its finances. Researches into the economic and political conditions of the sixteenth century have shown that many impulses and motives contributed to make the civil wars, but these results have not in the least altered the outstanding fact that the unsurmountable obstacles to making a permanent peace were the zeal, the fear, the hate bred, not so much by difference of religion as by difference of opinion about religion. Mr. Thompson, in the passages I have in mind, is probably only emphasizing to his readers the newer elements in his picture. His complete grasp of the situation is, after all, shown on page 409 by his allusion to Lincoln's celebrated speech and his apt comparison of the part played by the question of religion in the civil wars of France in the sixteenth century with the part played by the question of slavery in our civil war.

The style of the book is dignified and readable, pleasantly dashed with an occasional colloquialism reminiscent of the memoirs the author has been reading. Mr. Thompson has, however, a tendency to employ participial phrases somewhat monotonously and a drift toward the use of the passive mood. He also overworks his auxiliaries; for example, "The Seine and the Loire would have had to be crossed."

Appendixes of seventy pages contain some forty documents. These are taken, for the most part, from the English State Papers, with half a dozen from the Archives Nationales and three or four from other collections. It has always seemed to me that the letter of the Duke of Guise to the Cardinal of Lorraine (appendix III.), which is printed in Condé's *Memoirs*, might easily be a Huguenot forgery. It seems improbable that Guise, when despatches were notoriously unsafe, would, at so critical a moment in the negotiations between parties, commit to writing a superfluous expression of exultation in a letter referring to the bearer for other messages.

Mr. Thompson has put the general reader and the scholar under obligations to him by this excellent work. It is to be hoped that he will enlarge the favor by writing a second volume on the Wars of the League.

PAUL VAN DYKE.

Roma prima di Sisto V.: La Pianta di Roma du Pérac-Lafréry del 1577 riprodotta dall' Esemplare esistente nel Museo Britannico. Per Cura e con Introduzione di FRANCESCO EHRLE d.C.d.G., Prefetto della Biblioteca Vaticana. Contributo alla Storia del Commercio delle Stampe a Roma nel Secolo 16° e 17°. (Rome: Danesi. 1908.)

THE topography of ancient Rome has always had great aid from printed, written, and iconographical documents of the sixteenth century.

The study has a special charm when it comes to the boundaries between science and the fine arts. During the International Historical Congress two exhibitions of this kind in the print room of the Palazzo Corsini and in the Vittorio Emmanuele Library of maps and prints of Rome will remain in grateful remembrance by all cultured admirers of Rome who had occasion to enjoy them. Once the interest is awakened in old representations of the city, one seeks in every corner of the vaults of Roman palaces, in the background of pictures and prints, for some not yet observed panorama of the Eternal City. The albums with drawings by foreign artists have been carefully studied, and at least the *Codex Escurialensis* is published in its entirety. We do not yet know what surprises the edition of the drawings of San Gallo by Professor Hülsen, for the series published by the Vatican Library, may bring in. It is to be hoped that somebody may take up the publication of all painted views of Rome of the sixteenth century. They are now scattered in expensive works (*e. g.,* the fresco-lunettes of the Vatican Library, published by Stevenson in the *Imaggio della Biblioteca Vaticana*) or have not been reproduced at all, as for example, the interesting panels with the architectural work of Sixtus V., in the Lateran Palace.

A few years ago there appeared an album of reproductions of iconographical maps of Rome, in the style of De Rossi's famous collection relating to the Middle Ages, but in this case concerning the sixteenth century. Major Rocchi presented this precious book as an extra gift to his studies about the fortifications of Rome in the same period. One map escaped his attention, which the prefect of the Vatican Library Father Ehrle has now brought forward from the map room of the British Museum, has caused to be reproduced by the studio Danesi, and has accompanied with a commentary, as one result of his researches in the libraries and print rooms of Rome and of Europe at large—a beautiful specimen of the work of the Tipografia Vaticana. He entitles his publication *Rome before Sixtus V.* This iconographical representation, cheap enough to find its place on the desk of every scholar interested in one of the many subjects with which the magnificent map of Étienne du Pérac deals, shows Rome in 1577, before the historical modernizations which filled the short reign of Sixtus V. with the activity of the staff of artists surrounding Domenico Fontana and Giacomo della Porta. What is rare, his map presents the Vatican, in the upper corner to the right hand. It gives not only churches and monuments, but also several palaces—not simply the most prominent—in perspective view. Du Pérac has not merely made an accurate bird's-eye view, but has seen his Rome with an artist's eye.

The learned commentary contains the genealogy of the maps of the same kind, till far into the seventeenth century, and the pedigree of the print dealers and *stampatori,* who handed on this plan by many successive reproductions from one generation to another. A set of documents from Roman archives, published here for the first time, in the

appendix—contracts, testaments, inventories of Roman firms of the kind concerned—throw new light on the activity of publishers like Van Aelst and the Rossi; and also upon the history of art and artists. The head of the Vatican Library has not neglected the occasion to call our attention to one of the less known of the treasures confided to his care. In the first place he shows what use can be made of the art-historical Biblioteca Cicognara. Its catalogue is familiar to art-historians, as a real bibliography of rare books about Italy, but surely not all of them know that the collection itself is incorporated in the Vaticana; and the amount of information which the author derives from the collection of prints in the Vatican Library shows us that it may be of unexpected importance.

J. A. F. Orbaan.

The English Factories in India, 1624–1629: a Calendar of Documents in the India Office, etc. By William Foster. (Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1909. Pp. xlviii, 388.)

This third volume in the series edited by Mr. Foster contains a calendar of 366 documents, all of which, except seven, are to be found at the India Office, in the Original Correspondence series, the Marine Records, and Factory Records. It constitutes a valuable addition to the printed sources for the early history of the London East India Company; and the introduction by the editor is an excellent summary of the documents and a record of the course of events in the East, 1624–1629.

As in earlier volumes the correspondence and "consultations" contain much information regarding conditions and English interests in places besides Surat, Masulipatam, and other minor Indian agencies. The continuance of factories at Batavia, Mocha, and in Persia give, therefore, a wider range than might be suspected from the title. Furthermore, the variety of topics touched on, or more fully treated, give more than special significance to the volume. Indeed the reviewer is perplexed by the question of relative importance and can at best only call attention to a few chief topics and refer the student for further and more detailed guidance to the excellent index.

As compared with the previous volume, international rivalries become more confused and are not on the whole marked by such decisive events. However, while no second Ormus is captured during these years, the Anglo-Dutch attack on Bombay in 1626 and other furious naval encounters with the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf and neighboring waters should serve to emphasize the fact that, although these were English victories, Hunter's generalization that "from 1622, India and the Persian Gulf lay open to England as far as Portugal was concerned" (*Hist. of British India*, I. 330) should be received only with modification. Another aspect of European contentions is the curiously involved Anglo-Dutch co-operation against a common enemy in the

East only shortly after the massacre at Amboyna, at a time when at home directors of the London Company were besieging the government with requests for intervention and claims for damages against the Dutch. But even in the East there are not infrequent references to Dutch competition, to "the many threatenings of the Dutch" (p. 135), and occasions "wherein as in all things the Dutch have abused them" (p. 308). There are complaints also of the new rivalry of the Danes.

In the field of economics the development of the spice trade is now to be studied side by side with that of cotton goods, whose nomenclature from "caingoulons" to "trickandees" does not thereby include either its alpha or omega. The methods of collecting a ship's load, the question of custom duties, private trade, rates of exchange, and the import of gold are all here involved and receive significant illustration.

Throughout the book the vicissitudes of native politics whether in Persia or India are a constant background to European interests. On page 312 there is noted the death early in 1629 of Shah Abbas whose alliance against the Portuguese had led to the capture of Ormus. His influence, interests, and diplomacy had, for some years past, been a subject of lively and frequent consideration to the English. So also in India civil war, political intrigues, the death of Jahangir, and finally the accession of Shah Jahan in 1628 were of importance in the history of the Mughal Empire and each reacted in various fashion on the fortunes of the English merchants, whose letters contain frequent reference to these events. But to have called attention to only these three fields of interest for which these documents are valuable is confessedly to have omitted many others which the limits of this notice must exclude. But first and last, the student is again indebted to Mr. Foster for his excellent work as editor.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

Weltgeschichte seit der Völkerwanderung. In neun Bänden. Von THEODOR LINDNER, Professor an der Universität Halle. Sechster Band. (Stuttgart und Berlin: J. G. Cotta. 1909. Pp. xii, 577.)

PROFESSOR LINDNER is noteworthy in post-Rankian Germany as having the temerity to write a work on *Geschichtsphilosophie* and to undertake single-handed a history of the world since the Germanic invasions. After surveying the numerous co-operative histories in the latter field one turns with interest to see how well one scholar handles a problem which is now generally attacked by well-marshalled battalions of historians. The writer must confess at once that he laid down Professor Lindner's work with the distinct impression that the author in single combat had at many points come nearer to winning the day than many a regiment of historians carrying the colors of some publishing house or academic institution. It is stimulating in these days to find a man measuring himself by some great synthetic task in the field of historical

work, and there is a world of suggestiveness in the treatment by a proved scholar of great epochs in which special studies have given all students a certain basis of detailed knowledge. This is especially true of Professor Lindner's thoughtful work. He has not been bound to write history according to any plan not his own and the reader is under no obligations to do anything but read and reflect and disagree with a work which he and the author know cannot be the final word on the history of the world nor any part of it.

In volume VI. Professor Lindner covers the period between the Treaty of Westphalia and the beginnings of the French Revolution. In this period he sees two kinds of development, one political and the other intellectual, each pursuing a different course. The absolutistic state is the triumph of the political development and its watchword is compulsion, while in things of the mind the struggle is unceasing for freedom and the annexation of new fields of knowledge. Out of the strife of these two opposing tendencies has come concord, and the child of the union is our modern culture.

The first half of the volume is devoted to the political history of Europe to the death of Louis XIV. True to his general view, the author very properly gives England the leading place here as in other sections of the volume. One feels while reading his sketch of English history between 1603 and 1660 that others beside Queen Christina of Sweden thought the Puritans strongly tinctured with hypocrisy. It is suggestive, to say the least, to have a picture of Cromwell toned up by lines which hint at similarities between him and Philip II. of Spain and Ferdinand II. of Germany. In the summary of the work of Richelieu comes a comparison with Cromwell which emphasizes all the advantages and all the dangers that arise in a general history which though it stimulates thought among students may mislead the general reader. But space forbids any attempt to select points like these throughout the work. Economic changes are especially noticed in the brief account of Germany. Through the twenty-three pages given to the other states of western Europe treated *seriatim* there walks the ghost of Ploetz. Eastern Europe is made part of the Continent historically as well as geographically by brief chapters on Russia, Poland, and Turkey. One hundred pages are given to the political history of the years 1715 to 1789, with brief accounts of political theories and mercantilism. This is distinctly the weakest part of the book. One might expect from Professor Lindner and such a work some unified survey of the aims and accomplishments of the enlightened despots; and the arrangement of the work, though a perfectly defensible one, isolates somewhat too much the struggle for colonial dominion. The third book, a little less than one-fourth of the volume, gives a sweeping survey of the rise of the natural sciences, the changes in philosophic thought, the trend in literature, art, theology, and political thought, and the beginnings of the economic revolution. It is a sturdy and, on the whole, a successful piece

of thoughtful synthetic work. Here again England and Englishmen are given a leading place, especially Locke's influence on the thought of the eighteenth century. Space is given, though necessarily limited, to the beginnings of journalism, the historiography of the period, English Deism, Methodism, Pietism, and secret societies. The last forty-five pages deal with Asia and Africa in this period. America is reserved for treatment in the next volume.

The bibliography at the end is a further evidence, if it were necessary, of the author's wide familiarity with historical literature, though one misses some familiar titles.

GUY STANTON FORD.

The Declaration of Indulgence, 1672: a Study in the Rise of Organised Dissent. By FRANK H. BATE, M.A., B.Litt. With an Introduction by C. H. FIRTH, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. (London: Archibald Constable and Company. 1908. Pp. xiii, 143, lxxxix, vi.)

THE Declaration of Indulgence of 1672 has a two-fold interest in English history. It was the culmination of a long series of attempts to solve the perplexing politico-religious problems of the time, and thus marks an epoch in the history of toleration. But it has further importance in the more purely political field as one of the measures of preparation for the Third Dutch War, along with the Stop of the Exchequer, the prorogation of Parliament, and the conciliation of the fanatic or desperado group of the old army faction. In this study, which was presented as a thesis for the degree of Bachelor of Letters at Oxford, Mr. Bate approaches the subject wholly from the first point of view. In a sense his subtitle is a truer description of his work, for more than half the essay is concerned with the rise of organized dissent from 1660 to 1672, and the Declaration is treated almost entirely as a part of that movement. Though his story is clearly and fairly told, its narrow range and the avoidance of many larger issues of politics with which the toleration policy was closely bound up causes this study, while valuable and suggestive, to lose a certain depth of interest and breadth of perspective which the inclusion of other tendencies would have given it. In some parts it is rather a summary of what has previously been known than distinctly original. It is not to be expected nor perhaps desired that its discoveries or conclusions should be startling or revolutionary. In the reviewer's opinion scarcely enough is made of the rising sentiment for toleration of Protestant dissent in the years preceding the Declaration nor of the preference exhibited by the Nonconformists for persecution as against the toleration of Catholics. The introduction of a bill for the ease of Protestant dissenters into Parliament is, in a sense, a more important event than the Declaration itself, and is perhaps too lightly treated here. This consideration appears most clearly in the account

of the issue of the Declaration. The chief reason for its appearance is given correctly enough, but far more evidence could and should be adduced for it than the mere statement of North quoted in the footnote (pp. 80–81). The reality of the Farnley Wood Plot (p. 44) at least was scarcely to be doubted, and in general the Nonconformist resistance and the fact that in some measure they had brought persecution on themselves is minimized here as elsewhere in the book. Nearly ninety pages of the volume are given up to appendixes. Of these sixty-eight pages are devoted to the reprinting of the lists of licenses issued under the Declaration from the *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic,* prepared by Mr. Blackburne-Daniel. One would hardly have thought this worth while in view of the easy accessibility of the *Calendars.* It is interesting to observe in this connection that Mr. Bate reckons the number of ministers ejected under the Act of Nonconformity at 1800, and to note that the number of licenses was about 1500. In spite of its limitations the present study is interesting and useful. No student of the Restoration, of Nonconformity, or of toleration will fail to find here much that is of help in his field. One might wish that the bibliography was more full, that it was better arranged and evaluated, and that the index contained at least such obvious references as the Stop of the Exchequer, Farnley Wood Plot, Baptists, Fifth Monarchy, London, and the like, to note a few among many. But, on the other hand, one may be grateful for the inclusion of a good many quotations from contemporary tract and ballad literature, and in general for a compact and convenient résumé of the royal toleration policy for the first dozen years of that most vexed Restoration period.

W. C. Abbott.

Les Relations Commerciales et Maritimes entre la France et les Côtes de l'Océan Pacifique (Commencement du XVIII^e^ Siècle). Tome I. *Le Commerce de la Mer du Sud jusqu'à la Paix d'Utrecht.* Par E. W. Dahlgren. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1909. Pp. xvi, 729.)

By the publication of the present volume Mr. Dahlgren has won the distinction not only of making an important contribution to the history of the commerce of France, but also of being a pioneer in reconstructing a chapter of an almost forgotten past. He had previously published a study in Swedish on the same subject which was awarded the Jomard prize by the Geographical Society of Paris in 1901. Unfortunately this work remained a closed volume to most students of French commerce, a fact that became all the more tantalizing after the publication in French of a most interesting article in the *Revue Historique* (July–August, 1905) and, in 1907, of a statistical account of the French voyages to the South Sea (*Voyages Français à Destination de la Mer du Sud avant Bougainville, 1695–1749*). These

students will rejoice at the decision of the author to publish his present work in French and to be assured that it contains the results incorporated in the work in Swedish and in fact supersedes it, thanks to a more extensive research. The reader will find the article spoken of above incorporated in the present volume (the last chapter but one), but not the publication of 1907, which contains the bibliography of the author's work. The abundant results of extensive research have induced the author to plan the publication of his work on a larger scale. Thus the present volume is to be succeeded by another of about equal size. That is to say, we are to have about fifteen hundred pages on the history of French commerce in the South Sea, which lasted, roughly speaking, from 1698 to 1724.

The first section of the present volume (pp. 3–103) is devoted to a brief summary of the regulations and conditions of commerce in the Spanish Empire and to the general causes which led to the development of the French commerce in the South Sea. These general causes were connected with the fact that the French found their direct trade with Spain in furnishing articles for the colonial trade, in which they had held the supremacy over the Dutch and the English, decreasing, owing to the irregularity and uncertainty of the departure of the galleons and to the capricious conduct of the Spaniards; that they were thus forced to establish a direct trade with the Spanish colonies, as the other nations had already done, and, in striving to do this, found the English, from Jamaica as a base, and the Dutch, from Curaçao, plying such a thrifty contraband trade with the Spanish West Indies and the eastern ports of Spanish America that their efforts proved fruitless for this part of the Spanish colonies; that finally by their boldness and enterprise the French pushed their way into the South Sea and established a direct and lucrative trade in the exchange of their manufactured commodities for the precious metals of Chili and Peru. The efforts on the part of the great companies of commerce to monopolize this trade is the subject of the next section (pp. 107–233). "Every activity of these companies gravitated around the commerce of the South Sea. Experience had proved that this commerce offered the surest means of acquiring, according to the ideas of the period, true wealth, the precious metals." The author makes a contribution to the history of commercial companies in correcting many mistakes of Bonnassieux (*Les Grandes Compagnies de Commerce*), especially in regard to the South Sea Company and in explaining some of the causes for the failure of these companies and of the principle of monopoly which they represented. The rapid development of this commerce, due not to the activity of these companies, but to the enterprise of individuals, caused resentment in Spain because of its illicit character, and jealousy in England and Holland because of the rich returns of specie to France. The resentment in Spain at seeing the riches of her colonial empire tapped at their roots, and that, too, by

the hands of an ally, was so great that the commerce of the South Sea became an important question in the relation of the two countries. It is principally to this subject that the third section is devoted (pp. 237–558). The question took the form in France of a conflict between political and economic interests, the former demanding satisfaction to Spain by absolute legal prohibition of this commerce and the latter demanding a continuation of this remunerative commerce either through violation of the law or through the employment of an official subterfuge in the form of a passport which was frequently used. Pontchartrain, Desmaretz, and even the great king himself were parties, either directly or indirectly, in sanctioning this subterfuge. As to the jealousy of the Dutch and English its importance is developed in the fourth section (pp. 561–729) which treats of the relation of the commerce of the South Sea to the War of the Spanish Succession. "It was this lucrative commerce above everything else which inspired jealousy in the enemies of France and a determination to put an end to it at all costs."

The abundant and accurate foot-notes reveal the author's knowledge of an extraordinary range of books and of his fruitful research in the manuscripts, chiefly, of the Archives Nationales and Archives des Affaires Étrangères at Paris and in the collection at Saint Servan. He has paid too little attention, I think, to the Archives Coloniales. By an examination, for instance, of volume III. and IV. of the Correspondance Générale de St. Domingue and of volume I. of the Correspondance de la Compagnie de St. Domingue he would have found some interesting light on the efforts of the French to establish a direct trade with the Spanish colonies before entering the South Sea. But it is to be chiefly regretted that the author did not extend his researches into the Spanish archives. The apology which he expresses for this in his introduction and on page 50 does not and cannot blind the student to the fact that it was with Spanish colonies that the French plied this trade and that the correspondence of the Spanish officials from Peru and Chili must throw some interesting light on this subject and should constitute an essential element in such a scholarly history.

STEWART L. MIMS.

The Political History of England. In Twelve Volumes. Edited by WILLIAM HUNT, D.Litt., and REGINALD L. POOLE, M.A., LL.D. Volume IX. *The History of England from the Accession of Anne to the Death of George II.* (*1702–1760*). By I. S. LEADAM, M.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. xx, 557.)

OBVIOUSLY Mr. Leadam stands in no need of Carlyle's warning to Froude not to write commentary on history instead of history itself. Yet a reviewer who follows the principle so ably defended by De Maupassant, that it is not the function of a critic to set up his own

standard but to ascertain the purpose of an author and to judge the performance accordingly, must, on the whole, estimate the present work favorably. In accordance with the aims of the series to which he is a contributor Mr. Leadam tells the story of the events which happened in England from 1702 to 1760 in a clear and orderly fashion, with little display of enthusiasm, generalization, or individual opinion. Evidently, however, he has read widely, and he weaves into his narrative a wealth of illustrative quotation, particularly from the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.

The late Sir John Robert Seeley brought out for us the larger features of the eighteenth century, emphasizing its two leading characteristics: the development of cabinet government, and the expansion of England into the leading place among European nations as a commercial and colonizing power. Mr. George Macaulay Trevelyan in his *England under the Stuarts,* which in point of time precedes and partly overlaps the period under review, fills his pages with numberless suggestive interpretations of the events with which he had to deal. Mr. Leadam, on the other hand, is severely chronological and generally non-committal: the reader learns much of *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist* and little of *wie es eigentlich geworden ist.* Nevertheless, it would be unjust to leave the impression that the book is a mere arid chronicle. The author gives us several crisp and clean-cut estimates of the personages of the time, of Anne, of the first two Georges, of Queen Caroline, of Sunderland. Marlborough is well hit off with a few bold strokes, and the characterization of Sacheverell is most graphic. Again, the commercial causes of the War of the Spanish Succession are adequately discussed (pp. 5–6) and there is a pithy sketch of the growth of the power of the cabinet under the first Hanoverian (pp. 231–232). While there is none of that sustained brilliancy of style which made the reading of Mr. Fisher's book in the same series such a joy, one comes across, here and there, a neat and clever bit of phrasing. For example, "Bolingbroke himself", we are told, "lies under no suspicion of indulgence in the luxury of religious antipathy" (p. 212). Or what could be better than this? "The pretender returned despondent to Lorraine and contented himself with issuing a manifesto protesting against the usurper and proving with the aid of genealogical trees that there were fifty-seven other persons with a better title to the throne" (p. 225). Nevertheless, most of these things are crowded between serried ranks of details.

In view of this fact, and since most of the volumes are constructed on a similar plan, one may be pardoned for raising again the query as to the place which the Hunt and Poole series and the *Cambridge Modern History,* and similar undertakings are meant to fill. Certainly, the general reader can scarcely be expected to grope through such detailed accounts with no pillars of cloud or fire to guide his steps, while the specialist will not find sufficient citation or documentary evidence

for his purpose. Another point may be raised in this connection: the editors of this series have stated that it is their policy to confine the foot-notes so far as possible to original authorities. That doubtless explains why the author of the present volume, while citing Stanhope's exhaustive work in order to correct some of its statements, does not refer to it in other cases of manifest indebtedness.

Only a few more points can be selected for comment. Certain picturesque personalities flit across the pages like ghosts when a touch might have brought them to life, for example: that fine old sea-dog Benbow, the erratic Peterborough, Alberoni, in whom genius and buffoonery were strangely blended, and that "diplomatic bull-dog" Ripperda. Henry Fox is once more designated as a "political adventurer" (p. 412); strangely enough Macaulay's phrase is never put in quotation marks. The reader is deprived of a delicious morsel by the omission of all details of the brilliant debate on Hardwicke's Marriage Act. The Bangorian controversy and the consequent suspension of convocation deserve at least some mention.

Mr. Leadam has been so careful in matters of fact that almost nothing may be said on this head. The date for the declaration of war against Spain in 1739 (p. 363) is usually given as October 19, and since first-fruits and tenths were formerly paid to the pope, it is hardly correct to say (p. 43) that they were restored to the clergy. One would like a reason for attributing the invention of the term "broad-bottom" to Argyle (p. 383); Horace Walpole, apparently, did not regard him as the author. It is now generally recognized that Charles XII. had no intention of invading England in 1717; the whole scheme was a device to extort money from the Jacobites (pp. 275–276). Since Mr. Leadam adopts the view that Newcastle was a man of greater understanding than is commonly supposed (p. 384), and since he points out that the timid old intriguer anticipated Pitt's idea of concentrating the national energies in America (p. 448), it is strange that he does not consider Mr. Corbett's very conclusive explanation of the causes of his hesitancy at the opening of the Seven Years' War. Also, in treating of the siege of Quebec Durell's negligence and its importance are not mentioned, nor is Admiral Saunders given the credit due him for his part in making the campaign a success.

Several findings, certainly not generally known, might be recorded. Macaulay's hero Somers was evidently not above taking bribes (pp. 161, 173). It will be news to many that Oxford's wife and children attended a Presbyterian meeting-house (p. 218). The offer of George I. to surrender Gibraltar is held to have been a mere pretense (p. 310), and the affair of Wood's halfpence is presented in a light more favorable to the Irish than is usual among English writers (pp. 312–320). In the account of Prince Charlie's invasion of England in 1745 an able and convincing argument is presented to show that he stood little chance of success had he pressed on from Derby to London (p. 398).

Chapter v. on the union with Scotland seems far from adequate. Chapter xviii. on literature and manners bristles so with names as to suggest a handbook of reference, although there are some judgments well and tersely expressed; for instance, the reference to a "society in which classical correctness commanded a more assured applause than poetic inspiration" (p. 482). On the other hand, a misplaced clause which makes Pepys "a man of unblemished character" (p. 489) is certainly a startling ambiguity. In the bibliography MacKinnon's and Mathieson's works on the union might have been mentioned, and likewise Andrew Lang's *Prince Charles Edward Stuart*. It is strange, too, that the word "cabinet" and the name Wood do not appear in the index. Among the excellent series of maps one of western Europe would have enabled the reader to follow the military history of the period more conveniently.

Arthur Lyon Cross.

A History of Germany, 1715–1815. By C. T. Atkinson, Fellow and Modern History Lecturer of Exeter College. (London: Methuen and Company. 1908. Pp. xx, 732.)

The title of "the best seller" in the publisher's list of novels is a wondrous thing, frequently showing more imagination and exciting more thought than the plot, because of its lack of relation to the theme. But a work of history ought not to be difficult to name with reasonable accuracy and the author if he misnames it has no defense in that he writes a preface explaining in what way the title is inexact. Mr. Atkinson's stout volume is not a history of Germany between 1715 and 1815. If he had called his volume a "Military History of Germany, 1715 to 1815", he would have described his work more accurately, and as he has done it reasonably well there would be no occasion for excuse in the preface. True there are chapters on diplomacy and administration, but they are only the baggage train from which the reader subsists as he marches from battlefield to battlefield. Altogether too frequently he is obliged to forage on other fields than those covered by the author in order to sustain his interest and to give body and life to the story of battles and campaigns.

The year 1715 and the treaties called by the name of Utrecht are an excellent starting point for work on the political history of almost any western European country, and 1815 is an equally good stopping point, especially for Germany. It is true as the author remarks that there was no unified German history in the century between these dates, but the fact remains that there was a Germany and the question for the historian is, how was the Germany on which Louis XIV. closed his eyes in 1715 different from the Germany into which Bismarck was born in 1815, and how had the change come about, or why was it not greater?

Mr. Atkinson does not think that the answer lies wholly in the history of Germany's wars but states simply that these are his special

interest, and his interpretation of what was decisive leads him, not without justification, to traverse most of the battlefields of central and even eastern Europe in this century. He begins with two chapters on Germany and the German states about 1715, their constitutions, administration, statistics, and dynasties. This is material drawn from Zwiedineck-Südenhorst, Erdmannsdörffer, Biedermann, and similar works. It is a real service to have made this information about the old German Empire and its components available in English. I know of no other work in English which has done this so well. Then, with exceptions to be noted, Mr. Atkinson is off to the wars. The exceptions are a short chapter on Prussia under Frederick William I., a brief account of Maria Theresa's reforms (ch. x.), domestic affairs in the Hapsburg possessions under Maria Theresa and Joseph II., a chapter on Germany and the French Revolution with a summary similar to those in chapters I. and II. on the German states in 1792, which was well worth doing for those not familiar with German, the resettlement of 1803 (ch. XXIII.) based on Häusser and Fisher, Germany at the mercy of Napoleon (ch. XXIX.), a condensation of Seeley and Fisher, part of chapter XXVI. on the Rhine Confederation and Prussia after Jena, and fifteen pages of chapter XXXIV. on the Congress of Vienna, *i. e.*, the formation of the Germanic Confederation. The other three-fourths of the book is military history with the diplomatic preliminaries and treaty results of the wars.

As a military history the work begins with the fag-end of the northern wars against Charles XII. and ends with Waterloo. After examining the twenty-four page index of proper names the reviewer is free to confess that he finds no name or place omitted that he ever heard of in the military history of central Europe in the century between 1715 and 1815. It is a rare page that does not show from ten to twenty proper names and such a page as 513 with almost sixty (some repetitions) can scarcely be duplicated outside this or possibly some other recent English historical work. It is needless to say that this does not make good history any more than piling bricks makes a building. The author has done all this so conscientiously and thoroughly, feeling constantly the limitations of space, that it seems ungrateful to tell him after he is in port that if he had dumped half his cargo of names and details overboard and substituted some general discussion of the tactics and military organization of such men as Eugene, Frederick, and Napoleon, he would have done something more worth while than the pages which have cost him days of painstaking labor. For such vital things as those which relate themselves to the explanation of great personalities, the character of nations, and the efficiency of political and administrative systems, as Professor Delbrück is showing us, Mr. Atkinson has not found the needed space. It is to be regretted that a military history of Germany between the dates chosen does not even mention Boyen's law of 1814 which codified the Prussian military

system of universal military service, made clear the greatest lesson learned from the century of war here detailed, laid the basis for every military system of the countries of continental Europe in the nineteenth century and consequently affected their political and financial policies and even their international relations.

The author has read much more widely than his bibliography indicates and has put together with painstaking care and accuracy a great mass of facts, and these qualities will make his volume an acceptable reference work for those interested in military history. Sketch plans of some twenty-five battlefields and several helpful maps, *e. g.*, of the valley of the Danube, add much to its value from this point of view.

GUY STANTON FORD.

A Vindication of Warren Hastings. By G. W. HASTINGS. (London and New York: Henry Frowde. 1909. Pp. viii, 203.)

THIS book is not a life of Warren Hastings, nor is it based upon materials unknown to students or unused by other writers. Aside from the introduction which includes an account of Hastings's Tibetan policy, and a concluding chapter on Daylesford, the English home of Hastings, the book is an examination of the chief topics which have been made the basis of attack on Hastings. The sources of the book are to be found in Forrest's *State Papers,* though use has also been made of the lives by Gleig and Lyall, Strachey's *Rohilla War,* and Stephen's *Story of Nuncomar.* Certain personal observations and family reminiscences are found in the chapter on Daylesford. Naturally Macaulay's *Essay* is the chief object of attack; but it is strange that nothing is said of the detailed reply to Stephen in Beveridge's *Trial of Nanda Kumar: a Narrative of a Judicial Murder,* nor is any special attempt made to deal with errors which Beveridge long ago asserted to exist in Stephen's treatment of the case. The literature of the trial of Hastings is only casually alluded to, for this book is not a history of the trial, nor are the circumstances under which the charges were finally determined treated in adequate fashion. The proper limitations set for this notice restrain the reviewer at present from attempting what would seem to be an attractive inquiry—namely, to study once more the trial of Hastings and to examine with the aid of recently published sources the charges brought against him, to analyze more closely Macaulay's historical methods, and in this fashion to review the history of the literature on Hastings. As a whole, this is not attempted in this book. The matters to be treated, therefore, must reduce themselves to a brief analysis and a test as to whether the author has made proper use of the *State Papers.* And here naturally the gratitude and appreciation of students must once more be expressed to Mr. Forrest for his great editorial achievements.

The charges against Hastings are here grouped under the following

six headings: the Rohilla War, "Nuncoomar", the wars with the Marathas and with the French together with the internal dissensions between Hastings and his English colleagues, the struggle with Mysore, Cheit Sing, and the Begums. Then follows a summary in which the chief points involved in each matter are recapitulated; and the author, after a vigorous yet courteous attack on Macaulay's *Essay*, concludes that the documents "demonstrate the moral integrity of Warren Hastings as clearly as they do his intellectual greatness" (p. 187). The book as a whole is a clear and powerful argument to that end and aims to popularize truths too long enclosed in archives. However, without rejecting the author's criticisms of Macaulay, or minimizing in the slightest degree the importance of the documents utilized, some of the larger issues suggested by this study of British administration in India at that period will probably not be as satisfactorily dismissed by many students.

The test of the use made of the documents shows in a number of quotations inaccuracies of spelling and in some instances verbal variations. On the whole, however, the use of the documents has been legitimate. The question whether Mrs. Hastings ever received money from natives, thus perhaps stimulating charges of corruption against the governor, may never be answered. Certainly we do not find any answer here.

ALFRED L. P. DENNIS.

La Vente des Biens Nationaux pendant la Révolution. Avec Étude Spéciale des Ventes dans les Départements de la Gironde et du Cher. Ouvrage couronné par l'Académie des Sciences Morales et Politiques. Par MARCEL MARION, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Bordeaux. (Paris: Honoré Champion. 1908. Pp. xviii, 448.)

THE sale of the public lands during the French Revolution offers an instance of an old theme entirely renewed by abandoning a method of treatment which consisted in summing up in sweeping generalizations the fragmentary and inexact impressions of writers of memoirs, and, instead, undertaking to investigate in typical districts or departments the records of the actual sales. The history of the legislation affecting the sales is of itself baffling in complexity. M. Marion remarks that between 1790 and 1802 the successive laws provided for no fewer than thirty different modes of acquisition, and that payment could be made at one time or another not only in assignats and mandats but also in every imaginable form of government paper. The study of the sales is obviously of still greater complexity and must proceed slowly. Up to the present time noteworthy results have been published for about a dozen districts or departments. To these M. Marion has now added studies of the sales in the Gironde and in the Cher, two regions of contrasting characteristics, one a maritime department with Bordeaux

as its capital, the other in the interior with Bourges as the principal city. But Professor Marion's book is something more than this. It presents a careful discussion of all the legislation affecting the public lands down to the vote of the *milliard* in 1825, including the distinguishing features and the general results of the sale at each stage, illustrating them from the evidence gathered for the two departments particularly, but also from much pertinent matter taken elsewhere. It is altogether the most enlightening treatment of the subject that has appeared.

Like his predecessors, M. Marion is concerned principally with the question of the social consequences of the sale, whether it increased the relative number of small landed properties in France. In seeking to contribute towards a final answer to the question, he has carried his investigations beyond his predecessors by considering the extent to which the distribution of properties effected by the original sales was modified by subsequent resales. The number of these depended upon the extent to which the first sales were made to land speculators or to men whom the course of the Revolution prompted to sell what they may have bought to hold. One of the causes turning purchasers into sellers was the continued depreciation of such property, especially if it had once belonged to the emigrants. The explanation of this depreciation is to be found, in part, in the confusion which the constant change of the laws brought into all questions of title, and, in part, in the fact that much so-called emigrant property had been fraudulently seized and sold, and a taint of suspicion affected all property of this origin. Special difficulties surround the question of resales, owing to the lack of public records of such later transactions. M. Marion believes, however, that his evidence justifies the statement that in the departments of the Gironde and the Cher these sales were equal to one-sixth of the original sales, and that, to a slight extent, they redistributed the property in smaller lots and put it into the hands of humbler owners. In the case of the original sales of the church lands purchasers from the middle class decidedly predominated, although the proportion in the Cher was somewhat less to the disadvantage of the peasant class. In the sales of the property of the emigrants the peasants gained a more nearly equal position, mainly because the legislation of the Convention subdivided the estates and encouraged the small purchasers. During the period of the Directory the fiscal interest was uppermost, and the sales were chiefly to speculators, or to persons who saw no other satisfactory way of getting rid of their worthless assignats or mandats, or to families of the former owners. On the whole, M. Marion believes that small properties as a feature of the French landed system were strengthened, although their relation to the total was not much changed. In the Cher the larger estates were not much broken up, and in many cases the old owners were able to reconstitute their properties. The nobility as a landed aristocracy was, nevertheless, hopelessly crippled.

If the sales are to be considered as an effort to distribute the church lands among buyers likely to make a more effective use of them, and to transfer the lands of the emigrant nobles to the bourgeoisie or the peasantry, they were, M. Marion thinks, successful. As a financial operation they were a disastrous failure.

The financial aspect of the sale M. Marion explains with the most instructive fullness. He remarks that while originally the assignats were created to facilitate the sale of the new public lands, in the end the land sales were pushed forward with reckless haste to absorb the ever-increasing flood of assignats. He adds, the assignat has "dénaturée" the sale, "il l'a irrémédiablement faussée, il l'a transformée en une quasi-donation . . . une opération qui aurait pu et dû procurer à l'État d'immenses resources; il a spolié la nation de toute la substance de son magnifique patrimoine. Instrument de salut, on le dit: mais il faut ajouter toute de suite, instrument, aussi et surtout, de ruine." To accept as exact this severe judgment it is only necessary to inspect the many tables containing the statistics of successive payments on typical sales. For example, a property, appraised at 101,000 in assignats, which at the time were worth 90,467.50, actually brought in 52,701.35, because the later payments in assignats were not worth more than from a third to a fifth of their face value. In the case of the emigrant lands there was additional loss, because they were estimated in assignats, without allowance for depreciation, although the "maximum" legislation openly acknowledged a depreciation of at least a third, and because even the early payments for these lands were made two years later than the first payments on the church lands. Furthermore, most of the payments were made in 1795, as a consequence of the law of 3 Messidor, when the assignats were fast becoming worthless.

Among M. Marion's conclusions there is one for which his evidence does not seem complete. This is the view that all classes of persons were eager to purchase the lands of the Church. He shows that many ecclesiastics, some of them non-jurors later, were purchasers; in most cases, of the glebe connected with their livings. It is also true that many purchasers became emigrants or perished on the scaffold. But he does not show that the conservatives or reactionaries of 1790 were among the purchasers. A man might be fairly radical and yet perish as a *modéré* or fly from the country in 1793.

H. E. Bourne.

Les Projets de Restauration Monarchique et le Général Ducrot Député et Commandant du 8e Corps d'Armée. D'après ses Mémoires et sa Correspondance. Par le Vicomte de Chalvet-Nastrac. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1909. Pp. viii, 381.)

The general Ducrot whose political activity is related in this book died in 1882. After having been one of the good officers of Napoleon

III. he came into prominence during the Franco-Prussian War, especially at the battle of Sedan and at the skirmishes around Paris. To the general public, however, his name is known merely by two incidents which were widely exploited to make him ridiculous. The one was a speech addressed to his soldiers after the defeat of La Malmaison in which he made the unfortunate pledge to enter Paris "dead or victorious". Later, in 1876, when he was commander-in-chief of the 8th army corps he had his general manoeuvres opened by a mass celebrated by a bishop on the summit of Mont Beuvray. To complete this extraordinary manifestation the prelate gave to the kneeling army the benediction of Pius IX. At a time of rampant anticlericalism it is easy to imagine the jeers of the press. General Ducrot who had been a loyal soldier of the Empire became, in the unsettled condition following the war, an aggressive advocate of the restoration of legitimate monarchy. His political activity, not merely as deputy of Nièvre but also as commander-in-chief of the 8th army corps, became so marked that the Republican party forced President MacMahon to remove him from active service. In spite of this remarkable record the family of General Ducrot was afraid that the importance of his political role, especially in the attempts at monarchical restoration, had been forgotten by the public and overlooked or ignored by historians. Therefore they handed over to the Vicomte de Chalvet-Nastrac the papers of the general, including his correspondence with his wife and a sort of memoir wherein he relates, in the third person, events in which he took a part. Thus this book originated.

Besides throwing more light on some political interventions of the general, some of which had never been mentioned before, it tells once more the complicated history of the Royalist conspiracy between 1871 and 1878, the rivalry between the Orleanist and the Legitimist factions, the efforts at fusion, the conflicting ambitions of the princes, the noble but absurd obstinacy of the Comte de Chambord in his mad insistence upon the return to the white flag, the final reconciliation between the two branches, at Frohsdorf (August 5, 1873), the clever tactics of Thiers, and the loyalism or hesitations of Marshal MacMahon which finally defeated, as much as did the pretender himself, the plans of restoration.

In the diaries and letters of General Ducrot we find him in the vanguard of the fight, now interviewing the Duke d'Aumale at Biarritz, now travelling to Antwerp to advise the Comte de Chambord. He did not hesitate while general of the Republic to send an emissary to the pretender at Frohsdorf. At a moment's notice, he answered the pretender's call to a meeting at Versailles where the Comte de Chambord had come incognito, in November, 1873. In all these interviews, some of which were highly dramatic, the general shows himself an ardent Legitimist, a rabid hater of all the so-called "radicals" who were then trying to establish the Republic on a solid foundation, a soldier abso-

lutely indifferent to anything except the "salvation of France" as he understands it, *i. e.*, by the return to the combined tyranny of throne and altar. As a curious illustration of the type of men that were then trying to make France retrace her steps beyond the revolution of 1789, this book will serve a useful purpose.

While it more than fulfills the desires of the family by giving General Ducrot all the credit he deserves for his loyalty to his king, while it shows, also, the absolute confidence that the exile of Frohsdorf had in the general, it illustrates likewise the gulf separating soldiers like Ducrot, pretenders like the Comte de Chambord, from the ideas and ideals of the country which they expected to guide. It certainly more than justifies the measure by which the government dismissed from office an officer who considered it his highest duty to plot against the Republic.

O. G.

The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907: a Series of Lectures delivered before the Johns Hopkins University in the Year 1908. By JAMES BROWN SCOTT, Technical Delegate of the United States to the Second Peace Conference at the Hague. In two volumes. Volume I. *Conferences.* Volume II. *Documents.* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1909. Pp. xiv, 887; vii, 548.)

INASMUCH as one of the best histories of the First Peace Conference at the Hague was written by a leading member of the American delegation, Mr. Frederick W. Holls, it was eminently fitting that Professor James Brown Scott, our technical delegate and one of the most active members of the American delegation, should describe the work of the Second Hague Conference.

Official connection with a conference may possibly have drawbacks as well as advantages for its historian. He might exhibit bias, see the proceedings at too close a range, or hesitate to criticize the work of his superiors and associates. But there is strong internal evidence that Mr. Scott has viewed his subject in the proper perspective, and that he has worked at his task with a discriminating enthusiasm and in a scientific spirit. He writes throughout from the standpoint of the advocate of peace who favors arbitration rather than disarmament.

As stated in the preface, the first volume is "based upon a series of lectures delivered before the Johns Hopkins University in the year 1908. The lectures have been carefully revised and much enlarged. The substance, however, remains unaltered and the conversational style has been preserved."

The first three chapters give a general survey of the Genesis of the International Conference and the results of the two Hague Conferences. Then follow two interesting chapters on the Composition of the Conferences and the Nature, Origin, and Practice of International

Arbitration. In the remaining eleven chapters, the various conventions, declarations, resolutions, and wishes (*voeux*) are carefully analyzed.

The second volume contains the Instructions and Official Reports of the American Delegation, Diplomatic Correspondence of our Government, and the texts of the various conventions, etc., of the two conferences (French and English on parallel pages). It would have been more convenient to the reader if the editor had indicated the subject-matter under page or marginal headings. Especially valuable are the Table of Signatures, and the Reservations of the Different Governments, on pp. 528–541. The appendix to the first volume also contains a number of useful documents. Although the author's criticisms on some points are less severe and his conclusions more optimistic than the reviewer would have them, he is by no means blind to the failures of the conference of 1907 and the defects in portions of its work. For example, he refers to the failure of the Fourth Commission as "unfortunate and discouraging" (p. 135), and he is perhaps too severe in his unqualified censure of the destruction of neutral prizes, which the conference failed to condemn. But his denunciation of this "malpractice" is certainly refreshing and forceful: "It is a stranger to the Law of Nations; conceived in sin, it is begotten in iniquity and known only in malpractice" (p. 727).

On the other hand, our author is too indulgent in his attitude towards the failure of the conference properly to regulate the laying of submarine mines (pp. 576 ff.); and his characterization of the Convention on the Rights and Duties of Neutral Powers in Naval Warfare (p. 620) as an "earnest and solid piece of work" is much too favorable. The rules incorporated in articles 12–19 (I. 635, 643, and II. 513–515) do not amount to international regulation. They permit municipal law to operate in lieu of international law respecting the length of stay and coaling of belligerent warships in neutral ports.

Of positive errors there seem to be very few. The word "revision" is duplicated on page 81 and there is a misprint of *Macy's* for Morey's on page 192 n. The following extraordinary statement occurs on page 168: "The happy co-operation of the American delegation and Dr. Drago assures the peace of the world." It is difficult to see how the "insertion of the phrase 'desirable' in Article 9 of the revised convention brings a moral pressure to bear upon the parties to submit their controversy to a judicial inquiry", or how "desirability" can be regarded as a "step toward an obligation" (pp. 273, 306). The author does not appear to appreciate the possibilities contained in article 48 of the Convention for the Pacific Settlement of International Disputes (pp. 285–286). The statement (p. 421) that the Convention for the Limitation of Force in the Collection of Contract Debts is a "solemn and formal recognition of the Monroe Doctrine", seems greatly exaggerated. It is not apparent why the rule asserting that the "right of belligerents to adopt means of injuring the enemy is not unlimited"

should be characterized as "cruel" (art. 22 on p. 535). The publication of an article in 1882 (p. 589 and note) can scarcely be called "recent". There is considerable reiteration of certain points and phrases, as for example, the frequent repetition of the statement that the so-called permanent Court of Arbitration of 1899 was a mere "panel or list of judges".

Chapter IX. on the Proposed Court of Arbitral Justice is of exceptional interest, but contains no suggestion of the important role played by the author in the elaboration and discussion of the American project. Especially valuable are the discussions of questions of arbitral procedure (see index). The reactionary attitude of Germany at both conferences is clearly exhibited, although there is no mention of Germany's opposition to the insertion of the phrase "more urgent than ever" in the resolution advocated by Great Britain in favor of the limitation of armaments. Mr. Scott plainly resents (p. 111) the failure of the conference to send a congratulatory telegram to its real initiator, Theodore Roosevelt, and calls special attention (p. 115) to the fact that "no American delegate was entrusted with the presidency of a commission."

There has been great need of a volume in English which should analyze the work of the Second Hague Conference in a manner at once interesting to the general reader and satisfactory to students and teachers of international law. For the successful accomplishment of this task Professor Scott deserves our heartiest thanks.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The Federal and State Constitutions, Colonial Charters, and other Organic Laws of the States, Territories, and Colonies now or heretofore forming the United States of America. Compiled and edited under the Act of Congress of June 30, 1906, by FRANCIS NEWTON THORPE, Ph.D., LL.D. In seven volumes. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1909. Pp. xxxv, 4430.)

FEW compilations can have a greater importance to the student of American history than a revised and properly enlarged edition of Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*. To say nothing of the well-known imperfections of that work, the thirty years that have passed since it was published have seen the adoption of something like twenty new state constitutions, and the passage by Congress of at least a dozen other organic laws. Their bulk adds more than a third to what is in Poore. The substitution of seven manageable octavo volumes for two large quartos is agreeable.

Criticism of such a work must address itself to questions of inclusion, of arrangement, of texts, and of notes. Since the book has no

preface, we are left to infer what principles of inclusion have been followed in respect to organic laws other than charters and constitutions. It is not easy to see, for instance, why Dr. Thorpe should include the act of 1812 enlarging the boundaries of Louisiana, and not that of 1866 enlarging Nevada; why he should omit the act of 1871 for the government of the District of Columbia, while giving those of 1801 and 1878; why, giving Cutt's commission of 1680 and Andros's of 1688, he should give no other commissions of royal governors; nor why he should include a text of the "Mecklenburg Declaration" of May 20, 1775. We ought all to be too grateful for the large amount of useful matter he has given us, extending down to the Oklahoma constitution of 1907 inclusive, to cavil at some omissions, for which indeed he may have explanation or defense. But it is a bad mistake to print on pp. 2590–2593, under New Jersey, a document styled "Charles II.'s Grant of New England to the Duke of York, 1676, exemplified by Queen Anne, 1712", without perceiving that, apart from the few lines of formal exemplification, it is the same document which one has already printed on pp. 1637–1640, under Maine, as "Grant of the Province of Maine, 1664".

The arrangement of the documents is like that of Poore, and admirably clear. First come the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution with its amendments. Then come the grant of Ferdinand and Isabella to Columbus, April 30, 1492, the bull *Inter caetera* of May 4, 1493, the English letters patent of 1496 to Cabot, those to Gilbert and Raleigh, the charter of the Dutch West India Company, Heath's patent, the Articles of Confederation of New England, and the Albany Plan. Then follow the state documents, in alphabetical order. Twenty-seven pages of Illinois constitution of 1848 have the running headline "Illinois 1818". There is a good table of contents, and a fair index, of the "pub. doc." type.

Of the texts, vastly the greater part is the text of modern constitutions and acts, derived from official sources and presumably accurate. The texts of the colonial charters and other documents of that period cannot be praised. It is true that they present far greater difficulties. To determine what are authoritative texts (and indeed what documents should be included) requires unusual scholarship, to procure accurate copies of them involves much trouble. But the compiler of these volumes is content, *e. g.*, to take some translations and a larger number of texts from Ebenezer Hazard (A. D. 1792–1794), even Hazard's quite inaccurate translation of the charter of the Dutch West India Company. In the case of texts, I am careful not to allege inaccuracy except in cases where it is demonstrable by the use of photographic facsimiles accessible to everyone—the bull *Inter caetera* of May 4, the patent to Cabot (nine errors in the first 27 lines), the *Mayflower* Compact (six errors in that brief document), and the New England Confederation, of which Dr. Thorpe's text is not an entirely accurate reproduction of

either Pulsifer's, Bradford's, Winthrop's or that of the Hartford manuscript. The Plymouth patent of January 13, 1630, is wrongly dated 1629.

The foot-notes are confined within modest limits, but are not free from grave error. It is twice stated (pp. 1621, 1827) that the Virginia patent of 1606 "*gave the lands* along the North American coast between the thirty-fourth and the forty-fifth degrees of north latitude to two companies", etc. Note *c* on p. 3035 shows the editor not duly cognizant of the traits of a writ of privy seal, not patent under the great seal, in the passage above. He conceives of the act of 1790 for the government of the territory of the United States south of the Ohio as being among the organic acts of Kentucky. In the case of New Hampshire an excellent body of notes has been supplied by Mr. A. S. Batchellor.

The chief general criticism to be made upon Dr. Thorpe's foot-notes is that, whereas a proper appreciation of the scope and bearing of many of these acts and constitutions depends largely upon a knowledge of changing boundary lines and of other facts of historical geography, the information supplied on these matters is often insufficient and sometimes quite erroneous. Striking examples of this weakness may be seen if a reader having in mind the West Florida episode will examine the notes under Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi. Three notes on p. 2594 belong on p. 2533.

J. Franklin Jameson.

History of the City of New York in the Seventeenth Century. By Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer. Volume I. *New Amsterdam*; Volume II. *New York under the Stuarts.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. xxviii, 533; xii, 640.)

The city of New York has not yet attained the literary dignity of Rome, which can show a list of several thousands of treatises upon its history, antiquities, and topography. As however Mrs. Van Rensselaer in her present work has appended a list of five hundred and fifty "Books and Articles of Value" (the latter mostly of a documentary nature), very largely used by her in the preparation of her history of the eighty-two years from Hudson's voyage in 1609 to the fall of Leisler in 1691, we may say that New York, for the period of its infancy, has made a very good start. If from this formidable list we eliminate the comparatively limited number of collections of official documents and of contemporaneous treatises of one sort or another we have remaining a long array of histories and monographs of various descriptions, some of which are good, many are indifferent or suspicious, and some are shocking. The value, therefore, of a new writer's work in this particular field must depend largely upon the judgment which he shows in accepting or in rejecting the deductions of his predecessors.

The author of the work under review has some special qualifications for her undertaking. Her untiring industry in historical research is so

manifest from the mere inspection of her volumes that it is unnecessary to enlarge upon it. With the general current of history of her chosen period she is familiar. Either by intuition or by experience she possesses an apparently just conception of the Dutch character and of its various manifestations in the affairs of ordinary life. This has enabled her as a rule to avoid the influence of what may be called the Washington Irving school of writers, which has done so much to propagate false and unworthy notions of New Netherland history. For these notions she has an undisguised and proper contempt. Furthermore, Mrs. Van Rensselaer has carefully studied one or two very recent works, such, for example, as the *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts,* published by the state of New York, and in the previously hidden facts brought to light by these publications she has been able to find much to add to the historical matter set forth by her predecessors in her chosen field of literature.

With all these advantages, however, the author has been unable to avoid one very serious source of error; this arises from the method she has adopted in prosecuting her investigations. All historical research resolves itself ultimately in one way or another into a consideration at first or at second hand of contemporaneous original sources. The sources of New Netherland history, however, offer peculiar difficulties to investigators. Written in a language with which comparatively few have acquaintance and in a script painfully trying to the modern eye, the student is almost irresistibly led in many cases to rely upon translations of these documents which have appeared from time to time by various hands, or to the dangerous practice of resorting to the calendar entries alone for the information which he seeks. Unfortunately, the best and most critical investigators have long ago been forced to the conclusion that both the translations and the calendars are frequently utterly unreliable. To these snares for the student must be added another, and that is to be found in the disposition shown by many writers to ignore the work-day character of the New Netherland colonists, and to try rather to invest them with an atmosphere of quaintness and with fanciful surroundings. The ignorant fancies of such writers are often taken up as facts by their successors in the field, and propagated from one to another until it causes surprise when a question is raised as to their truth.

Mrs. Van Rensselaer is evidently quite fitted to have taken up her theme *de novo* from the original documents; such research is undoubtedly of a slow and painful nature, but the conclusions would have been her own, and she would have been relieved from anything more than a very cursory glance at many of the works upon which she seems to have relied. By failing to adopt this course in numerous instances, and relying instead upon her predecessors of various degrees of merit, she has been frequently led to incorporate in her work their inaccuracies, which she herself with a more critical examination would never have

accepted. Moreover, the author by her system of reference, in which she collects her authorities for each chapter into a large group at its end, has made it exceedingly difficult to trace the sources of these errors; and by the positive form of her statements she seems herself to assume responsibility for them.

In spite of herself, as one may say, the author occasionally falls under the influence of the grandiloquence of some of her authorities. She speaks (I. 456), at about the period of the surrender in 1664, of the "great trees and shady groves of aboriginal growth", and of the "open spaces brightened by the rich native flora, by crops of rye, barley and tobacco", etc., south of Wall Street. A closer examination of the conditions would have informed her that the entire space south of the wall, not taken up by house enclosures, only amounted to about fourteen acres, and that this space, mostly the remains of the old "Sheep Pasture", was divided among a number of owners, and in all probability remained in large measure in its original waste condition. As for the "excess of large gardens" which she speaks of in the same connection they contained only about three or four of our modern city lots of twenty-five by one hundred feet each, while "the great Dæmen Bouwerie" which she tells of (I. 458) beyond the wall contained no more than about twenty-six acres, and was but a small farm compared even with most of the others upon Manhattan. Occasionally these statements assume a ludicrous form, as when she speaks of the "*Maagde Paetje* or Maiden Lane, so called because of a brook frequented by washerwomen", extracted no doubt from some idyllic writer who failed to realize that the whole depression of Maiden Lane is only about 1200 feet in length, and could not have contained anything more than the tiniest of rills trickling through grasses and weeds. In the same manner we find (I. 190) the statement: "On Staten Island Kieft established a buckskin factory and what is said to have been the first distillery in North America." This, it is to be presumed, comes from De Vries's *Korte Historiael,* but what De Vries really says is that the director-general spoke to him, as claimant of Staten Island, on behalf of Cornelis Melyn who desired to get a few morgens of land "as he (Melyn and *not* Kieft) wanted to distil a little brandy there and to dress some buckskin".

Of more importance are many positively wrong statements which the author has culled from careless authorities. Of these, some examples are as follows: that (I. 148) Bouwery no. 1 on Manhattan Island lay south of Canal Street on the North River, whereas it is well known to most topographers to have been the farm afterward acquired by Director-General Stuyvesant, two miles away, upon the East River; that (I. 370) the people of Van der Donck's patroonship above the Harlem River escaped in the Indian devastations in 1655, whereas the records of the orphan masters of that period would have told her that several of them then lost their lives; that (I. 382) the property

of the turbulent Englishman, George Baxter, "including a farm on which Bellevue Hospital now stands", was confiscated in 1656; whereas he had sold his interest in the property referred to fourteen years before to one Nicholas Stilwell.

Outside of New Amsterdam the author has not been more fortunate in some of her statements. She tells (I. 26) of a temporary fort built about 1617 at the mouth of the Norman's Kill below Albany. This seems to have arisen from a fanciful statement of the old historian Moulton, without evidence to support it, and which is disregarded by modern historians of Albany. As to the settlement of Newtown upon Long Island she has the singular statement (I. 258) that Rev. Francis Doughty and friends "founded at Mespath the village of Newtown also called Middelburg when Dutchmen began to settle there". The objections to this statement (as will appear from Riker's *History of Newtown*, amply supported by official documentary evidence) are that the village of Newtown was not founded at Mespath, but about two miles from that locality; that Doughty had nothing to do with it, but that it was hostile to the rights which he claimed; that it was called Middelburg by the New Amsterdam authorities and not by the colonists; and that it contained no Dutchmen, the village being composed entirely of English settlers.

Some of the guesses of Mrs. Van Rensselaer's authorities are strangely at variance with known facts. She says (I. 232) that in 1644 Kieft ordered all persons who wished protection for such cattle as remained to them to join in building a good solid fence, "which stretched across the island a little above the present line of Wall Street". The original entry, however, fixes the limits of the enclosure as "from the Great Bouwery to Emanuel's plantation", which shows that it extended from what was afterwards Stuyvesant's Bouwery (at the present Ninth Street) to a small plantation of the negro called Manuel the Trumpeter. It was about two miles above Wall Street, and was a mere enclosure of some waste-land for pasturage purposes. In the same manner the author has devoted quite a paragraph (II. 69) to describing an imaginary exchange "near the bridge over the Heere Gracht or Canal" ordered by Governor Lovelace in 1670. He did indeed order stated meetings of the merchants "at or near the Bridge", but the rest is a gloss by some writer who did not understand that it was an English custom to call an open or crib-work pier a "bridge". The one here referred to is unquestionably the old Dutch pier on the line of the present Moore Street, where for nearly half a century these meetings were held, presumably in the market-house which was soon erected west of the pier. It was from this that the adjacent Whitehall Street appears in Domine Selyns's list of 1686 as "Beurs" (Exchange) Street.

Some of Mrs. Van Rensselaer's conclusions upon disputed subjects are not likely to be received unquestioningly by students of the history of New Netherland. Of these there may be mentioned her views

respecting the comparative lateness of the first habitations upon Manhattan Island, the voyage of Argall in 1613, the alleged passage of Captain Thomas Dermer through Long Island Sound and the East River in 1619, and the date of the voyage of the ship *Nieuw Nederlandt* with her Walloon settlers. In the latter case the author seems disposed to adhere firmly to what many students regard as the erroneous date of 1623. Her attempted explanation (I. 46) of the methods of the annalist Wassenaer who gives us our information of his voyage, is certainly faulty. "In part 6", says Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, the state archivist at Albany, in a letter to the reviewer upon this subject, "the preparation of the vessel is distinctly put under February, 1624, and in part 7 the date of sailing is given as March, 1624". This is amply supported by the details of the organization of the West India Company derived from other authorities, but space forbids its further discussion in this review.

As the author advances beyond the Dutch period, the sources of error become much less numerous, and this portion of her work is decidedly more satisfactory, though it may be considered perhaps that certain portions are unduly expanded; she has devoted, for example, over 200 pages of her text to the Leisler troubles alone of 1689 to 1691. With the careful revision of the first portion of her work, however, it is likely to take a very prominent place among the histories of New York.

J. H. Innes.

The Settlement of Illinois, 1778–1830. By Arthur Clinton Boggess, Ph.D., Professor of History and Political Science in Pacific University. [Chicago Historical Society's Collections, Volume V.] (Chicago: The Society. 1908. Pp. 267.)

The work is essentially a study of pioneer institutions, and an attempt to illustrate by means of early Illinois history the problems which confronted the state builders of a century ago. Since the methods applied by Illinois pioneers to the solution of the Indian and land questions, the problems of local government, of markets, and of transportation did not materially differ from those employed elsewhere, a study of the growth of this pioneer community may properly find a place in the literature of Western history.

The first two chapters deal with the period from 1778, when the County of Illinois was created by the Virginia legislature, to 1790, when the government under the Ordinance of 1787 was inaugurated. Owing to the restlessness of the French *habitants*, the threats of the English, the constant fear of Indian attacks, and the obstinate Spanish policy regarding the navigation of the Mississippi River, life in the Illinois country was well-nigh unbearable. Anarchy rather than government prevailed, especially after 1782 when the County of Illinois ceased to exist and the legal status of the region was in doubt.

Three chapters (III., IV., V.) are devoted to the social, economic, and governmental development before 1830. By this date many of

the unfavorable conditions which had retarded settlement during the territorial period (before 1818) had been improved and consequently Illinois had become a more attractive place for settlement. Nearly all the Indian land titles having been extinguished the fear of Indian attacks decreased accordingly; a wiser administration of the public lands made them more accessible to the settlers and rendered titles more secure; and the ever-perplexing question of slavery had finally been settled (ch. VI.).

Political development forms the backbone of the work and around it are grouped discussions of the various phases of pioneer life. A grouping according to subject-matter rather than according to changes in the form of government would have proven the more effective treatment since the development of pioneer society was not sufficiently rapid to warrant separate consideration for each of the short periods. Had this method been employed the illustrative material which has been used in the chapter on typical frontiersmen (VII.) could have been successfully incorporated with the body of the book instead of occupying the rather isolated position which it does in the present arrangement.

The careful investigation of the obscure period 1778–1790, although not so exhaustive as Professor Alvord's in his introduction to the *Cahokia Records* (*Ill. Hist. Colls.*, II., *Va. Series,* I.), will be appreciated by students of Illinois history since the writer corrects a number of inaccurate statements which hitherto have remained unquestioned. While the type-study plan which the author has adopted proves fairly effective, a somewhat broader interpretation which would emphasize more strongly the connection between the turmoil in Illinois and the unsettled state of affairs existing throughout the Mississippi valley at this time, would add something for the reader who is not particularly interested in purely local development.

The technique is commendable. Numerous references to government documents, territorial records, and manuscript collections support statements of fact. Little use, however, has been made of the *Publications* of the Illinois State Historical Society. Some statistics could well have been left to the foot-notes and an additional map showing the location and density of population in 1830 would have been an aid to the reader. Typographical errors occasionally occur, the most serious ones being the inaccurate numbering of foot-notes. A carefully prepared bibliography, critical in nature, gives an appraisal of the historical value and accuracy of all works consulted. WILLIAM V. POOLEY.

Our Naval War with France. By GARDNER W. ALLEN. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909. Pp. xii, 323.)

DR. ALLEN'S new book is uniform in size, general appearance, method of treatment, and style of writing with his earlier volume,

Our Navy and the Barbary Corsairs, a review of which was published in a former issue of this journal. Both books are excellent examples of careful scholarly work, based upon a wide reading of the primary sources of information. In his later volume Dr. Allen writes with his usual directness and simplicity, eschewing all ornament and exhibiting a fondness for full and frequent quotation. At times the transition from his own narrative to that of the actors in the naval drama which he describes is somewhat abrupt, especially when a change is made from the third to the first person. An author often has to choose between a loss in smoothness in style caused by the use of quotations and a loss of a certain historical quality caused by the casting of quotations into the author's own language. That Dr. Allen has chosen the former evil is not a matter for regret, for thereby he has been led to reprint many reports of naval officers not hitherto accessible. Often these reports are not found in the naval archives at Washington, which, for one cause or another, are by no means complete for the early years of the navy. This deficiency Dr. Allen made up in large measure by a wide reading of the newspapers of the period, which abound in extracts from the official reports as well as in other valuable naval materials. In addition to the newspapers and the naval archives at Washington, he has used the usual printed sources of naval information together with several important manuscript sources, such as the Pickering Papers, the John Adams Papers, and the Wadsworth Papers. The Truxtun Papers, which, I believe, are in the possession of one of the members of the Truxtun family, might have proved serviceable, as might also the naval papers of the French archives. The most important of the latter papers, to be sure, were available to Dr. Allen, and were used by him, as they have been published by Mr. Edgar Stanton Maclay in his *History of the United States Navy.*

Previous to the appearance of the book under review, no complete history of our naval war with France had been published. The best of the earlier accounts, those of Goldsborough, Cooper, Maclay, and Spears, to be found in their general histories of the United States navy, are more or less cursory and disconnected. By no means all of Dr. Allen's narrative is devoted strictly to the navy, as may be seen from an analysis of the table of contents. The first three chapters, entitled Early Misunderstandings, Negotiations, and French Spoliations, are introductory to the main subject, our naval war with France. This is treated in five chapters: Naval Preparations, the Opening of Hostilities, Events of 1799, the Last Year of the War, and Private Armed Vessels. The four concluding chapters are entitled the Convention of 1800, Reduction of the Navy, Spoliations after 1801, and the Spoliation Claims. It should be noted that one chapter deals with the operations of the privateers or letters of marque.

The author prints (p. 222) some valuable statistics for the war. He says that about eighty-five prizes were taken by our navy from the

French, not counting recaptured vessels and small boats; that two of these were national vessels; and that the French captured but one national vessel. About seventy prizes, valued at probably not less than seven hundred thousand dollars, were condemned by the American courts. Some additional statistics would have proven valuable, although doubtless difficult to compile. We should like to know how many vessels were taken by our privateers, and how many vessels were taken by the French privateers and by the French national vessels; and there might have been included in the appendix a list of prizes captured by our ships of war. Dr. Allen doubtless could improve upon the lists found in Goldsborough and Emmons. He prints in the appendix a full list of sources of information; extracts from our treaties with France of 1778, 1788, 1800, and 1803, from our treaty with England of 1794, and from the decrees of France and England relating to neutral commerce, 1793–1807; lists of vessels and commanding officers in service, 1798–1801; and a note on the nautical day. The references to sources of information are full and frequent, and there is an excellent index.

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

The Works of James Buchanan, comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence. Collected and Edited by JOHN BASSETT MOORE. Volume VII., 1846–1848; Volume VIII., 1848–1853. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 1909. Pp. xxiii, 508; xxii, 512.)

THE period covered by these volumes, June, 1846–June, 1853, was filled with momentous concerns for the United States, in some of which the personal agency of Buchanan was a factor of prime importance, while in others his position acquires significance because of his later unhappy career as President. Unfortunately, perhaps, for the historical student or biographer, the interest and novelty of the material presented in this installment of his writings are not proportioned to the bulk. On the great issues of Oregon and the Mexican War the record of Buchanan's activity as Secretary of State, though very full, offers little of importance that was not already known, notwithstanding the fact that a number of despatches hitherto printed in part only are now given in full. That Buchanan stood very close to Polk, and stated in dignified and forcible language the policy of the administration, is abundantly evident, but memoranda of a private or personal sort are too scanty to enable one to judge how far the essential ideas were those of the one or the other. It is interesting to note that as late as June, 1847, Buchanan saw no prospect of an early peace, and was prepared to see the war continue indefinitely. As he himself was in favor of acquiring both Upper and Lower California (VII. 287), it must have cheered him to be told by Bancroft, then minister to England, in May of that year, that while neither the English ministry nor

the people "like to see us increase in territory or commerce in the Pacific", they nevertheless "see the inevitable necessity which appropriates all North America to the Anglo-Saxon race" (VII. 309).

In view of the later decision in the Dred Scott case, it is significant to find Buchanan declining to issue a passport to free negroes on the ground that when such applications have been made "it has been customary to give them, not a passport, in the ordinary form, recognizing them as citizens, but a certificate suited to the nature of the case" (VII. 236). An early anticipation of the "Drago doctrine" appears in April, 1847, when certain New York correspondents are informed that "it is contrary to the practice of this Department to demand payment on behalf of private claimants in a case of contract entered into by citizens of the United States with a foreign government" (VII. 266). As is well known, neither the diplomatic nor consular services were in good condition in the years just before the Civil War, but there is evidence that Buchanan made strong efforts to improve both. He frequently rebukes ministers and consuls for their conduct, drafts a plan for the reorganization of the consular service, calls a halt in the growing expenditures for the relief of distressed American seamen abroad, warns the American representative to the Papal States that religious questions must not be touched, and informs the minister to Hawaii that an American representative is not sent abroad to reform the government to which he is accredited.

During the period of his secretaryship he apparently refrained from committing himself in writing on questions of domestic politics. He was a keen observer, however, and kept in touch with his party in Pennsylvania. He was opposed to the tariff of 1846, being convinced that it would make Pennsylvania "permanently Whig" (VII. 117); and he foresaw in April, 1847, the nomination of Taylor. He opposed the Compromise of 1850 while it was pending, though later accepting it as a "finality". His own view was that the line of 1820 should be extended to the Pacific, since the South was entitled to a fair share of the territory acquired from Mexico; and he accordingly favored neither the Wilmot proviso nor the doctrine of non-intervention: as between the two, "the real difference in practical effect" was that "between tweedledum and tweedledee" (VIII. 383). From slavery in the new region he anticipated no trouble, feeling convinced that neither soil, climate, nor population were favorable to its maintenance. As for the proposed state of California, however, its boundaries were egregiously large: the best security for union would be the organization of two states, and "thus create rival interests on the Pacific, which will render each portion more dependent upon the Federal Government" (VIII. 384).

In September, 1847, he deprecates the use of his name in connection with the presidency, and after his retirement from the State Department he refused to reveal anything of what passed in the Cabinet.

His enmity towards Simon Cameron apparently did not smooth his path so far as Pennsylvania was concerned. By December, 1851, however, he is willing to admit that he is in the race, though still "determined not to lose a night's rest or a meal's victuals, let the result be what it may" (VIII. 427). In February following he writes to a committee of citizens of Baltimore that the Democratic party has never seemed to him in such danger of defeat; and since the Compromise measures are no longer to be discussed, the party must rely for success upon a renewed proclamation of its historical doctrine of strict construction. He felt himself strong in the South, and hoped particularly for endorsement from Virginia and Tennessee. He took his defeat in the national convention philosophically, however, offered hearty congratulations to Pierce, flayed Scott on the stump, and gave the incoming president some good advice about the incoming cabinet. The last paper in volume VIII. is a letter to Pierce declining the mission to England, the tender of which in March had, after some hesitation, been accepted, but which his dissatisfaction with the state of pending negotiations now led him to think of surrendering.

Nothing could illustrate better the personal, as distinguished from the official, characteristics of Buchanan than the fact that, of the upwards of a thousand pages to which these two volumes extend, only about a hundred and fifty are needed for the record of the more than four years which followed his retirement from the office of Secretary of State. If he ever read books or cultivated intellectual interests; if he cared for personal friendship or spent time in cultivating it; if he knew scientists or men of letters, just then crowding the American stage in unprecedented numbers, or met any of the numerous foreign observers who found the United States so fertile a field, these pages afford no evidence of it. The man who could write to his niece, "There is no spectacle more agreeable to me than that of a young married woman properly sensible of the important duties of her station and acting upon those high principles which add lustre to the female character", was certainly destitute of social resiliency if not of intellectual range. The one absorbing interest of Buchanan's life was politics, and beyond that he did not stray.

William MacDonald.

A Congressional History of Railways in the United States. By Lewis Henry Haney, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economics, State University of Iowa. Volume I. *Congress and the Railway down to 1850.* (Madison, Wisconsin: Democrat Printing Company. 1908. Pp. 273.)

This volume, a reprint of a bulletin of volume III. of the University of Wisconsin series in Economics and Political Science, aims to make the solution of the railway problem easier by viewing transportation

as a matter of evolution, and by giving to it a proper historical setting. If the railway is to be regarded as a relative problem, its relation to Congress is not the least helpful phase. This volume brings the history of the railway in its Congressional relations to 1850. The division at this point is justified by Hadley's statement that the infancy of railways ended at the middle of the century; a secondary division is made at the year 1830 and is justified by the fact that steam was introduced as an agency in transportation about that year.

The materials for the volume are drawn quite naturally from the Congressional records. The thesis established is that Congressional action, taken for the benefit of railways, was accompanied by various stipulations under which regulation of railway rates and service may properly be made. Even the granting of aids would tend naturally toward later regulation.

The early chapters give a concise and complete history of the evolution of the railway as a means of transportation, and the various projects advanced by early promoters, popularly known as "steam maniacs". It is interesting to note that paternalistic ideas of public aid were predominant from the beginning. Inventors were early given financial assistance by various state legislatures and besought similar benefits from both the Continental and the Federal Congress. Following a description of these requests for aid to transportation by land, the author shows the early idea of structure and utility of railroads; cost of transportation and rates of toll; and the prolonged rivalry between the canal and the railway, with a final victory for the latter method of carriage. About 1840 the decrease in the number of petitions for aid in constructing wagon roads, both post and military, shows that the railways were becoming the dependable means of transportation in the public mind.

The most novel portion of the volume is that which considers the railway in its social and economic effects. Here the author traces the beginnings of the modern railway problems, competition between lines, relief from monopoly, and, to some extent, regulation of rates. In more detail is traced the thought of government ownership of railways which was frequently advanced in connection with government aid for their construction; also here are shown the first attempts at government regulation. The latter appears chiefly in connection with the District of Columbia, the territories, transportation of mails, public lands, and public defense.

The latter portion of the volume is given over to a description of the government aid extended to railways and its connection with the general system of public improvements. The various routes surveyed and the several subscriptions made to railway stock are described. One chapter is devoted to the rise and fall of tariffs on railway iron during the first half of the nineteenth century and the situation which caused the rails to be placed on the free list of 1825. The closing chapter covers the early history of the many Pacific railway projects.

References to original material are abundant, the sources are well chosen, and the subject-matter is clearly presented. The criticism most likely to be passed upon the volume is that it shows too evidently its earlier form of a monograph. No attempt has been made to smooth the way from one division of the work to another; heads and subheads cut the chapters into little bits; and in the absence of author's notes, the reader is left in many places to deduce his own conclusions. Evidences of a prentice hand are not infrequent, as in the use of "our attitude" in setting forth the plan to be pursued in the treatment; also an amateurishness in the too frequent use of cross-references. However, the production must be judged as a monograph for library work, and with its excellent bibliography and index, its reproduction of the Whitney maps, and its combination of the historical and political aspects of the railway, this volume in connection with those to appear later will form a distinct contribution to economic history.

Railroad Promotion and Capitalization in the United States. By Frederick A. Cleveland, Ph.D., and Fred Wilbur Powell, A.M. (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. xiv, 368.)

The authors of this book have evidently undertaken a rather thorough historical investigation of the financial or corporate aspects of American railroads, the first-fruits of which are embodied in these pages. The topics here considered are promotion and capitalization, but we are promised in the preface that "subjects pertaining to the financing of construction and equipment, financial management, bankruptcy, receivership, reorganization, and consolidation will be presented at a later date."

The scope of the present volume is in one respect broader and in another not so broad as is indicated by its title. On the one hand a discussion is presented of numerous details in the early history of transportation which have only a remote bearing on the subject of the work, while on the other hand the question of capitalization is treated scantily and incidentally. The general field covered is the promotion of American railroads, with special reference to the first three or four decades of their history.

The book opens with two chapters on the pre-railroad development of transportation in this country, followed by a third which describes the origin of steam locomotion on land, tracing the early inventions to their successful culmination. The subject of railroad promotion is then more directly approached. The popular attitude toward early railroad enterprises is described, and an exposition given of the various advantages which the public saw in railroad development. An interesting account is offered of the commercial rivalry between cities, especially Baltimore, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston; of the effects of this

rivalry on the investment of capital, and also of its influence on state legislatures, in stimulating them to undertake or encourage the construction of transportation facilities. Some mention is also made of the reflex action of the roads so built upon the various cities concerned. Several chapters are devoted to a discussion of the numerous forms of aid received by railroads from the national, state, and local governments, as well as from individuals; and in this connection there is a brief account of early projects for a transcontinental route. The remainder of the work is concerned with private promoters of railroads, their motives and their methods, both good and bad. The legal conditions under which they worked, the various ways in which they appealed to the public for support, the methods which they adopted for financing their projects, and the services performed for them by banks and syndicates, are subjects treated in considerable detail.

The special service which the authors have rendered in writing this book arises from the fact that through its pages they illuminate the record of the development of transportation in this country by presenting a large number of significant facts gathered from numerous sources, many of which are inaccessible to the general student. Of course no hitherto unknown tendencies or general movements in the evolution of American transportation are disclosed, but the facts presented are sometimes accompanied by observations and comments which are both original and suggestive. The most notable of these is a very interesting discussion of the morality of early railroad promotions, which on the whole tends to condone the practices of "our Ameses, our Stanfords, and our Huntingtons".

The material throughout is presented in an interesting manner, and the authors have placed students of the subject under a special obligation to them by adding an exhaustive bibliography, which covers forty-six pages. On the whole the merits of the work are such that it must be regarded as a valuable addition to the literature of American industrial and financial history.

HARRISON S. SMALLEY.

History of the State of Washington. By EDMOND S. MEANY, M.L., Professor of History, University of Washington. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. xii, 406.)

THIS is a well made, attractive volume. The cover, paper, and type are all good. Of the illustrations, the physiographic map of Washington opposite page 4 and the political map of the state opposite page 284 seem especially useful. The representations of historic characters and objects, some fifty-seven in number, though not without interest become a trifle oppressive, as you turn the leaves, from their frequency and from the undiscriminated prominence secured for them in the uniform full-page cuts. The text is arranged in five parts under the heads, Period of Discovery, Period of Exploration, Period of Occupation, Territorial

Days, and Statehood. There are thirty-one chapters, of which part I. has four (forty-four pages), part II. five (thirty-four pages), part III. six (forty-seven pages), part IV. nine (one hundred and forty-one pages), and part V. six (forty-eight pages). There are four appendixes dealing with political matters and a pretty complete index. It will be seen that in the distribution of his space the author is properly generous to the period 1853–1889, covering the territorial history of Washington. Here he finds many topics of interest aside from matters political, among them the Indian wars, treated with considerable detail, the San Juan dispute, and the influence of the gold rush to the interior. The most distinctive chapter in part V. is the last, on Federal Activity in the State.

The table of contents suggests that the work is comprehensive. Professor Meany places before us a large amount of matter and he has considered most of the important topics pertinent to his theme. His pages evince a familiarity with the current sources and show him to possess the firm grasp of concrete facts which such familiarity helps to insure. The book is charged with the enthusiasm that commonly distinguishes the investigator from the mere compiler.

Some labor will be required to verify these conclusions or deny them, for the volume is not easy to read. It is so exclusively episodical yet so innocent of the epic quality that it does not grip the mind closely either by stimulating thought or engaging the imagination. It would be more interesting if there were less conscious effort to make it so, if the recital of dramatic incident were oftener interrupted by calm, authoritative statement in some of the more generalized forms. If it be objected that this is a criticism on the literary character of the book rather than on its historicity the answer is that a history must be, first of all, a book, and no true book can be written without a certain regard to the requirements of literature. An aggregation of incidents however important, however defensible on the score of accuracy does not necessarily constitute a history even when these are assembled under a reasonably logical schedule. There must be an inner principle of unity to govern the selection of matter, determine the relation of parts, and coordinate or fuse the whole. This principle is of course the author's ideal of the general effect, picture, or truth which his book is to impress. In the present work we look in vain for anything more than formal unity. There seems to be no clearly conceived ideal result toward which the author is pressing and so there is apparent throughout a want of coherence between the parts, of discriminating taste in choosing facts, of deftness in their arrangement. If the author's ability as a searcher of facts were matched by a corresponding sense of perspective in their utilization the result would be a much better book. For, if it cannot be charged that he has used the microscope too much, he has undeniably used the telescope too little.

The above statement will hold both as to the general plan of the

book and the treatment of the separate topics. It is often hard to explain and harder to justify the author's choice of materials in making up a chapter. He devotes to Captain Bonneville, a "history made man", more space than he allows Alexander Mackenzie; and the worst of his misplaced generosity is that one-fourth of this space is given up to trifling incidents in Bonneville's later career as an officer stationed at Fort Vancouver, the relevancy of which is more than questionable. Other peculiarities that one cannot commend are the disposition to drag into the narrative matters of a purely antiquarian interest, an inveterate habit of quoting the opinions of other writers, and an affectation of subserviency to present-day authorities.

Though the materials out of which the book is constructed are generally sound, some misconceptions occur, notably in the discussion of diplomatic history. There is no good reason for calling Pakenham's offer of a harbor and portion of land north of the Columbia "a singular concession" as the author does on page 188, for this was avowedly a mere renewal of the offer made to Gallatin eighteen years earlier. But the reviewer is unaware of any evidence to confirm the author's statement (p. 135) that "the British Government was ready on several occasions to accept the boundary [49th parallel], but that the urgency of the Hudson Bay Company prevented it." If he has really discovered a fact of such high interest he should indicate its source. Minor points are his doubt whether Drake attained to latitude 48° and the misdating of the discovery of San Francisco Bay. The number of typographical errors, while not extreme, is formidable. Examples are on pages 26–29, 40–42, 75, etc.

Although he has not been at liberty to refrain from criticizing, the reviewer is far from condemning the book. He regards it as a conscientious performance, possessing considerable merit as a compendium of facts relating to the Northwest. Some topics are treated more adequately than anywhere else. The author's information is always respectable, his judgment sane, his sympathies admirable. He has done so well that we are impatient with him for not taking the trouble to do better.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

MINOR NOTICES

The Development of the State: its Governmental Organization and its Activities. By James Quayle Dealey, Ph.D., Professor of Social and Political Science at Brown University. (New York, Boston, and Chicago, Silver, Burdett, and Company, 1909, pp. 343.) This little book is in the main a general description of governmental activity as it is manifested in the progressive nations of the West. It consists of general statements based upon former or existing institutions in individual states rather than descriptions of these separate state systems. This is pref-

aced by a brief sketch of the origin and history of the state and a still briefer statement of the theory of the state.

The book is intended for "the student and the general reader", and the author refers to it as "an elementary study".

In the first or historical part he has, from the point of view of the adult reader, succeeded almost too well in making it elementary. In part II., on the Sovereignty of the State, he makes the statement that "There can be no state without sovereignty and every body politic having sovereignty is a state." In a book which professes not to be an essay but an elementary handbook it seems strange that there should be no mention of the fact that a considerable number of very influential scholars holds the opinion that there can be a state without sovereignty. But the historical and the theoretical parts of the book together make up little more than a third of it. Most of the rest is descriptive, and the average reader will probably find it much the best part. In it the author has described the broader outlines of government simply, briefly, and in a manner suited to accomplish his aim of giving to the reader for whom it is intended "an outline of political organization and activity, so coördinated, that he will be able to understand more clearly the meaning of political institutions". Some things will perhaps not command universal assent, among others, the characterization of feudalism as "the stage of developing confederation", or the author's treatment of the "legal sovereign". He might also have given greater emphasis in his four functions of legislative bodies to the "government-making" function so prominent in Europe and the British colonies.

The treatment of the electorate as a department of government is interesting, and the reader will be struck all through the book with the emphasis which the author properly places upon the economic conditions underlying political development, also with his faith in the ultimate success of the new machinery of modern democracy, such as the initiative, the referendum, and the recall, and his optimism concerning the future of democracy generally.

C. H. McIlwain.

Les Ibères: Étude d'Histoire d'Archéologie et de Linguistique. Par Édouard Philipon, Ancien Élève de l'École des Chartes et de l'École des Hautes Études. Avec une Préface de M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1909, pp. xxiv, 344.) This is practically a survey of the history of the Iberian peninsula down to the Roman period. The earlier chapters discuss the successive populations that occupied the soil, their racial and linguistic relations, and their geographical movements; and the second half of the work takes up in detail the civilization of the Iberians properly so-called. The author shows a thorough knowledge of the historical materials, and his views, which depart in some important respects from received opinion, must be seriously reckoned with by later students of the subject.

Greatest hesitation will perhaps be felt about his theory that Iberian

was an Indo-European language. He maintained this in an article on Iberian declensions contributed to the *Mélanges* in honor of M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, and his methods and results were then severely criticized by Professor Schuchardt, who tried to prove the kinship of Iberian and Basque. (See the Vienna *Sitzungsberichte* for 1907.) Now M. Philipon reasserts his opinion, with additional arguments, but unfortunately does not address himself directly to the refutation of Professor Schuchardt. The present reviewer, who has no knowledge of Basque, is hardly competent to pass upon Professor Schuchardt's positive case, but he finds in the Iberian material analyzed by that scholar much that is hard to explain on M. Philipon's theory. In general, no solution of the problem can be really satisfactory which does not take more account than does M. Philipon of the monuments composed wholly in Iberian. His arguments, moreover, from the etymology of proper names, though worthy of serious consideration, are open to two kinds of doubt. Many of the derivations are based upon very uncertain comparisons, and again in many cases it is not clear that the words under discussion are really Iberian. Thus the names *Sequana* and *Sequani* are ordinarily treated as Celtic.

M. Philipon's theory of the westward migration of the Iberians and the Ligurians from an Asiatic home may be mentioned as another disputable element in his book. But in the support of it, as in his whole discussion of the movements of the races he treats, he makes skilful and impressive use of the argument from "consonnances onomastiques".

F. N. Robinson.

Zur Kulturgeschichte Roms. Gesammelte Skizzen von Dr. Theodor Birt, o. Prof. an der Universität Marburg. (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1909, pp. 164.) This is a small volume in a new *Wissenschaft und Bildung* collection now being issued in Germany. The object of the series is to present readable information to the "laity", and also convenient compendiums for the *Fachmann*. From such a standpoint—the popular-scientific—this book seeks to be judged, and on the whole it meets all fair tests. It is no easy matter to write a good, yet brief, *Kulturgeschichte* of Rome, and again after Friedlaender's monumental work it is still harder to write anything really original. Professor Birt professes large indebtedness to preceding modern books, but declares that his chief reliance has been a re-reading of the sources. This is undoubted, but many paragraphs are evident reminiscences of Friedlaender, Voigt, Forbiger, Duruy, and other familiar writers.

The book, however, is a decidedly useful one. In one hundred and sixty-four pages, closely printed and without illustrations, the author covers with eleven chapters all the standard topics on Roman civilization, from Arrival in Rome to Morality. References, probably following the plan of the series, are relatively few: almost none to modern writers or to the inscriptions, but a fair sprinkling to Suetonius, Juvenal,

the Younger Pliny, and especially to Seneca. The strongest part of the book is the restatement in a really vitalizing manner of certain rather familiar themes. Thus the third chapter, "Im Hause", rehearses the somewhat hackneyed facts of a Roman gentleman's daily life in a manner calculated to interest the scholar as well as the more general reader. This is sometimes done by a decidedly Gallican vivacity of style—not always in perfect taste, but which sufficiently accents the points striven after. Thus in speaking of the use of tapestry as well as frescoes to give color and variety to the interior of a Roman home, he says, "Where these are wanting, as in the Pompeianum in Aschaffenburg, which King Max of Bavaria built, a false impression is made, as does a plucked fowl" (p. 44).

It is worth noting incidentally that the author accepts 1,500,000 as the probable population of Rome, a considerably higher figure than the calculation of Beloch, but one that has much to justify it.

Certain chapters are notably inadequate: especially the fifth, "Zum Rechtsleben", which gives a general reader a totally incomplete and therefore misleading view of lawyers and legal business at Rome. The seventh chapter, "Gottesdienst und Glaube", is excellent for the old Roman religion and the cult of the emperor, but gives only a passing reference to Mithraism, something which, after the work of Cumont, is no trifling mistake.

These are details, however, and any attempt to cover so wide a subject in so narrow a space must be open to sins of omission. Speaking generally, while there are not lacking treatises in abundance on Roman civilization, probably no preceding book in German presents in like space so comprehensive, scholarly, and withal so readable a survey as does this. If it were translated into English it would prove useful as a handy text in college classes studying Roman antiquities.

William Stearns Davis.

A Guide to the Study of Church History. By W. J. McGlothlin, Ph.D., D.D. (Louisville, Kentucky, Baptist World Publishing Company, 1908, pp. 264.) This epitome is the first recent attempt to supply the pressing need of an English handbook which shall pilot theological and other students on their maiden voyage down the rapids of church history. In this particular Germany has led the way with Weingarten's *Zeittafeln zur Kirchgeschichte,* J. Werner's all to brief *Tabellen zur Dogmengeschichte,* and the still uncompleted Heussi's *Kompendium der Kirchengeschichte.* The title of the present work, *Guide to the Study of Church History,* leads one to expect something similar to the sketch by W. E. Collins, *The Study of Church History,* if not a more elaborate book such as was attempted in the late thirties by the erudite Dowling. One is therefore disappointed to read in the preface that this volume, in addition to furnishing "a basis for lecturing", is to serve merely as "a guide to the best known manuals", such as "Newman (Baptist),

Hurst (Methodist), Kurtz (Lutheran), and Alzog (Catholic)". These orthodox though far from unimpeachable standard works the student is to supplement with books like Schaff and Möller. The references at the head of each section, which account for the use of the word "Guide" in the title, consist merely of the page numbers of Newman and others to which the inquiring mind may turn. The text itself, which is minutely subdivided and carefully indexed, deals chiefly with the history of Christianity in Europe and North America, and comes down to the present. Most of the generalizations of the author are excellent, but occasionally he attains condensation at the expense of precision. Is it, for instance, true that the Interdict (p. 93) denies a whole community "all the blessings of religion for a period"? Is it fair, in outlining the rise of Mohammedanism (p. 71), not to allude to the degeneracy of Egyptian and Syrian Christianity which rendered most of its adherents incapable not merely of parrying the sword but also of resisting the fiery spiritual enthusiasm of Islam? How is it possible, in view of the researches of Thatcher and others, to circulate the unqualified statement (p. 103): "Ireland was given by the pope to the English king (1154)"? Blemishes like these occur too frequently. The eulogistic appreciations by twelve prominent professors of church history, which are on a little yellow slip accompanying the volume, will perhaps be more fully merited should the work undergo in its second edition a somewhat minute revision.

William Walker Rockwell.

Welsh Mediæval Law: being a Text of the Laws of Howel the Good, namely, the British Museum Harleian MS. 4353 of the 13th Century, with Translation, Introduction, Appendix, Glossary, Index, and a Map. By A. W. Wade-Evans, Jesus College. (Oxford, the Clarendon Press, 1909, pp. xcvi, 395.) Mr. Wade-Evans's volume is of interest to students of any phase of early Welsh history, and is of particular value as a contribution toward the exact analysis of Welsh law. In the best previous edition of the laws, that of Aneurin Owen, the text is compiled from a number of sources and does not represent any distinct manuscript tradition or make easy the isolation of one for separate study. But the present editor has selected a single local code, that known as the Book of Cyfnerth, and published what appears to be the oldest and best manuscript of it. This is printed in the clear and handsome typography familiar to all users of Rhys and Evans's series of Welsh texts; the line-divisions, the punctuation, and even the more minute differences of spacing in the manuscript being so carefully reproduced that the printed page almost serves the purpose of a photographic facsimile. If the copy is as accurate as its careful execution would lead one to suppose, it is an important addition to the textual resources of Welsh scholars, whether for historical or for philological investigations.

The translation is close and painstaking. Mr. Wade-Evans acknowledges great indebtedness to the earlier translation of Aneurin Owen and makes no claim of finality for his own, since the technical vocabulary of Welsh law is still far from thoroughly understood. But he takes up in his glossary many of the questions at issue, and makes some advance toward their solution.

The introduction contains a careful description of the manuscripts, in the preparation of which the editor had the assistance of the veteran Welsh palaeographist Mr. Gwenogfryn Evans, and a brief account of Welsh history down to the time of Howel the Good. The opinions set forth in the historical chapter are some of them doubtful and some of them in frank opposition to established doctrine. Of the former sort must be reckoned the adoption of the year 428 as the date of the Anglo-Saxon invasion, though Mr. Wade-Evans is here in agreement with some of the best recent opinion. (For an extended review of the evidence, with a decision in favor of a later date, see Mr. H. M. Chadwick's *Origin of the English Nation,* pp. 35 ff.) More distinctly heretical is his denial of Gildas's authorship of the *De Excidio Britanniae,* an opinion for which he argued at length in a series of articles in the *Celtic Review* for 1905. The general object of the historical sketch is to show the steady growth of the Welsh nationality and to protest against the view that every stage in the Cymric advance was "the convulsive effort of a dying people to regain some of the glory of the past".

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1179–1180. [Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, volume XXIX.] (London, published for the Society by the St. Catherine Press, 1908, pp. xxxiv, 200.) In the preface to this volume the editor, Mr. C. Trice Martin, makes a full and welcome statement of the practice adopted by him in extending a large number of words and phrases, the extension of which is doubtful. The brief introduction, which, as usual, is contributed by Mr. J. H. Round, sums up in masterly fashion the instruction to be gathered from the roll. Among the matters illustrated are the changes in the arrangement of the judicial circuits assigned early in 1179; corporate payments by municipalities; fines from wreckers and from those who concealed wreckers' deeds; the minting of the new coinage; the progress of the various buildings erected at the royal charge; expenses in Ireland; feudal payments, many of which afford genealogical information; and fines from those who had incurred the king's displeasure or who wished to buy his favor. Mr. Round points out that for part of the year 1180, when the king was in Normandy, the Exchequer Roll of Normandy supplements the English record.

Reginald Pecock's Book of Faith: a Fifteenth Century Theological Tractate. Edited from the Manuscript in the Library of Trinity Col-

lege, Cambridge, with an Introductory Essay by J. L. Morison, M.A., Professor of History in Queen's University, Kingston. (Glasgow, James Maclehose and Sons, 1909, pp. 315.) Reginald Pecock played an important part in the intellectual life of the English church of the fifteenth century. His was perhaps the most original mind in England between Wycliffe and the Reformation. The Renaissance had little effect upon him for it had not yet made its influence much felt outside of Italy when Pecock did most of his work. But in many ways his intellectual attitude was that of some of the more daring scholars of Italy. He was a rationalist through and through. By his conception of faith and religion he would have ultimately overthrown not merely the doctrinal teaching of the church of the times but all religion. Yet he was a bishop of a prominent see and endeavored by daring sophistry to uphold the old order. That he came to grief, was forced to recant his heresies and to spend his last years in confinement, is not surprising. Yet what influence he exerted it is hard to trace. He cannot be said to have prepared the way for the Reformation. His appeal to Scripture was neither new in scholastic theology nor in advance of that current among various obscure sects. It was not such as would have made him welcomed as an ally by the reformers. His conception of faith was little more than an attenuation of that which had plagued the medieval church from the times of St. Augustine. It certainly would not have led him to throw in his lot with Luther. Yet he was a powerful and original thinker whose writings in spite of their prolixity, obscurity, and general awkwardness impress the reader. Professor Morison has carefully edited Pecock's least known but probably most important and characteristic work, *The Book of Faith.* In this work Pecock goes to the root of the matter and defends his position, which appeals strongly to the modern mind, without resort to that conscienceless sophistry which delighted him in the *Repressor.* The editor has wisely reproduced exactly the form of the only manuscript in which the work has been preserved from the general destruction of Pecock's writings. He has provided it with a fairly satisfactory glossary and some brief notes. There is a useful summary prefixed which is of help in following the argument of the writer and there are some interesting essays on Pecock's life and place in ecclesiastical thought. The most important of these is on Pecock's Contribution to English Thought. That the editor makes out that he really contributed anything we fail to see. If ever there was a voice crying in the wilderness and without success it was Pecock. The connection with the rationalistic tendencies of later scholasticism are not sufficiently emphasized by the editor. It would have been well to have pointed out just how Pecock differed from the nominalists in his conception of faith, the place of the Bible, and the authority of the Church. Space might easily have been spared from the essay on the Ecclesiastical

Point of View for some such study. But we have the book itself and the editor well deserves thanks for his work.

JOSEPH CULLEN AYER, JR.

Les Origines de la Réforme. Tome II. *L'Église Catholique, la Crise et la Renaissance.* Par Imbart de la Tour, Professeur à l'Université de Bordeaux. (Paris, Hachette et Cie., 1909, pp. viii, 592.) After the lapse of four years the author has followed *La France Moderne* (see AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XI. 367) with this second volume of the projected series, which is to be continued by tome III., *L'Évangélisme,* and tome IV., *Calvin et l'Institution Chrétienne.* The book falls into four great divisions. Under the head of "Théocratie et Nationalisme" it treats of the papacy especially in relation to France, involving the question of Gallicanism and the attempt to work out some of its practical corollaries in a council which convened at Pisa in 1511. The second caption, "Les Abus", depicts the extraordinary decentralization of the French church, which produced disorder especially in regard to appointments, finances, and the morals of the clergy. The next topic, "La Culture Nouvelle", deals specifically with the Renaissance in France, and with Christian Humanism; and this discussion is followed by the fourth and last main division, "Léon X et la Renaissance Religieuse", which describes the Concordat of 1516, the attempts at reform, and the intellectual ferment which tended to produce schism.

M. Imbart de la Tour criticizes both those historians who have tried to explain the Protestant Revolution by reference to the rationalism and individualism inherent in the Renaissance, and also those specialists who have attempted to account for it by assuming a paganized Catholicism, morally and religiously dead, over against which Protestantism would appear to be merely the revival of primitive Christian faith and life. Rejecting such abstract schematism, the author desires to study his period from the sources, endeavoring meanwhile never to separate the history of religion from the history of society. Besides making good use of printed documents already familiar, he has brought away a large number of interesting details from manuscripts preserved mostly in the libraries and archives of Rome and of Paris. This rich material, which he has worked up with due reference to the results of Pastor, as well as those of Rocquain and other French historians, he was woven into a narrative which is usually clear and often fascinating. A task presenting so many difficulties as does the exposition of the actual workings of the cumbrous governmental and financial machinery of the decentralized church of France has here been performed with true Gallic spirit. The parts of the book which deal with the intellectual development, though less fresh, have been prepared with scarcely less research. The work as a whole may not alter profoundly current views of the genesis of the

Reformation; but its impressive stores of evidence can be ignored by no student of the sixteenth century.

WILLIAM WALKER ROCKWELL.

The Christian Daimyos: a Century of Religious and Political History in Japan (1549–1650). By M. Steichen. (Tsukiji, Tokyo, Gakuin Press, 1909, pp. xi, 369.) The Abbé M. Steichen of the Roman Catholic Mission in Tokio has done a good service in reprinting in revised and enlarged form from *The Japan Mail* his historical studies of Japan's one Christian century. His long residence on the soil and scholarly familiarity with the vernacular are elements which, added to his unwearied diligence, make this work of the highest value. Japan's initial contact with Europe in the sixteenth century and the causes of its break are well worthy of study. The abundant contemporaneous literature in Latin and Italian, and the native Japanese histories, have all been put under tribute by the author, who is a keen sympathizer with, as he is a successor of, the missionaries of southern Europe.

Around three of the greatest personages in Japanese history, Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu, politics moved, and with their rise and fall, life and death, the fortunes of the Christians seemed to fluctuate. On no worse time, one would think, could the propagators of the religion of Jesus have fallen. Under such circumstances, it would seem a moral impossibility for the faith to have taken root too deep to have been blown down or extirpated.

Naturally under the feudal system, the common people were little more than serfs and the rule *cujus regio, ejus religio* was custom and law. The masses believed or recanted, with noble but exceptional instances of refusal and independence, at the word of their daimyos, that is, castle lords, or holders of the feudal fiefs. In the later years various troubles and economic questions were mixed with those of religion and politics. Besides admirable indexes, the abbé gives us a list of the Christian daimyos, formerly and now, in which are reckoned sixty heads of families, of which one-third are extinct or are now represented by a rank higher than that of the ancestral. Thus the table presents vividly a conspectus of the rise and fall of families, despite the almost universal practice of adoption. The abbé scans the letters of the Jesuits to find reasons that were better discovered in the intense jealousy of the Japanese, kindled not only by the bulls of popes but by the actions of Spaniards and Portuguese, who proceeded to carry out the provisions of the bulls according to their notions of piety and obedience. His particular castigation of one American author for his mistakes in translation, for example, made over thirty years ago and not repeated, is amusing but is also marring. These outbursts of subjectivity do not, however, detract greatly from a highly valuable monograph.

A Short History of Puritanism. By James Heron, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Belfast. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908, pp. viii, 206.) This is an admirable handbook presenting in brief compass a clear and consecutive history of the main current of English Puritanism from its earliest manifestation in the medieval church to its decadence under Charles II. Dr. Heron has here given the reader the benefit of his sound scholarship, graceful style, and wide reading, and presents a book delightful to read and useful as a guide to those who do not find it easy to trace through larger works the ramifications of the Puritan movement.

The Curious Case of Lady Purbeck: a Scandal of the XVIIth Century. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909, pp. ix, 148.) It is unfortunate that a great deal of hard work and no small amount of ability in historical investigation is being spent not on the more vital problems and puzzles of the past but on relatively insignificant and, as in the present case, more or less unsavory incidents of sentimental or semi-romantic character. The marriage of Sir Edward Coke and Lady Hatton, their domestic infelicities, and their connection with public affairs, the marriage of their daughter Frances Hatton to Sir John Villiers, her infidelity, imprisonment, and escape to France, had, indeed, much interest for their contemporaries. Even now as a choice bit of scandal and intrigue, though somewhat dulled by time, they may rouse passing curiosity. But, though they are set forth in near a hundred and fifty octavo pages of rather elaborate narrative, provided with proper historical setting and told not without spirit, one is still tempted to believe that Gardiner's three pages on this seventeenth century *cause célèbre* is nearer its actual value in affairs than a story of this length. The doing of this piece of investigation must have been a pleasure, the reading of it is not uninteresting. But there are many questions better worth while. The inclusion of more concerning the curious Danvers case which grew out of this scandal would have afforded an interesting addition to the narrative. One may note, incidentally, that the Petition of Right (p. 109) is not usually nor properly given a final *s*, and that though Coke was prominent in the subcommittee which drew up that document he is not generally credited with having himself "framed" it. Certainly it is stretching language if not facts to say that after his retirement Coke is supposed to have encouraged his neighbor Hampden in his "plots" against the court. The whole account seems carefully done and, in the main, from unexceptionable contemporary authorities, with fully adequate references. One is interested to note, on the other hand, considerable reliance on Campbell's *Lives of the Chief Justices,* especially in the introductory chapters. There is no mention of Gardiner anywhere, and no index.

L'Évolution de l'Arbitrage International. Par Thomas Willing Balch. (Philadelphia, Allen, Lane, and Scott, 1908, pp. 122.) This

brief attempt to trace the evolution of international arbitration originally appeared as an article in the *Revue de Droit International* in 1908.

The existence of sovereign and independent states is essential to a proper conception of international arbitration, says the author, hence neither Greeks nor Romans could know of it in any proper sense. Nor does he find the modern germ of this noble theory in the "grand dessein" of Henry IV. because that was really aimed at the House of Hapsburg. It is rather Émeric Crucé, a French publicist, in his *Le Nouveau Cynée* (Paris, 1623), who should have the honor of the first plan to settle international differences by arbitration instead of war. Of this little work but two copies are known, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the other in the Library of Harvard University. Crucé was a broad-minded man, an advocate of religious liberty, dimly conceiving of international trade as a pacifying force. His scheme was that ambassadors should argue their countries' causes before an international tribunal in Venice, and several scholars are cited as referring to this plan during the ensuing fifty years. To give Crucé his proper due is clearly one of Mr. Balch's objects in writing this article. After Crucé came William Penn, the Abbé de Saint Pierre, Bentham, and Kant, each with his own more or less visionary plan making for peace. Early precedents for the settlement of disputes by arbitral arrangement under treaty are also cited: the Treaty of Westminster in 1655; of Ryswick in 1697; Jay's treaty in 1794; the case of the *General Armstrong* in 1851. Into the Alabama claims case and the negotiation leading up to the Treaty of Washington in 1871, the author goes at some length, emphasizing the honorable part played by Mr. Thomas Balch in bringing the two nations into accord.

Then follow the Behring Sea Arbitration, that of Venezuela with Great Britain over their common boundary, finally the arbitral system set up by the First Hague Conference, and its results. This calls for no special comment. The point of the whole essay is that the ideal of Émeric Crucé given to the world nearly three hundred years ago is now essentially realized.

T. S. Woolsey.

A Descriptive Catalogue of the Naval Manuscripts in the Pepysian Library at Magdalene College, Cambridge. Edited by J. R. Tanner, Litt.D. Volume III. *Admiralty Letters.* [Publications of the Navy Records Society, Volume XXXVI.] (Printed for the Society, 1909, pp. liii, 458.) Six years ago the Navy Records Society issued the first volume of a descriptive catalogue of the naval manuscripts in the Pepysian Library of Magdalene College, Cambridge, under the editorship of Mr. J. R. Tanner. The second volume appeared in 1904 and now, after an interval of five years, the third volume, announced for 1908, makes a somewhat belated appearance. It comprises the official correspondence of the Secretary to the Admiralty from January 1, 1674/1675, to May 7, 1677, comprising volumes IV, and V. of Pepys's

Admiralty letters. Like its predecessors the present volume contains an introduction calling attention to various matters of interest classified under nine heads, administration, finance, men, pay, victuals, discipline, ships, guns, and miscellaneous. It includes also, beside the four hundred pages of calendars proper, a very elaborate index, and a further Index of Letters to the Commissioners of the Customs about Passes. Under this somewhat cumbrous descriptive title is to be found a long alphabetical list of vessels, their ports of origin, masters, present stations, and destinations, with appropriate references to the calendars. The whole forms a volume which, apart from the introduction, is, of course, eminently unreadable, but no less eminently useful. Covering as it does an important period in political as well as naval history the present volume offers interesting material on English sea-power in the Mediterranean, the war with Tripoli, and difficulties with Algiers, the removal of English subjects from Surinam, troubles in Tangier, the affairs of Newfoundland, and Wood's disastrous voyage in the *Speedwell* to find the Northeast Passage. To students of American history the most interesting and important part of these papers are those relating to Sir John Berry's expedition to put down the Bacon Rebellion in Virginia, concerning which many documents are here calendared. Much material is also adduced regarding the development of the navy after 1675, and the accounts of the various experiments then tried in building, arming, and equipping vessels form an instructive chapter in the history of naval construction. And apart from the light thus cast on English affairs by land and sea during the Restoration one of the most interesting and important results of the publication of these papers is the rehabilitation of Samuel Pepys, that ablest of Admiralty secretaries, so long disguised as a gossipy diarist.

W. C. Abbott.

Une Merveilleuse (Mme Hamelin), 1776–1851. Par Alfred Marquiset. (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1909, pp. 305.) If the character and career of Madame Hamelin merit a volume for their record, or if there exist family papers of historical importance, Monsieur Marquiset has failed to prove the former or to reveal the latter. From this volume it would be difficult to compile enough biographical facts for a suitable encyclopedia article. Upon this slender thread are strung denunciations of "Robespierre . . . et autres brigands", somewhat racy descriptions of fashions and manners under the Directory, gossip of the police under Fouché and Savary, and Bonapartist lucubrations upon the Restoration. Trifling anecdotes of trivial characters yield altogether too infrequent *bons mots* to entertain the reader, and far too slight a residuum of historical facts to reward the student. A liberal number of foot-notes with citations of authorities, occasionally manuscript, and an index of names are the only evidences of the trained historian displayed in the volume.

Native of Santo Domingo, Fortunée Lormier-Lagrave was taken to

Paris at the opening of the Revolution and soon married to Monsieur Antoine Marie Romain Hamelin, but to both the marital tie was a negligible trifle. While Monsieur Hamelin followed Bonaparte to Italy to accumulate an ill-gotten fortune as army contractor, the young creole of twenty summers, like Josephine, plunged into the maddest revels of the abnormal social life of Paris, where she began a lifelong rivalry with Madame Récamier. When the influence of the rising Bonaparte banished from polite society the notorious favorites of Barras, Madame Hamelin apparently shared their fate, nevertheless she remained to her dying day a devout worshiper of the Little Corsican. As a pensioner of the imperial ministry of police she continued her butterfly career, adoring Napoleon, informing Savary, yet never losing touch with the sinister Talleyrand. Her behavior during the Hundred Days won her exile after Waterloo, but she soon intrigued her way back to Paris, where she continued her relations with Talleyrand and his satellite, her lover, Montrond, and where her salon was a resort for Bonapartists and the milder liberals, as well as for Chateaubriand and for lesser lights whose importance was chiefly literary. The pages (279–288) of extracts from her letters written from Paris during the Revolution of 1848, because of their dramatic descriptions of events, are the most meritorious portion of the book.

It is greatly to be desired that editors of memoirs and authors of biographies should sufficiently respect the ignorance and convenience of their readers to supply an adequate genealogical table of the family of their subject, which should include at least every family name which appears in the volume to puzzle the peruser.

While so many personages of the Revolution and the Empire, whose achievements, either in council or on the field, were of valid historical importance, have as yet failed to receive proper biographical investigation and record, it seems a pity that a student's time and printer's ink should be squandered upon a woman of so little character; upon the society of a discreditable epoch, which has already been admirably portrayed by the Goncourts; upon the gossip of the imperial police; and upon the exiles and malcontents of the Restoration. Of this lightweight historical literature, the recent output has been far too large.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

Duchesse de Dino (puis Duchesse de Talleyrand et de Sagan): Chronique de 1831 à 1862. Publiée avec des Annotations et un Index Biographique par la Princesse Radziwill née Castellane. Volume II., 1836–1840. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1909, pp. 544.) This volume of the *Chronique* has even greater value for the study of Talleyrand's biography than had the first. There are two passages of remarkable interest, one, the letter written by Mme. de Dino to the Abbé Dupanloup after Talleyrand's death, reviewing carefully the steps by which Talleyrand was led to desire complete reconciliation with the Church: the

other a sketch of his characteristics, brief, clear, frank in its dealing with faults, and yet sympathetic, penetrating to the subtler forces which account for much that would ordinarily be unaccountable in conduct. This sketch was written two years after Talleyrand died and when the solitude of Mme. de Dino's estate in December stimulated her to pass in review the incidents of her life. It was the result of close observation, not merely because she had been his companion for years, but especially because from 1835 until his death she had been endeavoring to awaken in him solicitude for his religious condition. She believed that "son insouciance naturelle détournait du travail sérieux de la conscience, et le laissait dans les ténèbres", and that he applied his rare intelligence solely to questions of politics. This characteristic might have been inferred from his own confession to her during a time when sleeplessness had forced upon him recollections of many disagreeable aspects of his earlier career. He said he had done "avec une extrême légèreté" what had been held most blameworthy, "tout s'est fait sans y regarder, avec l'insouciance de ce temps-là, comme nous faisions à peu près toutes choses dans notre jeunesse." She also notes that while Talleyrand was capable of the most astonishing activity in order to attain ends which he considered important, he frequently relapsed for a long time "dans une nonchalance dont il défendait habilement les abords; il s'y barricadait, et rendait sa paresse si gracieuse qu'on se serait reproché de la troubler." The way in which he was influenced to become reconciled to the Church is mainly of strictly biographical interest, but the light these passages throw upon Talleyrand's temperament and characteristic modes of thought and action have some historical importance.

The impression of the characteristics of French political life during the first decade of the Orleanist monarchy left by the reading of the first volume is confirmed by this volume. The parliamentary leaders appear to have been divided less by differences upon questions of serious policy than by personal aims and factional jealousies. They triumph in the Chamber of Deputies in order later in the day to be admired and congratulated in the particular salon that they frequent. When serious questions arise, like the crisis of 1840, it is the calm determination of Louis Philippe not to be dragged into war which saves the country from conflict with Europe. One gains confidence in Mme. de Dino's appreciations, because her journals and letters seem remarkably free from the prejudices of the partizan; they appear to be the observations of an unusually clear-sighted and large-minded onlooker. Not the least interesting study afforded by the records of the two volumes is the refining of the mental temper and the growth of the spiritual character of the author, whose attractive personality shines more and more clearly through her own notes of experience.

H. E. Bourne.

Signals and Instructions, 1776–1794, with Addenda to Volume XXIX. Edited by Julian S. Corbett, LL.M. [Publications of the Navy Records

Society, Volume XXXV.] (Printed for the Society, 1908, pp. 403.) This latest volume issued by the Navy Records Society is supplementary to a volume (vol. XXIX. of the society's series of publications) issued in 1905 and entitled *Fighting Instructions, 1530–1816*. The two volumes form a most valuable contribution to the history of naval tactics and signalling, and will prove indispensable to students of the history of the British navy before 1816. The occasion of the publication of the second volume was the discovery of many new materials covering the period of the American Revolution and the early part of the French Revolution. The importance of these materials is greatly enhanced by the fact that naval tactics and signalling were at that time in a state of transition, the particulars of which it had been hitherto impossible to ascertain. The change consisted chiefly in basing tactics upon a signal book containing a numerary system of signals instead of upon cut and dried fighting instructions. The new system was largely the work of Admirals Howe and Kempenfelt, and was in part an adaptation of the tactics of the French. The volume under review reprints several important fighting instructions and signal books issued by these two admirals, by several other naval officers, and by the British Admiralty. In the appendix, it prints, among other documents, some additional fighting instructions for the Seven Years' War, Rodney's landing instructions, 1761–1762, a list of English works on naval tactics, and a list of British fighting instructions and signal books. There is also a "general introduction" written by the author giving a brief history of the change from the old to the new tactical system. The volume is well printed and bound and is provided with an index.

CHARLES OSCAR PAULLIN.

The Annual Register: Review of Public Events at Home and Abroad for the Year 1908. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909, pp. xi, 479; 174.) Approximately half the volume is devoted to English history, and these pages are mainly occupied with the sessions of Parliament, including, naturally, summaries of speeches and discussions throughout the kingdom on important questions. National defense, tariff reform, old age pensions, the education bill, the licensing bill, the Scottish land bills, South African federation, reforms in India, and the suffragist movement receive a large measure of attention. There is a special chapter on Scotland and Ireland and one (by Cuthbert Maugham) on finance and trade in 1908. Politics and events in European states are summarized in approximately 100 pages. There is a chapter on Southern Asia by Sir Charles Roe, which includes treatments of the northwest frontier and British India, and another on the Far East. Mr. H. Whates contributes a chapter on Africa and Malta and sections on Canada and Newfoundland, Mexico and Central America, the West Indies and Guiana, and South America. A brief account

of affairs in the United States and its dependencies is contributed by Mr. A. Maurice Low. The principal items treated are the presidential campaign and election, Japanese relations, "The President and Congress", and the Panama canal. Australasia is treated in a chapter of twelve pages. The retrospect of the year's literature is furnished by Lionel G. Robinson, science and art by W. T. Whitley, drama by Miss Eveline C. Godley, and music by Robin H. Legge. .

No. 18 of the *Publications* of the American Jewish Historical Society (1909, pp. xxiii, 245) is mainly marked by Mr. Samuel Oppenheim's article entitled The Early History of the Jews in New York, 1657–1664. From papers of Hans Bontemantel of Amsterdam, a director of the Dutch West India Company, Mr. Oppenheim has derived an interesting unpublished petition of the earliest Jews in New Amsterdam, dated January, 1655, and addressed to the Company; also portions of unpublished letters of Stuyvesant, September 22, 1654, and June 10, 1656. With these, with other bits of new evidence, and with accurate translations of documents heretofore translated inaccurately (as has been the fate of most Dutch documents relating to New Netherland) Mr. Oppenheim constructs a considerably revised version of the story of the first Jewish immigrants. Mr. Max J. Kohler prints a memorial of Jews to Parliament concerning Jewish participation in colonial trade, 1696. Mr. N. Darnell Davis, C.M.G., auditor-general of British Guiana, prints some interesting notes on the history of the Jews in Barbadoes. Mr. George F. Judah extracts from the *Assembly Journals* of Jamaica materials for the history of the controversy over the Jews' tribute in that island.

The Journal of the American Irish Historical Society. By Thomas Zanslaur Lee, Secretary General. Volume VIII. (Providence, R. I., The Society, 1909, pp. 313.) Owing to the death in June, 1908, of Mr. Thomas H. Murray, Secretary general of the society, no Journal for the year 1908 was issued. The present volume therefore includes the society's proceedings for two years besides a number of historical papers. The principal event in the society's history in 1908 was the dedication at the Rhode Island State House, December 16, 1908, of a bronze memorial to Major-General John Sullivan. The principal address on the occasion, which is printed in full, was by Colonel David C. Robinson of New York. The addresses delivered at the eleventh annual banquet of the society in Washington, January 16, 1909, are printed in the volume, among them that of Judge Victor J. Dowling of the Supreme Court of New York on Irish Pioneers of New York, and that of Hon. Maurice T. Maloney on the Irish Pioneers of the West and their Descendants. In the section devoted to "Historical Notes and Papers", are found a paper on "Early Marine 'Wireless'", by

Edgar S. Maclay; sketches of William Dunlap, Thomas P. Johnson, and Thomas Sharpe, distinguished Irish Americans during Revolutionary times, by J. L. O'Neill; and a brief account of the life and works of Eli Thayer, noted for his efforts in behalf of "Free Soil". There are numerous excellent portraits in the volume, but unfortunately the index is merely the table of contents arranged in alphabetical order.

The Story of New Netherland: the Dutch in America. By William Elliot Griffis. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909, pp. xv, 292.) Approximately one-half of this volume is devoted to the "story" of New Netherland; then follow chapters purporting to treat of social institutions, topics in the later history of the province, the Dutch Domines in the Revolution, and the Modern Pilgrim Fathers. The author has avowedly purposed making a serious contribution to our knowledge of New Netherland history but the book can justify no such pretension. A critical spirit is wholly lacking. The meagre historical narrative is interspersed with much matter of merely antiquarian interest and the author's frequent generalizations. All is colored with a hackneyed sentimentality over things "Dutch" and an exuberant admiration for "Patria" unsupported by any orderly presentation of her contemporary institutions. The style is often exaggerated, sometimes undignified. Of the more than two hundred lines that make up the chapter on Rensselaerswyck—the author apparently attempting to preserve the older Dutch form erroneously calls it Rensselaerwijk—less than twenty lines, narrating the founding of the settlement in 1630, are all that relate to its history, though this is the second chapter dealing with the so-called patroonships. The rest are largely devoted to these topics—their relevancy is obvious: the soil of Rensselaerswyck was sacred and classic in Iroquois tradition, Commandant Crol's invention of that "toothsome delicacy of high repute", the cruller, the history of "Anneke" Janse, the Dunkirk pirates, and how the flaming torch came to be added to the Van Rensselaer arms. This is typical of the treatment throughout the volume. The author's short bibliography is equally characteristic. Within its thirty odd titles, it makes several serious omissions, some minor errors, and as one of the "authorities used in the preparation of this volume", it names under its Dutch title, *Volkomen Woordenboek,* Sewel's well-known Dutch-English dictionary.

S. G. Nissenson.

The Story of the Old Boston Town House, 1658–1711. By Josiah Henry Benton, LL.D. (Boston, privately printed, 1908, pp. xii, 61.) The volume before us offers little if anything that is new, but is a well arranged compilation of excerpts from documents not far to seek. In fact, Whitmore's historical survey, in his *Old State House Memorial,* gives the vital facts and prints many of the excerpts from documents here used. Sewall's *Diary,* Dunton's *Journal,* Shurtleff's *Colony Records,* and the *Selectmen's Minutes* are the main sources drawn

upon. The value of Mr. Benton's work lies in the fact that he brings together in a compact and graceful form known incidents in the history of the Town House, and of the vigorous life which surged in and around it. His material is grouped under several headings to show the different uses of the building, such as colony and town uses, as a place of public records, as a place of worship, as the capitol of the colonial and provincial governments, and as a court house.

Mr. Benton thinks to give an insight into the manner of life of the colonists by the "language of the records of the time". He states that the "location of the streets and of the houses of the prominent citizens, the market, the church, the jail, the meeting-places for the various official bodies, the customs of the colony in respect to trade, to the punishment of crime, to education, and to the worship of God are all to be found in the records of those early years". In this exposition he does not appear to have explored any nook or corner that has not been exposed before, or added any new shade or dapple to the canvas of colonial Boston. It is well known that there is no view of the Town House, which was destroyed by fire in 1711, and replaced by the "Old State House", so that for its description reliance has to be had upon papers preserved in the Massachusetts Historical Society, and which are printed in Whitmore's *Memorial,* as well as in Mr. Benton's work. Mr. Benton, however, has had a plan made from these, and he prints this as "a substantially correct view of the Town House as it appeared from the East and West, and also giving floor plans of the building".

Mr. Benton's volume is irreproachable in form, typography, and illustration, and while not a contribution to history is a useful exposition of the history of an historical building.

In a well-illustrated pamphlet of eighty-four pages, entitled *Colonel John Quincy, Master of Mount Wollaston, Provincial Statesman, Colonel of the Suffolk Regiment, Speaker of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, Member of His Majesty's Council,* Rev. Daniel M. Wilson has printed a memorial address which he prepared with the aid of Mr. Charles Francis Adams, and which was delivered at the dedication of a tablet in Quincy, Massachusetts, to the memory of Colonel John Quincy (1689–1767), for whom the town was named—as was also his grandson John Quincy Adams. Colonel Quincy, who represented Braintree twenty-eight years in the General Court and was speaker during twelve years, was an important public character of the provincial period. Mr. Wilson has described his career carefully, interestingly, and in such a manner as to exhibit his relation to the general history of the province.

Puritanism in the South. By J. Edward Kirbye. (Boston, The Pilgrim Press, 1909, pp. iv, 144.) This is an interesting little volume apparently made up of a number of articles reprinted from some period-

ical. The style is journalistic, and the matter is determined by temporary interest rather than historical value. Its importance lies in its fitness to awaken interest in an important and neglected field of Southern history, and its recognition of the fact that the truth has long been obscured by popular prejudices. Unfortunately the author is inadequately equipped with detailed knowledge of the history of English institutions, and has not given his specific subject sufficient investigation to make his results important. He recognizes the importance of distinguishing between English Puritans and their Scotch-Irish and Huguenot congeners, and says in his preface: "It has been my purpose more particularly to write of the English Puritan, although in the sketch on North Carolina there were so few of these that it was necessary to include . . . the Scotch-Irish." But the confusion is by no means confined to the sketch of North Carolina, and the divisive issue between Presbyterianism and Independency which constantly forces itself upon the attention is not studied as it deserves.

The author makes clear the absurdity of the claim of the "old South" to an essentially Cavalier descent, and wrestles frequently with the incongruity of a Calvinistic community holding slaves, but without reaching any very tenable justification. He fails to see the relation between the spirit of Independency and a strong assertion of local self-government, and gives only meagre glimpses of such characteristic movements as the Puritan effort to dominate Maryland in the seventeenth century, and the anti-slavery Independent church movement in the nineteenth.

It is scarcely necessary to point out minor mistakes in a volume which is not to be taken as serious history and which has no index. The repeated reference to Englishmen of the seventeenth century as "peasants", to the tenants of an English manor as "serfs", and the association of the victors of the Battle of King's Mountain with the Mecklenburg Declaration, may however be cited as indicative of a want of grasp of the main historical background.

The Romance of American Expansion. By H. Addington Bruce. (New York, Moffat, Yard, and Company, 1909, pp. xiii, 246.) Written originally for publication in one of our better-grade weeklies, Mr. Bruce's sketches of American expansion are distinctly popular in both subject-matter and method of treatment. It is not claimed that the specialist will find in them anything that is new. At the same time they are not unworthy of perpetuation in book form, because they are sane, well written, and, so far as they go, generally superior to the works of their class with which our shelves have grown crowded in recent years. Mr. Bruce does not undertake a history of our successive acquisitions of territory. He merely selects eight personages who, as he says, "were pre-eminent among their contemporaries in each of the forward steps in the movement from sea to sea", and sketches in

bold strokes the relations of these men with the territorial problems of their times. The eight men selected are Boone, Jefferson, Jackson, Houston, Benton, Fremont, Seward, and McKinley. The method is subject to obvious limitations, and the tendency might easily be to distort the perspective by over-emphasizing the influence of these successive personalities; but, after all, it is difficult to see that Mr. Bruce really attributes anything more to Jefferson, for example, than does Henry Adams, or to Houston than does Professor Garrison.

The title of the book carries a suggestion of flamboyancy which, happily, proves on the whole unfounded. For while the author puts too much stress, perhaps, upon what he calls the inevitableness of American expansion, he has very successfully avoided the pitfall of spread-eagleism; and that is a principal reason why as a book for popular reading the volume is to be commended. At the same time, Mr. Bruce is a frankly avowed expansionist. He affirms that "from beginning to end there is little to regret and much to admire in the story of American expansion", and he distinctly suggests that the end of annexations is not yet. "The nation", he declares, "is still young, still vigorous, still ambitious. Great things lie before it. And as it has done in the past, so will it do in the future—reach out, extend, grow." But having delivered himself of these sufficiently mystical assertions, he abandons generalization and in the body of his book holds pretty satisfactorily to the conventional facts. In the citation of these there appears to be almost absolute immunity from error. The style, though generally agreeable, is marred by an occasional crudity of expression, *e. g.*, the statement (p. 47) that in the spring of 1803 "France did not have the Floridas to sell."

Frederic Austin Ogg.

The Great Lakes: the Vessels that Plough Them, their Owners, their Sailors, and their Cargoes, together with a Brief History of our Inland Seas. By James Oliver Curwood. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909, pp. xvi, 227.) The avowed purpose of this work—to make the life of the Great Lakes better known—is well accomplished. The "actual facts" to which the author is devoted warrant strong presentation. Although he too much assumes a general ignorance on the reader's part, and although the reader could spare some journalistic exploitation of the picturesque and the big, Mr. Curwood has done good service in showing the importance of the Great Lakes in the national economy and in writing these inspiring records of great individual successes won by the "vikings and iron barons of the inland seas". He gives us statistics of passenger traffic, of coal and ore, and points warningly to the shrinking lumber trade, with a warranted word of rebuke to state and national governments for not compelling preservation and scientific renewal of forests.

Part II., dealing with the "origin and history" of the lakes, is scant

and inadequate. On some topics, as for example, the western travels of Stephen Brûlé, unqualified statements are made which a careful study of the subject will not warrant. The abandonment of Fort Denonville on the Niagara in 1688 was not because "the Senecas besieged the fort with such success that less than a dozen of its defenders escaped with their lives" (p. 178), but because the garrison was depleted by scurvy. The distorted account of the Devil's Hole massacre in 1763 shows that the author has wholly misconceived the nature of the action. The Indians were not ambushed "in the gloomy chasm" (p. 189), but at the roadside far above the chasm. A second ambush was still further from the Hole. The British did not surrender Fort Niagara and the Niagara frontier to the Americans on July 4, 1796 (p. 192), but on August 11. The inaccurate and perfunctory attempt to review in a few pages the history of two centuries adds nothing to a work which otherwise well accomplishes its purpose. Maps and many illustrations add to its attractiveness.

The Story of the Great Lakes. By Edward Channing, Professor of History in Harvard University, and Marion Florence Lansing. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. ix, 398.) This title is, in a measure, a misnomer. The book is less the story of the Great Lakes than chapters from the history of the regions contiguous to the lakes. It summarizes the narratives of Champlain, the Jesuit missionaries, La Salle, Cadillac, and the founding of Detroit, and of subsequent periods; being, for the most part, a pleasant retelling of facts familiar to the student and long accessible in works of established repute.

Much is omitted; too much, sometimes, to make what is told an adequate presentation of the subject. Thus, although a chapter is devoted to the conspiracy of Pontiac, no mention is made of the massacre of the Devil's Hole, the one signal outbreak of that period east of Detroit. Chapters on General Lewis Cass and Reorganization, the Black Hawk War, the Story of a Raid, etc., are but remotely related to the author's avowed theme; while Lincoln and Douglas in Chicago, the subject of one chapter, has about as much to with the story of the Great Lakes as it has with the story of Barnegat. To introduce a political episode in a lake city, as a part of the history of the lakes, reveals so inadequate a conception of what such a history should be, that one is not surprised to find only the scantiest review of lake operations under the French and British notwithstanding that a wealth of documentary material for those periods, as yet largely unused by writers, is of easy access in the archives of Ottawa, London, and Paris. The adequate history of the Great Lakes is yet to be written.

In nothing is the present work more eccentric than in its illustrations, some of them drawn from strange sources without credit, *e. g.*, "Through the Locks of Lockport" is a reproduction of Bartlett's engraving of 1838, with no suggestion of anything that has existed at the

Lockport locks for half a century; yet the reader is left to discover—if he can—whether the view is an antique or up-to-date. The frontispiece, a portrait of La Salle, also uncredited, is the reproduction of a lithograph published in Gravier's work on the explorer (Paris, 1870), said to be based on a portrait in the public library of Rouen, but apparently, like all La Salle's portraits, of dubious authenticity.

Dr. Walter F. Dodd's book on *The Government of the District of Columbia* (Washington, John Byrne and Company, pp. 298), while primarily a description of the federal and municipal administration of the District, also contains in its opening chapters an historical review of the various governments to which the District has been subjected from 1791 to the present time. The historical portion of the book is confined to forty pages, but is accurately and clearly written.

An Historical Review of Waterways and Canal Construction in New York State. By Henry Wayland Hill, LL.D. [Buffalo Historical Society Publications, Volume XII., edited by Frank H. Severance.] (Buffalo, The Society, 1909, pp. xiv, 549.) This is the first of two volumes announced by the Buffalo Historical Society on the canal policy of the state of New York. The second volume is in press and will contain besides the proceedings of the Buffalo Historical Society in the usual form a series of papers on several phases of recent canal history in New York. Mr. Hill's volume is written from the viewpoint of a legislator of long experience and a popular "canal champion". The work aims at a comprehensive survey of the whole history of the state canals. The chapters devoted to the early history of the several canals follow the well-trodden paths. There is no evidence that the author has used any new material, though a great many unpublished manuscripts practically unexploited are now available. As one might expect, a large part, a few pages over half of the book, deals with the legislative history of the barge canal and the progress of the new canal policy. This part constitutes a valuable contribution by one speaking from the inside. It is singularly fair and free from personal animosities for a work of the kind. The impartial record of the anti-canal forces and the methods employed in the memorable campaign of 1903 (pp. 340–394) ought to receive especial commendation. However, the spirit of the advocate permeates the whole. The massing of opinion constitutes the usual argument. The author presents, in short, a strong case for a particular state policy but the individual factor in the historical development of a commercial policy is constantly brought forward, and the economic forces working in conjunction with the lawmaker are scarcely recognized. The book was manifestly written to advocate a particular commercial policy, in itself probably the wisest, but the object has frequently greatly influenced the historical perspective. It seems to the reviewer, too, that the work has been seriously marred by the constant insertions of long quotations from the speeches

of assemblymen which are significant only as expressions of individual opinion, and which moreover are easily obtained by those who would read them. This practice retards and confuses the narrative and gives the impression of padding. The editorial work in respect to typography and freedom from annoying errors is especially well done.

E. J. B.

When Railroads were New. By Charles Frederick Carter. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1909, pp. xiv, 324.) It would be unfair to subject Mr. Carter's entertaining sketches to the criticism that would be invited by a book professing scholarship, for he has avowedly only gathered in a comfortable volume a series of popular magazine articles on the antiquities of railroading. In preparing these, he has read faithfully in the *American Railroad Journal*, which he has cited occasionally, though not often enough to indicate to the general reader the extent of his indebtedness to it. He has also handled many of the special books in the short bibliography of transportation in America. His attempt has been to pick out picturesque episodes in the early history of railroads. The first roads, the first rolling stock, the first conductors—even the well-known colored fireman who first sat on the safety valve—are all described in an easy journalistic way. Few of the salient facts in the history of railroads before 1850 have been entirely overlooked, and his pages bristle with the exact dates for the beginnings of things. These dates are generally correct, although the reader is compelled to accept them on the unsupported statement of the author.

The absence of better books on the subject gives to this a real value. Its contents are not accessible elsewhere in any single volume. Its illustrations, most of them common enough, have not been assembled before. Its index is complete. But it needs to be said that the book is in no sense a history of railroads even in their earlier period or in a popular way. Mr. Carter has not been possessed by the idea of transportation as a living problem, and he has not seen either the continuity of his subject or its intimate relation to Western life. Yet his book, successful in what it tries to do, reveals the possibilities of a subject that clamors for an adequate historical treatment.

Frederic L. Paxson.

History of the Swedes of Illinois. In three parts. Edited by Ernst W. Olson in collaboration with Anders Schön and Martin J. Engberg. (Chicago, The Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Company, 1908, pp. 933; 416; 268.) Of the two volumes that compose this work, the second is devoted wholly to biographical sketches of Swedish-Americans who have attained at least local prominence. While work of this character may have its value, it has no real claim to space in this journal. The first volume is, however, a serious attempt to trace

the growth of Swedish settlements in Illinois and to measure the achievements of the Swedish-American citizenship. Two introductory chapters summarize briefly the history of Illinois and of Chicago. These are neither necessary to the development of the plan nor particularly valuable as historical narratives; writers who regard the Quebec Act as "the first action of Parliament that aroused actual dissatisfaction among the colonists" (p. 30) can hardly be regarded as authorities on colonial history. On the subject of Swedish immigration, however, they are widely and thoroughly informed. Of peculiar interest is their account of the Bishop Hill colony, an experiment that furnishes many parallels to the recent establishment at Zion City. The narrative is prefaced by a clear statement of the conditions in the national church that led to the exodus in 1845.

Nearly 300 pages are given to the development of churches; but as the most complete expression of Swedish nationality is found in transplanted Lutheranism, the extent of space given is not disproportionate. The authors are probably in error in holding that the first Swedish Lutheran church in the West was organized at Andover, Illinois, in 1850; the honor seems rather to belong to the church at New Sweden, Iowa, where religious worship and ministrations began in 1848. While the chief attention is given to the Lutheran organization, other religious movements are noted and discussed with evident appreciation.

In the military record of their nationality the authors naturally take great pride. It is estimated that one-fifth of the entire Swedish population of Illinois volunteered during the Civil War (p. 627); and the immigrant was usually not a raw recruit, but a trained soldier from the armies of the fatherland. The achievements of Swedes in other fields —politics, education, literature, journalism, music, and art—receive due attention. The volume closes with an appropriate chapter on the Swedish Historical Society.

LAURENCE M. LARSON.

The Struggle for Imperial Unity: Recollections and Experiences. By Colonel George T. Denison, President of the British Empire League in Canada. (London and New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. x, 422.) From the standpoint of a student of political thought in Canada about the only chapters in Colonel Denison's *The Struggle for Imperial Unity* that are of appreciable value are those which are concerned with the short-lived Imperial Federation movement as this movement was developed in the Dominion and in England. The Imperial Federation League was organized in London in 1884. It was dissolved in November, 1893. The Imperial Federation League in Canada; which was associated with the league in London, was organized at Montreal in May, 1885. Colonel Denison was one of the most active members of the organization in Canada. He was in at the death, or rather at the funeral of the league in London, in 1893; and in the

chapters devoted to the aims and work of the two organizations there is a more complete history of the Imperial Federation movement in Canada as well as in England than has so far found a place in any other volume.

For nearly forty years Colonel Denison's position has been that it is treason for a Canadian to discuss either annexation to the United States or political independence for Canada; and many pages of these recollections and experiences are devoted to his controversies with Mr. Goldwin Smith, and to his opposition to Mr. Smith's position as to the future political relation of Canada to the United States. The spirit in which Colonel Denison set himself in opposition to Mr. Smith is typical of the spirit in which *The Struggle for Imperial Unity* is written. One brief quotation will consequently serve to determine the place of Colonel Denison's book in the political literature of Canada. It is from a letter—written in 1896—in which Colonel Denison objected to Mr. Goldwin Smith's being asked to respond to the toast of "Canada" at a dinner of the Canadian Press Association. Mr. Goldwin Smith, Colonel Denison then wrote, "is the most potent element to-day in preparing the Yankee mind to take up the question of annexation. A belief in the States that we were favorable to annexation would do more than any possible cause to bring on an attempt to secure annexation by force. This belief led to the attempts in 1775 and 1812. In view of this Goldwin Smith's conduct is treason of the worst kind." From no point of view is Colonel Denison's book one that can be helpful to neighborly relations between Canada and the United States; but it is one that will not find many more appreciative readers in Canada than it will in this country, for Canadians have long declined to take Colonel Denison as seriously as he takes himself. E. P.

La Intervencion Francesa en México, segun el Archivo del Mariscal Bazaine. Quinta, Sexta, Septima Parte. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by Genaro García. Tomos XX., XXII., XXIV.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1908, 1909, 1909, pp. 270, 266, 268.) With commendable industry Señor García continues to publish successive volumes of his series of documents selected from the archives of Marshal Bazaine. The fifth, sixth, and seventh parts cover respectively the periods from April 24 to August 17, 1864, from August 19 to October 29 of the same year, and from November 9, 1864, to March 2, 1865. An examination of the one hundred and eighty-six documents listed in these three volumes, and covering eleven critical months of the French intervention in Mexico, shows the incompleteness of the collection as a documentary history of this subject. Señor García still keeps his readers in ignorance of the principles upon which he makes his selections from the materials available in his hands, and gives no clues to the number and character of omitted documents. He publishes but four communications originating in the eleven months from

Bazaine to Napoleon, and but twenty-five from Bazaine to his military superior, the French minister of war. Quite a number of these are given only in brief extracts (probably as found in the papers used by the editor?) when the letters have been printed at length elsewhere. Nevertheless this publication is the most valuable of the kind which has yet appeared to illustrate the dealings of Marshal Bazaine with his chief subordinates and the fickle Mexicans, whether imperialists or republicans. The delicate position of a supporting general in his relations with a nominal emperor comes prominently into view through considerable correspondence with Maximilian's officials. One can readily trace progress from polite deference and kindly consideration to abrupt requests and peppery complaints. Likewise the grounds for fluctuating hopes of early success and fears of prolonged feebleness under the imperial régime appear in the reports from district officers to Bazaine, and in turn these are reflected by Bazaine in his letters to the French government.

Perhaps the most significant new contribution of original material given by Señor García consists of the negotiations between Bazaine and the venal Mexicans whom he was able to win over from Juarez to the support of the intervention. What has been largely conjecture about this shameful chapter becomes established by plain proofs. The series will also have great value for the light it sheds on the details of military operations as given in the reports of officers. Part VI. contains a very interesting memoir, extending to some seventy pages, by E. de Fleury, on Sonora and Lower California. Negatively, it may be remarked that the relation of the United States to the struggle in Mexico finds only the barest mention in an occasional letter. Will not the editor of the series put all readers under obligations by furnishing a good analytical index of the whole on its completion?

C. A. Duniway.

TEXT-BOOKS

A History of Education before the Middle Ages. By Frank Pierrepont Graves, Ph.D., Professor of the History and Philosophy of Education in the Ohio State University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. xiv, 304.)

Whether there can be a science of education, whether *Kulturgeschichte* can be studied to advantage in cross-sections cut through the centuries by specialists who are not historians, and whether such studies are suitable to American colleges and high schools—these are questions to be asked, but perhaps not to be answered in a review. Professor Graves's book is well written. Its statements are as plausible as could be expected of such a succession of affirmations and generalizations about 2000 years of history, four or five civilizations, and three or four literatures. He seems to have consulted the recent authorities

to which reference is made in the notes for supplementary reading at the end of each chapter. The book is a good one of its kind. But the kind eludes serious historical criticism. It belongs to a species evolved by the struggle for existence and the competition for a foothold in the curriculum between such dubious "sciences" as sociology, general or comparative literature, ethnology, and pedagogy. Courses and text-books in these subjects meet in a way a genuine need of the expanding adolescent mind, the desire to soar out of the low region of encumbering fact, to cast off the shackles of logic or of precise historical or philological method, to take a bird's-eye view of all the ungracious past, and to generalize *de omnibus rebus et quibusdam aliis*. This demand is in my opinion better met by the outline course in universal history, supplemented possibly by a course in the history of civilization or the history of philosophy, for which last the history of science may be substituted if competent teachers can be found. But there is no more propriety in teaching the history of education to undergraduates and secondary students than there would be in teaching them the history of psychology or music or literary criticism (abridged from Saintsbury) or classical scholarship (abridged from Sandys). The facts excerpted and isolated by Professor Graves require for their interpretation an historical background which the American youth does not possess. It is hard enough to impart to graduate students in Greek a clear conception of educational conditions in the Athens of Plato and Isocrates. For such students the criticism of this book might prove a profitable exercise. The students for whom it is intended may memorize it; they cannot criticize it or understand.

PAUL SHOREY.

A History of Commerce. By CLIVE DAY, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of Economic History in Yale University. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1907, pp. xliv, 626.) Though good wine needs no bush, and needs it still less when it has been tapped for two years, it nevertheless remains both a pleasure and a duty to praise such a good vintage as is here found. Professor Day has given us an introductory text-book of commercial history, which, in my opinion, is unsurpassed. Nothing which the Germans or French have done of this kind, not even Richard Mayr's admirably concise *Lehrbuch*, the best of recent manuals hitherto available, is in all respects so satisfactory as this book. It meets a need which of late years has been increasingly felt in English-speaking countries, and removes a long-standing reproach to their scholarship.

In his introduction the author modestly lays claim to but one of Matthew Arnold's four desiderata of an introductory manual. But Professor Day has not only realized his aim of giving proportion to his work; it has as well the other qualities of clearness, brevity, and sobriety. There is no parade of scholarship, but even apart from the compact references to authorities at the end of the book, the reader soon

discovers that underlying the easy and interesting text is a sound scholarship, utilizing the latest and best investigations. The work is, however, more than clearly written, nicely proportioned, and well informed. An exceptionally discriminating judgment is its prevailing characteristic, and its teaching of the importance for commercial progress of political union, economic liberty, and social co-operation carries with it an unobtrusive insistence upon those qualities of personal and national character essential to the welfare of humanity. It contains no superficial economic interpretation of history; the interweaving of the numerous other factors in commercial progress or decline is skilfully indicated, and the attention of the student is constantly drawn to the "why" as well as to the "how" of economic changes.

Each of the chapters is followed by suggestive questions and topics, together with reading-references, and the five parts, on ancient, medieval, modern, and recent European commerce, and the commerce of the United States, are followed by additional review topics. The work thus provided will be found stimulating to both teacher and student.

As is only to be expected in a book of this scope, some minor errors of statement or omission might be pointed out, but they are nowhere important, and to detail them in a brief review would be to commit that fault of disproportion so carefully avoided in the book itself.

EDWIN F. GAY.

Readings in Modern European History. By JAMES HARVEY ROBINSON, Professor of History in Columbia University, and CHARLES A. BEARD, Adjunct Professor of Politics in Columbia University. Volume II. *Europe since the Congress of Vienna.* (Boston and New York: Ginn and Company. 1909. Pp. xxii, 541.)

THIS volume is to accompany the second volume of *The Development of Modern Europe* by the same authors, so that we now have two volumes of text of about 800 pages and two volumes of readings of about 900 pages, dealing with European history since the time of Louis XIV.

The present volume has the same characteristics as the three preceding ones which have been already noticed in this REVIEW. It is up-to-date: there is an analysis of the Austrian and German elections of 1906 and 1907, and a description of the opening of the first Turkish parliament in December, 1908. Extremely interesting are the sketches of the lives of Hargreaves, Crompton, Watt, and Arkwright, the description of social conditions in England before the reform legislation, and the extracts from Bismarck's writings. The attractiveness of socialistic schemes is shown in good selections from Owen, Fourier, Marx, the Webbs, and the Gotha programme of 1875; there is nothing to offset such optimism except parts of an address by J. B. Clark and of an encyclical of Leo XIII.; might there not have been added some indication of the historical weaknesses of Marxism? The fair treatment and

large attention given to the Catholic Church finds expression in many documents ranging in time from the Concordat with Napoleon to the papal denunciation of the French Separation Act of 1905; no student can read these through without having his mind roused to the still important question of the proper relation of church and state. Also of religious interest, but from a different point of view, are the extracts condemning and supporting Darwinism.

Though the extracts are unusually varied in character, they have more cohesion than is common in source-books. This is due in part to the excellent explanatory notes which introduce each reading, and in part to the fact that each reading is planned to illustrate a section in the text-book. In those cases where a selection has been condensed by striking out sentences or paragraphs, as has been frequently done with advantage, the fact is indicated in the margin. Where so much is offered in a book of this kind, one hesitates to ask for more. Yet we believe it would have been well to include the main features of the fundamental laws of the chief European countries, especially as the descriptions in the text-book are brief. Though some of these are easily accessible in the original in Lowell's *Governments and Parties* and in translation in Dodd's collection and elsewhere, classes would have found it valuable to have them in these readings for study and for reference. The only constitutional documents of this kind in this volume are the Austro-Hungarian compact of 1867 and the principal provisions of the Russian constitution of 1906.

There is a good bibliography at the close of the volume. It is necessarily brief, but gives a helpful word of criticism on most of the works. It contains many titles in French and German and is adapted to college rather than to school use. The suggestions "on keeping up with the times" (p. 540) ought to mention the extremely convenient monthly and yearly indexes to the daily edition of the *London Times*.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

An Outline of History for the Grades. By ELLWOOD WADSWORTH KEMP. (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1908. Pp. viii, 352.)

WE have, in this volume, a well-constructed plan of work by a teacher who has spent a number of years on the problem of history for the elementary schools. It is his belief, that since the Aryan race is the "institution-making race", the aim in any programme of history should be to trace the spirit of the civilization of that race as it has been "borne forward and enriched both by forces within and without" from the earliest times to the present.

For the first grade, the outline provides for the consideration of the primitive Aryan as seen in the nomadic and the agricultural stages of his development. The topics suggested for the study of each stage are: (1) location, characteristics of the country, institutional life, food, fire, clothing; (2) industrial life as seen in cattle-raising, manufacturing,

trade; and (3) religion. The life of the Egyptians, the Hebrews, and the Phoenicians is assigned to the second grade. In like manner, the history of Greece is to be considered in the third, Rome in the fourth, and the development of the Teutonic race in the fifth grade, respectively. The Crusades, the Renaissance, the growth of English institutions, and the Reformation constitute the topics for the sixth grade. To the seventh and eighth grades is assigned the account of "the crossing of the stream of liberty from Europe to America and its growth under new environment".

This ambitious and suggestive programme is worthy of commendation in that it keeps the subject of history before the pupil during his whole elementary school life and would render compulsory especial preparation for the teacher of history. It is open to question, however, whether the carrying out of such a scheme is practicable except by Professor Kemp or by those teachers whom he has trained. While we shall probably always have variety in the content of our courses, it is now generally conceded also that the best approach to the study of history in the last three or four grades is secured through presenting to pupils in the earliest grades the elementary facts connected with the lives of the great national and world characters. With this view, leading educators of England, Germany, and France are in substantial agreement.

James A. James.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

The meeting of the American Historical Association this year in New York promises to be of unusual interest. It will be the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Historical Association and the twenty-fourth of the American Economic Association, and they will celebrate the event together. The meeting will begin on Monday, December 27, and close on Friday, December 31. The headquarters will be at Columbia University, where, in addition to the Historical and Economic Associations, the Political Science and Sociological Associations will also be meeting.

The joint meeting will be opened by President Taft, who will deliver an address in Carnegie Hall, on Monday evening. Tuesday the meetings will be at Columbia. In the morning, Presidents Hart of the Historical and Dewey of the Economic Associations will deliver their inaugural addresses. Luncheon will be served by the university. In the afternoon come the addresses of Presidents Lowell of the Political Science and Sumner of the Sociological Associations, followed by a reception by the Academy of Political Science. In the evening the session will be devoted to reports of investigations in Europe with reference to the present working of historical curricula in the schools. The meetings on Wednesday, December 29, will be held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel. As the day happens to be the centenary of Gladstone, the morning session will be given over to recent English history, among the speakers being Mr. Bryce. It will be followed by a luncheon, after which addresses will be delivered by guests of both the Historical and the Economic Associations. In honor of the twenty-fifth anniversary each association is inviting four or five distinguished historians and economists from Europe, and as some of the prominent members of the early years of the associations are expected to be present, this reunion promises to be of unusual interest. After the luncheon there will be a reception at the residence of Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, treasurer of the Historical Association. In the evening the New York City History Club will give a pageant and exhibition of its work in the parlors of the Waldorf. Thursday is mostly given up to sectional meetings. There will be two sections for American history, one on the Western Movement, and the other on Races in United States History. In addition to these there will be a section for Hispanic and South American history, which will profit from the presence of Professor Altamira of Spain. In addition to sections for Medieval and Modern

European History, a section for Ancient History has also been arranged for, at which, among others, Professor Eduard Meyer of Berlin will read a paper. The section for Medieval History will hold joint session with the Church History Association. In addition to these and the business meeting, there will also be conferences to consider the reports of the Committee of Eight and the Historical Manuscripts Commission, and an important Conference of Historical Societies. In view of these and other sessions, it is expected that the programme will extend this year until noon on Friday. Thursday evening will be taken up by a reception at the house of Mrs. Vanderbilt. A unique feature of the meeting will be an exhibition of aids to visualization in history, which will be held in Teachers College during the entire period. The equipment of some of the best schools in New York City will also be open to inspection.

Fedor Fedorovitch Martens, the eminent jurist and late professor of international law at the University of St. Petersburg, who was several times chosen by European and American powers as international arbitrator, died on June 20, aged 63. His *Recueil des Traités et Conventions conclus par la Russie avec les Puissances Étrangères,* the fifteenth volume of which has recently appeared, was enriched by historical sketches of great value. His two-volume work, *The International Law of the Civilised Nations,* was translated into many languages.

In place of the late Mgr. Wenzel, Pope Pius X. has made Mgr. Mariano Ugolini "sub-archivist" (virtually archivist) of the Vatican.

Dr. C. Raymond Beazley, fellow of Merton College, Oxford, who lectured in America last winter, has been appointed to the professorship of history in the University of Birmingham.

At McGill University, where Professor Colby has leave of absence during the academic year now beginning, Professor Charles L. Wells will supply his place.

Dr. William Spence Robertson of Western Reserve University has been made assistant professor of history in the University of Illinois. The appointment has been authorized with special reference to the development of instruction and research in the history of Latin America.

Professor A. L. Cross of Ann Arbor will lecture at Harvard University during the second half of the coming academic year.

Dr. George C. Sellery has been promoted to the rank of professor in the University of Wisconsin, Dr. W. L. Westermann to that of associate professor.

Dr. Nils A. Olson of Wisconsin has been made professor in Muhlenberg College, and Mr. E. J. Kylie assistant professor in the University of Toronto.

Dr. Nelson P. Mead has been promoted to the position of associate professor in the College of the City of New York.

Mr. Albert H. Lybyer (Ph.D., Harvard, 1909) has been made associate professor of history in Oberlin College.

A Memoir of the Right Hon. William Edward Hartpole Lecky, by his wife, including many interesting letters, is being published by Longmans.

The McKinley Publishing Company of Philadelphia brings out in September, 1909, the first number of *The History Teacher's Magazine*, intended to be published monthly, with the exception of July and August, at 5805 Germantown avenue, Philadelphia. The aim of the magazine is specifically and strictly to serve the interests of teachers of history, especially those of teachers in secondary schools, by articles, discussions, and reviews written from the point of view of the person interested in processes of historical instruction. Dr. Albert E. McKinley is the managing editor. Special aspects of the subject-matter, such as the teaching of ancient history, general European, English, and American history in secondary schools, the relation of history teaching in colleges to that in secondary institutions, and the teaching of history in the elementary schools, are to be in care of competent special editors. The opening number contains about twenty quarto pages of useful and suggestive matter.

The Bibliographical Society of America met at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, on July 3. Of chief interest to historical students was the paper by Mr. Worthington C. Ford on the Calendaring of Manuscripts.

At a meeting held at the New York Yacht Club on May 8 the Naval Historical Society was formed, with Captain John S. Barnes, late U. S. N., as president, and Mr. Robert W. Neeser as secretary and treasurer. The objects of the society are to "discover, procure and preserve by publication and otherwise" such records, letters, journals, and other historical matter as are now privately owned or otherwise inaccessible to students. Membership in the society for the first year will date from January 1, 1910.

An analytical index of the *Journal des Savants* (Paris, Hachette) from 1859 to 1908 inclusive, has been compiled by J. Tissier.

Among the essays in the volume presented to Mr. J. W. Clark in recognition of his services to learning and to the University of Cambridge, *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark Dicatus* (printed for private circulation at the Cambridge University Press, 1909, pp. 577), are a Catalogue of the library of the Augustinian friars at York, contributed by Dr. M. R. James; a Catalogo fin qui sconosciuto della Biblioteca Papale d'Avignone, 1407, contributed by Dr. Franz Ehrle; Le Registre des Dépenses de la Bibliothèque Vaticane de 1548 à 1555, by M. L. Dorez; and a paper on classical archaeology and prehistoric archaeology, by Professor Waldstein.

The first volume of the new illustrated issue of Professor Bury's

edition of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall,* which is to be completed in seven volumes, has been published by Methuen.

Father H. Holzapfel's comprehensive *Handbuch der Geschichte des Franziskanerordens* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, pp. xxii, 732) is based upon an extensive study of the sources. A Latin edition will shortly be issued by the same house.

In a pamphlet entitled *Why America should re-explore Wilkes Land,* reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the American Philosophical Society, Mr. Edwin Swift Balch follows up his previous writings on Antarctic exploration by a plea for American activity in the matter, based on historical arguments concerning the Wilkes expedition and other American explorations in the region named.

Mr. H. B. Morse, sometime statistical secretary, inspectorate-general of customs, China, and author of a valuable work on *The Trade and Administration of the Chinese Empire,* has written a concise account of *The Gilds of China* (Longmans, 1909, pp. 92) in which he compares the present Chinese gild system with that of medieval Europe.

Mr. J. W. Allen has published through Blackwood (London, 1909, pp. 266) a thoughtful discussion of *The Place of History in Education.*

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *Frontiers Ancient and Modern* (Edinburgh Review, July); P. Lacombe, *L'Appropriation Privée du Sol: Nouvelles Études à l'Occasion d'Ouvrages Récents,* II. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, June); A.-D. Xénopol, *L'Imagination en Histoire,* II. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, April).

ANCIENT HISTORY

M. J. de Morgan, former general director of Egyptian antiquities, and general delegate in Persia of the ministry of public instruction, has written a comprehensive history of *Les Premières Civilisations: Études sur la Préhistoire et l'Histoire jusqu'à la Fin de l'Empire Macédonien* (Paris, Leroux, 1909, pp. 600).

Professor W. M. Flinders Petrie, of University College, London, has published a fully illustrated book on the *Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* (London, Foulis).

An admirable complete edition of the old Persian inscriptions, with translations, has been issued by Professor Herbert C. Tolman of Vanderbilt University under the title *Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts* (American Book Company).

From Assyrian tablets, and the literature of Greeks, Jews, Malays, and Arabs, Professor R. Campbell Thompson has constructed an important book on *Semitic Magic: its Origins and Development* (London, Luzac).

The first part of Dr. Josef Partsch's *Griechisches Bürgschaftsrecht* is devoted to *Das Recht des Altgriechischen Gemeindestaats* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909, pp. x, 434).

A. Calderini's book, *La Manomissione e la Condizione dei Liberti in Grecia* (Milan, Hoepli, 1908, pp. xix, 464) has been crowned by the Academy of Sciences and Letters of Milan.

E. Ziebarth's volume entitled *Aus dem Griechischen Schulwesen: Eudemos von Milet und Verwandtes* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909, pp. vii, 150) is based in part on hitherto unpublished documents, and deals with a large variety of topics connected with the foundation, organization, and administration of Greek schools.

A work on *The Universities of Ancient Greece,* by J. W. H. Walden, is being brought out by Scribners.

In Wilhelm Soltau's *Die Anfänge der Römischen Geschichtschreibung* (Leipzig, Haessel), the author shows the large part played by literary invention in the oldest Roman history.

Professor F. F. Abbott is publishing through Scribners a volume entitled *Society and Politics in Ancient Rome: Essays and Sketches.*

The third volume, including an index to the complete work, of Mr. J. H. Freese's translation of Dr. Friedländer's *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire* (Dutton) will shortly be published. The translation is to be supplemented by a volume of excursuses and notes.

Dr. O. Th. Schulz of the University of Leipzig has written an important biography, *Der Römische Kaiser Caracalla: Genie, Wahnsinn, oder Verbrechen?* (Leipzig, Haessel).

P. R. Cole has published a study of *Later Roman Education in Ausonius, Capella, and the Theodosian Code* (New York, Teachers College, Columbia University).

Documentary publications: A. Poebel, *Babylonian Legal and Business Documents from the Time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, chiefly from Nippur* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania, 1909, pp. 164) [Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, edited by H. V. Hilprecht].

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. de Genouillac, *Une Cité du Bas-Euphrate au Quatrième Millénaire* (Revue Historique, July–August); H. P. Fairchild, *The Causes of Emigration from Greece* (Yale Review, August); E. von Stern, *Die Griechische Kolonisation am Norgestade des Schwarzen Meeres im Lichte Archäologischer Forschung* (Klio, IX. 2); W. S. Ferguson, *Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents,* III. (Klio, IX. 3); S. Heinlein, *Histiaios von Milet* (Klio, IX. 3); K. Lehmann, *Zur Geschichte der Barkiden,* I. *Hannibals Alpenübergang als Marschleistung* (Klio, IX. 3); J. Kromayer, *Hannibal als Staatsmann* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIII. 2).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The second volume of W. Montgomery's translation of O. Pfleiderer's *Primitive Christianity* has been published by Putnam.

Principal Walter F. Adeney's history of Eastern Christianity, *The Greek and Eastern Churches* (Scribners, 1909), deals with the main body of the Eastern Church down to the fall of Constantinople, and with the separate churches from their origins to the present day.

Professor Marucchi, after a long period since the issue of De Rossi's last volume, has brought out the first fascicle (Rome, Spithoever, 1909, pp. 100) of his continuation or third volume of the *Roma Sotterranea Christiana,* dealing with the cemetery of Domitilla, and embellished with admirable plates.

The ninth fascicle in the series of *Textes et Documents pour l'Étude Historique du Christianisme,* published under the direction of H. Hemmer and P. Lejay, is *Philon: Commentaire Allégorique des Saintes Lois,* treatises one to three, edited with the Greek text, French translation, introduction, notes, and index by M. E. Bréhier (Paris, Picard, 1909, pp. xxxviii, 330), whose book on the ideas of Philo was noticed in the last number of this Review (XIV. 868).

Father Cyrille Charon, a French priest of the Greek Melchite rite, and a distinguished student of Oriental church history, is preparing a *Histoire des Patriarches Melchites,* of which the first volume will soon be issued.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Allard, *La Retraite de Sidoine Apollinaire* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Recent German publications relating to medieval history are reviewed by E. A. Goldsilber in the Courrier Allemand of the July number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques.*

In the periodical called *America: a Catholic Review of the Week* for September 11, Father Thomas Hughes, S. J., reviews at length Professor Pijper's article in our July number criticizing it especially on the ground of failure to preserve distinctions of terms and times, and thus of unfairness to the Church.

A synthetic *Précis d'Archéologie du Moyen-Age,* by J. A. Brutails (Paris, Picard, pp. xli, 282), emphasizes the historical causes of the various architectural forms.

The well-known medievalists, F. Lot and L. Halphen, are the joint authors of fascicle 175 of the Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études (Paris, Champion) which forms the first part, comprising the years 840–851, of a history of the reign of Charles the Bald, 840–877.

Mr. Walter Ashburner has edited from the manuscripts *The Rhodian Sea-Law* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909). Besides the text, translation, and commentary, there is a long introduction (pp. 280) dealing with the text and the origin of the Sea-Law, its relation to other bodies of

medieval maritime law relating to the Mediterranean basin, and with maritime jurisprudence between the fall of the Roman Empire and the commercial renascence of the thirteenth century.

The Connection between England and Burgundy during the First Half of the Fifteenth Century (Oxford, Blackwell, 1909, pp. 90) is the subject of L. V. D. Owen's Stanhope Essay for 1909.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: B. Hilliger, *Alter und Münzrechnung der Lex Salica* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, June); C. H. Becker, *Grundlinien der Wirtschaftlichen Entwicklung Aegyptens in den Ersten Jahrhunderten des Islam* (Klio, IX. 2); H. Bloch, *Die Kaiserwahlen der Stauferzeit* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, June); F. Kurth, *Der Anteil Niederdeutscher Kreuzfahrer an den Kämpfen der Portugiesen gegen die Mauren* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, VIII., Ergänzungsband 1); F. Kern, *Analekten zur Geschichte des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts*, I. *Eduard I. von England und Peter von Aragon*; II. *Die Bestechung K. Adolfs von Nassau* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXX. 3); J. M. Vidal, *Un Recueil Manuscrit de Sermons prononcés aux Conciles de Constance et de Bâle* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); R. Wolkan, *Der Briefwechsel des Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini* [Fontes Rerum Austriacarum. II. Diplomata et Acta. LXI.] (Vienna, Holder, 1909, pp. xxviii, 595).

MODERN HISTORY

The second series of M. Henri Dehérain's *Études sur l'Afrique* (Paris, Hachette) relates to several phases of the history of the Cape of Good Hope in the seventeenth century—the Dutch East India Company's establishment at the Cape, Johan van Riebeck, the origins and growth of the European colonies, slaves, and the French language at the Cape.

M. Theodore Blancard's two-volume work, *Les Mavroyéni* (Paris, Leroux), is a contribution to the history of the Orient from 1700 to the present.

M. Charles de Larivière has gathered into a volume entitled *La France et la Russie au XVIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Soudier, 1909, pp. xix, 343) several historical and literary studies treating among other topics of Catherine II. and d'Alembert, Count Esterhazy at the court of Russia, and the youth of Nicolas I.

Mr. Oscar Browning is publishing in the Camden series of the Royal Historical Society *Despatches from Paris, 1784-1790*, selected and edited from the Foreign Office correspondence. The first volume extends to 1787 (1909, pp. 278).

A third edition of the two-volume collection of *Les Constitutions Modernes*, translated and annotated by F. R. Dareste and P. Dareste (Paris, Challamel), has been revised to date.

The first volume of *Lettres de Champollion le Jeune,* collected and annotated by H. Hartleben, contains letters written from Italy, and forms the thirtieth volume in Maspero's Bibliothèque Égyptologique (Paris, Leroux).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Ancel, *L'Activité Réformatrice de Paul IV.—Le Choix des Cardinaux* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); C. Brinkmann, *The Relations between England and Germany, 1660–1688,* II. (English Historical Review, July); A. F. Pribram, *Franz von Lisola und der Ausbau der Tripleliga in den Jahren 1670 und 1671* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXX. 3); H. B. Learned, *Historical Significance of the Term "Cabinet" in England and the United States* (American Political Science Review, August); L. Madelin, *Le Concordat de 1801 et le Cardinal Mathieu* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); Marqués de Lema, *Bonaparte y una Infanta Española: un Proyecto Olvidado de Matrimonio* (Cultura Española, May); J. Aulneau, *M. de Bismarck à la Diète de Francfort et la Politique de la Prusse pendant la Guerre de Crimée* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXXIII. 3); François-Ch. Roux, *La Russie et l'Alliance Anglo-Française après la Guerre de Crimée* (Revue Historique, July–August).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Mr. C. R. L. Fletcher's four-volume text-book, *An Introductory History of England* (London, Murray), has been concluded by the issue of the last two volumes, which treat of the period from 1660 to 1815.

G. Teuber's *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Eroberung Britanniens durch die Römer* forms the third part of the Breslau Studies in History.

Mr. E. E. C. Gomme has made an entirely new and literal translation of *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, Bell, 1909, pp. 332) with introduction and notes. The Parker Manuscript has been chiefly followed, but some extracts have been made from the other manuscripts.

Professor Laurence M. Larson is publishing in Putnam's *Heroes of the Nations* series a life of *King Canute the Great.*

Two books on agrarian history have recently come from the Clarendon Press. The larger part of Mr. W. H. R. Curtler's *A Short History of English Agriculture* (1909, pp. 371) is devoted to the modern period. Mr. A. H. Johnson's *The Disappearance of the Small Landowner,* the Ford Lectures for 1909 (pp. 164), is an investigation into the effects of the English land laws, from the time of the Great Plague, with comparisons drawn from other countries.

The contents of the second series of studies of *Typical English Churchmen* (London, S. P. C. K., pp. 190) is as follows: Wyclif, by Dr. J. N. Figgis; William of Wykeham, by Dr. W. A. Spooner; William

Courtenay, by Canon Scott Holmes; Cardinal Beaufort, by Rev. L. B. Radford; Cuthbert Tunstall, by Canon G. H. Ross-Lewin; and Stephen Gardiner, by Dr. James Gairdner.

Social England in the Fifteenth Century, a London University doctoral thesis, by Miss A. Abrams, will be issued by Messrs. Routledge this autumn.

Sidney Lee's Oxford lectures are being published by Frowde under the title *The French Renaissance in England.*

Among Houghton Mifflin's autumn announcements are a book by Frank A. Mumby entitled *The Girlhood of Queen Elizabeth, told in Contemporary Letters,* and a *Life of Richard Brinsley Sheridan,* by Walter Sichel.

A great store of detailed information regarding the social and economic life of western England in the sixteenth century is contained in the *Survey of the Lands of William, First Earl of Pembroke,* drawn up in the years 1566–1573 and giving remarkably full data regarding the tenures and customs of about forty manors in Wiltshire, Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, Hampshire, and Devon. The recently discovered manuscript has been privately printed by the Earl of Pembroke and Montgomery in two quarto volumes for the Roxburghe Club. An introduction is contributed by the transcriber, C. R. Straton.

Under the title *The Last Years of the Protectorate,* Professor C. H. Firth is publishing through Longmans a continuation of S. R. Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate.*

Longmans, Green, and Company have issued volume II. of G. A. R. Callender's *Sea Kings of Britain.* The work comprises brief biographies of Albemarle, Rooke, Benbow, Vernon, Anson, and Hawke.

Professor F. Watson's recent contribution to educational history, *The Beginnings of the Teaching of Modern Subjects in England* (London, Pitman, pp. lvi, 555), includes much bibliographical matter.

M. Marcel Sibert's *Étude sur le Premier Ministre en Angleterre depuis ses Origines jusqu'à l'Époque Contemporaine* (Paris, Rousseau) contains comparisons between the prime ministers in England and the prime ministers of France and Belgium.

The first volume of *Lives of the Hanoverian Queens of England* (Macmillan, 1909, pp. xv, 427), a continuation of Miss Strickland's work, by Alice Drayton Greenwood, relates to Sophia Dorothea, wife of George I., and Caroline of Anspach, wife of George II.

Mr. Beckles Willson's *Life and Letters of James Wolfe* is being published by Heinemann. A life of General Wolfe, by Mr. Edward Salmon, has recently been issued in the new series, *Makers of National History,* which the Rev. W. H. Hutton is editing for Sir Isaac Pitman and Sons.

Mr. Edward Arnold is publishing this autumn the first volume of Sir Herbert Maxwell's new work, *A Century of Empire*, in three volumes. It is a succinct history of the United Kingdom during the nineteenth century, which, while not conceived in a partizan spirit, will present the case for the conservative party in its influence upon the course of politics.

The fourth and concluding volume of *The History of the War in South Africa*, compiled from official sources by Major-General Sir John Frederick Maurice, is being published by Hurst and Blackett, London.

The "Times" History of the War in South Africa, edited by L. S. Amery (London, Sampson Low), has been concluded by the issue of the sixth and seventh volumes. The sixth volume deals with the work of reconstruction in South Africa, and the later political history down to the early part of the present year, and contains a series of chapters on the more important technical and administrative aspects of the war. The seventh volume comprises a chronological table, bibliography, and full index.

Relics of the Honourable East India Company (1909, pp. xiv, 80), a series of fifty plates, including facsimiles of documents, by W. Griggs, with letter-press by Sir George Birdwood and Mr. W. Foster, has been published by Mr. Bernard Quaritch.

Mr. W. J. Couper's excellent history of *The Edinburgh Periodical Press* (Stirling, Mackay, two volumes) comes down to the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The Oxford University Press is publishing a six-volume work on *The Sikh Religion: its Gurus, Sacred Writings, and Authors*, by M. A. Macauliffe. A full translation of the sacred works of the Sikhs is included.

British government publications: *Calendar of the Patent Rolls*, Henry IV., vol. IV., 1408–1413; *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic*, March 1, 1676–February 28, 1677; *Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission* on the manuscripts of the Earl of Egmont, II.; and on manuscripts in Various Collections, V.

Other documentary publications: Father Cuthbert, *The Chronicle of Thomas of Eccleston* (London, Sands, pp. xxix, 168) [describes the settlement of the Franciscans in England]; R. Lamond, *Ecclesiastical Persecution in the Seventeenth Century* [extracts from a narrative by the Rev. Robert Landess of Robroyston] (Scottish Historical Review, July).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. W. C. Davis, *The Liberties of Bury St. Edmunds* (English Historical Review, July); A. Ballard, *Woodstock Manor in the Thirteenth Century* (Vierteljahrschrift für

Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, VI. 3 and 4); C. Perkins, *The Trial of the Knights Templars in England* (English Historical Review, July); R. Ancel, *La Réconciliation de l'Angleterre avec le Saint-Siège sous Marie Tudor: Légation du Cardinal Polus en Angleterre* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, July); W. Smart, *The Antecedents of the Corn Law of 1815* (English Historical Review, July); J. A. R. Marriott, *George Canning and his Friends* (Quarterly Review, July).

FRANCE

The French ministry of foreign affairs has opened to workers the diplomatic archives up to February 24, 1848, instead of up to July 31, 1830, as formerly. The consular archives prior to 1789 have also been made accessible.

Le Roussillon, by J. Calmette and P. Vidal (Paris, Cerf, 1909, pp. 64), is the sixth number in the series *Les Régions de la France,* published by the *Revue de Synthèse Historique.*

One of the most important sources for the history of the reigns of Louis VI. and Louis VII., up to 1148, *La Chronique de Morigny,* 1095–1152 (1909, pp. xix, 98), has been edited by M. L. Mirot, of the Archives Nationales, for the Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Étude et à l'Enseignement de l'Histoire (Paris, Picard). This chronicle, which has been published in Duchesne's *Scriptores,* and from that edition in Migne's *Patrologia,* presents a remarkably life-like picture of the society of the period.

A volume by the late Achille Luchaire, *La Société Française au Temps de Philippe-Auguste* (Paris, Hachette, 1909), has been brought out by the care of M. Louis Halphen. The two main divisions deal with the Church, and the Feudality, respectively. Part of the matter has been previously published.

The direction of the *Revue des Bibliothèques* (Paris, Champion) has decided to issue supplements to contain bibliographies that are too extended to be included in the *Revue.* The first of these supplements is a biographical and chronological repertory, by G. Lepreux, of all the printers of France from the origins of printing to the Revolution. The first volume treats of Flanders, Artois, and Picardy (1909, pp. 320).

The first volume of M. Fleury Vindry's *Les Parlementaires Français au XVI^e^ Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1909, pp. 225) relates to the Parlements of Aix, Grenoble, Dijon, Chambéry, and Dombes.

M. Paul Masson's interesting book, *Les Compagnies du Corail* (Paris, 1908, pp. 254), is a study of the commerce of Marseilles in the sixteenth century, and of the origins of French colonization in Algiers.

Father Fouqueray has written from material in the Jesuit archives the first volume, comprising the years 1520–1575, of the great *Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France, des Origines à la Suppression* (1762), which will be published by Picard in eight or ten large volumes.

Under the title *Montesquieu et la Tradition Politique Anglaise en France* (Paris, Lecoffre) M. J. Dedieu discusses the English sources of the *Esprit des Lois.*

A new collection of memoirs and of documents relative to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been undertaken by the following scholars: A. Baudrillart, rector of the Catholic Institute of Paris, Count Boulay de la Meurthe, president of the Society of Contemporary History, É. Bourgeois, of the University of Paris, A. Tuetey and P. Caron, of the National Archives, Cl. Perroud, honorary rector of the Academy of Toulouse, and M. Tourneux, vice-president of the Society for the History of the Revolution. The volumes will be edited with critical apparatus, and the whole spirit of the publications will be rigorously scientific. Among the volumes in press or in an advanced stage of preparation are the memoirs of Hardy, edited by MM. Tourneux and Vitrac, Brissot, edited by Cl. Perroud, Bailly, edited by P. Caron, Hénault, edited by F. Rousseau, and a collection of the great treaties of the Revolution and of the Empire, edited by É. Bourgeois. The first volume to be issued is *Roland et Marie Phlipon: Lettres d'Amour de 1777 à 1780,* edited by Cl. Perroud (1909, pp. 409).

M. É. Levasseur of the Institute has contributed a preface to an elaborate study of *La Population de Bordeaux au XVIII^e Siècle* by A. Nicolaï (Paris, Giard and Brière).

The first volume of *La Franc-Maçonnerie en France des Origines à 1815,* by Gustav Bord (Nouvelle Librairie Nationale), throws new light on the spread of rationalistic and revolutionary ideas from 1761 to 1771. A similar conception of the historic role of freemasonry is in G. Chardonchamp's *Quelques propos d'un Contre-Révolutionnaire* (Paris, Lethielleux).

Professor R. M. Johnston's short history of *The French Revolution* is published by Macmillan.

M. Pierre de la Gorce of the Institute has published through the house of Plon-Nourrit the first volume of a *Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française* (1909, pp. vi, 519).

General H. Bonnal has brought out a study of *La Psychologie Militaire de Napoléon* (Paris, Chapelot).

Mr. A. H. Atterbridge will publish through Brentano's a work entitled *Napoleon's Brothers,* which will include an account of their descendants.

M. H. d'Almeras continues his studies of social life in Paris in a richly illustrated work, *La Vie Parisienne sous le Consulat et l'Empire* (Paris, Michel, 1909, pp. 496).

Recent volumes in Alcan's *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine* are M. M. Handelsman's *Napoléon et la Pologne, 1806–1807* (pp. 284), based on documents in the national archives and in the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs, and M. G. Weill's *Histoire du Catholicisme Libéral en France, 1828–1908* (pp. 316).

The Vicomte de Reiset is at work on a study of the wife of Louis XVIII., the Comtesse de Provence, in which, it is understood, there will be published diaries of Charles Felix of Savoy and of the wife of the Count d'Artois, afterwards Charles X.

The fourth volume of the English translation of M. G. Hanotaux's *Contemporary France* (London, Constable, 1909, pp. 668) extends from 1877 to 1882. The same author has published through Flammarion a small work on *Le Partage de l'Afrique: Fachoda.*

Vicomte A. de Courson has published a book on the insurrection in 1832 in *La Vendée* (Paris, Émile-Paul).

Documentary publications: M. Bruchet, *L'Abolition des Droits Seigneuriaux en Savoie, 1761–1793* [Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française] (Paris, Leroux, pp. ciii, 639); Count Marc de Germiny, *Souvenirs du Chevalier de Cussy, Garde du Corps, Diplomate et Consul Général, 1795–1866,* I. (Paris, Plon, 1909, pp. 417); A. Keller, *Correspondance, Bulletins, et Ordres du Jour de Napoléon,* II. *Bonaparte et le Directoire* (Paris, Méricant, pp. 319); Charles Bocher, *Mémoires, 1816–1907,* II. [1848–1870] (Paris, Flammarion).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J.-M. Vidal, *Doctrine et Morale des Derniers Ministres Albigeois,* concl. (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); J. Letaconnoux, *Les Voies de Communication en France, au XVIII^e Siècle* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftgeschichte, VII. 1); A. Onou, *Les Élections de 1789 et les Cahiers du Tiers État,* I. (La Révolution Française, June); Ph. Sagnac, *L'État des Esprits en France à l'Époque de Varennes, Juin-Juillet, 1791* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, May); M. Marion, *Les Parents d'Émigrés pendant la Révolution* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); P. Lehautcourt, *La Capitulation de Laon, 9 Septembre 1870,* I. (Revue Historique, September–October).

ITALY, SPAIN, PORTUGAL

The Oxford University Press is publishing a book on *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy,* by T. E. Peet.

In the *Archivio Storico Italiano,* no. 253, Professor Augusto Beccaria develops in detail a project for a *Corpus Inscriptionum Italicarum Medii Aevi,* including the early Christian inscriptions, and thus forming a continuation of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum,* to be published by means of a fund presented to the faculty of letters of Florence by Commendatore Ernesto Modigliani.

The third number of the *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance,* edited by Professor W. Goetz of Tübingen, is Dr. P. Funk's monograph on *Jakob von Vitry, Leben und Werke* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909). This, the first comprehensive account of

this eminent writer and ecclesiastic, who, at the time of his death in 1240, was Cardinal Bishop of Tusculum, is a study in the religious and moral life of the period.

G. Volpe contributes to the *Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* VI. 3 and 4, an article of more than one hundred pages on *Montieri: Costituzione Politica, Struttura Sociale e Attività Economica d'una Terra Mineraria Toscana nel XIII. Secolo.* In a later number (VII. 1) of the same journal H. Sieveking has an interesting article on *Die Kapitalistische Entwicklung in den Italienischen Städten des Mittelalters.*

Colonel G. F. Young's two-volume history of *The Medici* (London, Murray) extends from 1400 to 1743. Portraits of more than fifty members of the Medici family are included.

A contribution by Plinio Carli to the studies of the text of Machiavelli's history of Florence has been separately printed from the *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei,* session V., volume XIV. (pp. 91).

Documentary publications: L. Pagliai, *Regesto di Coltibuono.* Regesta Chartarum Italiae, IV. [Published by the Prussian Historical Institute] (Rome, Loescher, 1909, pp. xi, 311); *Inventaire de la Collection Édouard Favre* (Bulletin Hispanique, July–September) [The collection contains some 10,000 Spanish documents, mostly relating to the reign of Philip II.]; *A Inquisição em Portugal e no Brazil: As Denunciações da Inquisição de Lisboa,* con. (Archivo Historico Portuguez, January–February, March–April, May–June).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Ch. Dejob, *Le Politicien à Florence au XIV^e^ et au XV^e^ Siècle* (Bulletin Italien, July–September).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND

In the historical bulletin of the *Revue Historique* for July–August, F. Vigener concludes his review of publications of the years 1905–1906, relating to the medieval history of Germany and V. Van Berchem reviews the publications of the years 1905–1908, relating to the history of Switzerland.

M. A. Waddington contributes to the April and June numbers of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* a valuable general review, extending to nearly one hundred pages, of the chief writings relating to the general history of Germany from 1648 to 1806.

A volume entitled *Studium Lipsiense: Ehrengabe Karl Lamprecht dargebracht,* etc. (Berlin, Weidmann, 1909), presented to Professor Lamprecht on the occasion of the opening of his new Institute for Universal History and the History of Civilization, contains twenty-two contributions. Among these is an article by Viktor Hantzsch, entitled *Der Anteil der deutschen Jesuiten an der wissenschaftlichen Erforschung Amerikas.*

Professor Oskar Jäger, of Bonn, has issued the first volume of his *Deutsche Geschichte* (Munich, Beck, 1909, pp. 668), which comes down to the Peace of Westphalia. A notable feature of the work is its large number of valuable illustrations.

The eighth volume in the *Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte,* edited by G. v. Below and F. Meinecke (Munich, Oldenburg, 1909, pp. xiv, 244), is an *Allgemeine Geschichte der Germanischen Völker bis zur Mitte des Sechsten Jahrhunderts,* by Professor Ludwig Schmidt, librarian of the Royal Public Library in Dresden. After a survey of the sources, the author considers the origin of the Germans, their expansion, their relation to the Romans, and, finally the history of each of the Germanic peoples, ending with the Franks under Merovingian rule.

Among the writings called forth by the anniversary of the destruction of the Roman legions of Varus, in the year 9, is Felix Dahn's *Armin der Cherusker* (Munich, Lehmann, 1909, pp. 44).

Recent volumes in the series of *Scriptores Rerum Germanicarum in Usum Scholarum* are *Annales Xantenses et Annales Vedastini,* edited by B. de Simson (Hannover, Hahn, 1909, pp. xvi, 96), and a second edition of *Helmoldi Presbyteri Bozoviensis Cronica Slavorum,* which has been enlarged by the addition of Versus de Vita Vicelini et Sidonis Epistola (1909, pp. xxx, 273).

The thirteenth and fourteenth volumes of A. M. Christie's translation of J. Janssen's *History of the German People at the Close of the Middle Ages* have been issued by Kegan Paul, London.

Die Anfänge des Postwesens und die Taxis, by Dr. Fritz Ohmann (Leipzig, Duncker and Humblot), contains an attempt to trace the origins of the modern German post-office, and gives many facts regarding German postal affairs from 1489 to the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Professor Eduard Wintzer has published a study of *Hermann Schwan von Marburg,* a contribution to the history of Philip the Magnanimous (Marburg, N. G. Elwert, 1909, pp. viii, 336).

An important contribution to the history of German unity is made by Dr. Karl Alexander von Müller in his work on *Bayern im Jahre 1866 und die Berufung des Fürsten Hohenlohe* (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1909, pp. xvi, 292), the twentieth volume in the series issued by the editors of the *Historische Zeitschrift.*

The Cambridge University Press is publishing a translation by Dr. A. B. Yolland of a portion of Professor Henrik Marczali's History of Hungary in the time of Joseph II. (*Magyarország Története II. József Korában*). The translated portion is concerned with the social and political condition of Hungary during the aristocratic régime.

The work has been revised to date by Professor Marczali. Mr. H. W. V. Temperley contributes a short introduction.

Four Swiss professors, MM. Baumgartner, Meyer von Kronau, Oechsli, and Tobler have begun a new historical series, *Schweizer Studien zur Geschichtswissenschaft.*

A detailed study of the Servetus case has been made by Professor F. Barth of the University of Berne in his book, *Calvin und Servet* (Berne, Francke).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Auener, *Die Kurvereine unter der Regierung König Sigmunds* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXX. 2); I. Zibermayr, *Johann Schlitpachers Aufzeichnungen als Visitator der Benediktinerklöster in der Salzburger Kirchenprovinz. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Cusanischen Klosterreformen, 1451–1452* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXX. 2); H. Ankwicz, *Das Tagebuch Cuspinians* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXX. 2); M. Jansen, *Jakob Fugger der Reiche: Sein Eintritt in die Kaufmannschaft und seine ersten Unternehmungen* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXX. 3); J. Müller, *Die Finanzpolitik des Nürnberger Rates in der Zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, VII. 1); M. Ritter, *Über die Gründung, Leistungen und Aufgaben der Historischen Kommission* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIII. 2); A. Dombrowsky, *Adam Müller, die Historische Weltanschauung und die Politische Romantik* (Zeitschrift für die Gesamte Staatswissenschaft, 1909, 3).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire* (LXXVIII. 2, Brussels, Kiessling, 1909) contains an account, prepared by Professor A. Cauchie and Dr. L. Van der Essen and extending to some sixty pages, of the manuscript materials for Belgian history preserved in private archives in foreign countries.

Choix d'Études Historiques (Brussels, Weissenbruch, 1909, pp. xii, 389) gathers into one volume most of the late L. Vanderkindere's articles on the history of medieval institutions, including all those on the origin of urban constitutions, on historical geography, and political history. A discourse on the historical method prefaces the work.

From a series of articles in a Belgian ecclesiastical journal Mr. R. Weemæs has made a small book on *Les Actes Privés en Belgique depuis le X^e^ jusqu'au Commencement du XIII^e^ Siècle* (Louvain, Smeesters, 1909, pp. 106) important for legal as well as for ecclesiastical history.

On occasion of the semi-centennial of the American College at Louvain, Abbé R. Van der Heyden, an alumnus and formerly a professor of the college, has prepared a documentary history, *The Louvain Amer-*

ican College, 1857–1907 (Louvain, 1909, pp. xx, 412), having a real importance for American religious history, especially for the history of missionary endeavor.

In Dr. A. Eekhof's work on *De Questierders van den Aflaat in de Nordelijke Nederlanden* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1909, pp. xv, 108, cxxiii) the author draws a detailed picture of the sale of indulgences in the northern provinces of the Netherlands from the end of the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

Icelandic documents from August 31, 1513, to October 31, 1521, form the contents of the third part of the eighth volume of *Diplomatarium Islandicum,* pp. 465–838.

By the addition of a second volume of 2128 pages, Professor Vladimir Ikonnikov has completed his monumental history of Russian historiography, *Opyt Russkoi Istoriographii* (Kiev, University, 1908), of which the first "volume" appeared in 1891 and 1892, and which is henceforth indispensable to all users of Russian chronicles and other historical sources.

The highest praises are given for critical learning and impartiality to M. Biednov's book on the history of the treatment of the Orthodox Church in Poland and Lithuania as mirrored in the *Volumina Legum* of the Kingdom, *Pravoslavnaia Tzerkov v Polchie i Litvie po Volumina Legum* (Ekaterinoslav, Baranovsky, 1908, pp. xvii, 509).

M. A.-D. Xénopol, of the University of Jassy, has published an account of the history, and material and intellectual condition of *Les Roumains* (Paris, Delagrave, 1909, pp. 157).

AMÉRICA

GENERAL ITEMS

Professor Learned has finished his six months of research in German archives on account of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington; his work, it will be remembered, has been confined to the materials for the history of the German emigration to America. Professor Fish has completed the manuscript of his Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives, Dr. J. A. Robertson that of his list of Spanish archive-documents relating to America which have been printed or of which there are transcripts in the United States. Professor Allison has nearly finished the manuscript of his inventory of manuscript materials for American Protestant religious history. Professor Bolton has finished his Mexican investigations by researches in the archives of Monclova, Monterey, and Saltillo. The search for letters of delegates to the Continental Congress has been finished for Maine, New Hampshire, and North Carolina, while at Charleston, by the kind permission of the

South Carolina Historical Society, those in its possession are being copied.

The *Annual Report of the American Historical Association,* for 1907, has now appeared, in two volumes of 550 and 646 pages respectively. The first contains the reports of the twenty-third annual meeting, held at Madison, and of the various conferences which were held on that occasion; also the following articles: Miss Annie H. Abel, Proposals for an Indian State, 1778–1878; Professor Frederic L. Paxson, Pacific Railroads and the Disappearance of the Frontier in America; John J. Earle, The Sentiment of the People of California with Respect to the Civil War; Professor Bernard Moses, the Relation of the United States to Latin America; Dr. James A. Robertson, Legazpi and Philippine Colonization. Next follows the report of the Public Archives Commission. The greater part of the volume is occupied by Professor W. S. Robertson's essay on Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America, the essay to which was awarded the Justin Winsor prize. The second volume of the report is part one of the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas, edited by Professor George P. Garrison. Of the *Annual Report* for 1908 the first volume is now in page-proof.

The American Historical Association begins with the publication of Professor Edward B. Krehbiel's book on *The Inderdict* an important new venture, the publication in a special series of those essays to which the Justin Winsor and the Herbert Baxter Adams prizes have been or will be in alternate years awarded. Professor Krehbiel's volume, which is now practically ready for distribution, is not to be obtained through the trade but by application to the secretary of the American Historical Association, whose address is "Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C." It is hoped in the interest of the Association that many of its members will from the beginning subscribe for this additional series, the subscription price being one dollar. The second issue will be Dr. Clarence E. Carter's Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763–1774.

In the series *Original Narratives of Early American History* the volume of *Narratives of New Netherland,* edited by J. F Jameson, was published on September 18. It contains twenty-one pieces, one of which, a description of Manhattan in 1661, has never been printed before. Among its illustrations, also, is a recently discovered early map of New Netherland, by "one who had had the command in New Netherland", probably Peter Minuit. Of the Dutch pieces, which form the main substance of the volume, and most of which have hitherto been presented in very imperfect translations, the English versions in this volume have been carefully corrected by comparison with the originals, printed or manuscript, in Holland or America. The volume of original narratives of early Delaware, West Jersey, and Pennsylvania will be edited, for publication in 1910, by Dr. Albert Cook Myers. An in-

teresting feature of it will be a translation of Pastorius's *Umständige Geographische Beschreibung der Provintz Pensylvaniae* (Frankfurt, 1700), never before presented in English. It will also contain translations of Swedish narratives of the Delaware River settlements, and reprints of the rare early tracts on West Jersey and Pennsylvania. Later volumes in the same series, besides Narratives of Early Maryland edited by Mr. C. C. Hall and Johnson's *Wonder-Working Providence,* already announced, will be a volume of Narratives of the Witchcraft Persecution, edited by Professor George L. Burr, one of Narratives of the Indian and French Wars, one in which shall be combined the chief narratives of the insurrections of 1688 and 1689, and others for early Carolina and the Mississippi valley.

M. L. Didier reviews recent American historical writings in the Courrier des États-Unis of the July number of the *Revue des Questions Historiques.*

The *Documentary History of American Industrial Society,* which Professor Ulrich B. Phillips and Professor John R. Commons are editing, will shortly appear from the press of Arthur H. Clark Company.

The article of chief interest in the May issue of the *Magazine of History* is a sketch of William Whipple by Rev. Arthur Little. There are several extracts from Whipple's letters while in Congress, particularly to John Langdon and Josiah Bartlett. Other articles are: a brief account of Illinois county names, by William D. Barge, a description of the manuscript orderly book of Washington, July 3 to September 24, 1775, and a reprint of Rev. William Morell's English version of his *Nova Anglia.* In the June issue of the *Magazine* is printed an address on Samuel Adams, by Mr. James P. Munroe.

The Records of the American Catholic Historical Society for March includes an article by Rev. M. A. Drennan on the early history of "The Congregation of the Mission" in Philadelphia. The letters from the archiepiscopal archives at Baltimore, 1787–1815, are largely from Archbishop Carroll. There are two letters from James Madison as Secretary of State to Archbishop Carroll relative to ecclesiastical affairs at New Orleans.

Volume V., part II., of *Historical Records and Studies* of the United States Catholic Historical Society contains a number of noteworthy papers, principal among which is "The Capuchins in America", by Rev. Otto Jeron. Father Jeron died in 1907, leaving his history in an incomplete state; what is published in this volume relates mainly to North America. "Old Saint Peter's, or the Beginnings of Catholicity in Baltimore", by Rev. J. A. Frederick, is another study of considerable scope and value. A biographical account of Governor Edward Kavanagh of Maine, by Rev. Charles W. Collins, is of interest for its bearing on the Maine boundary question. Some useful facts are gathered in a brief article by E. J. McGuire on "The Catholic Bar of New York from

1808 to 1908". The letters of Rev. P. J. De Smet, mentioned hitherto in these pages, are continued, and Mr. Peter Condon gives the concluding chapter of his study entitled "Constitutional Freedom of Religion and the Revivals of Religious Intolerance". This chapter relates mainly to the Know-Nothing movement.

It is announced that Lemcke and Buechner of New York will bring out in this country Rudolph Cronau's *Drei Jahrhunderte Deutschen Lebens in Amerika.*

Readings on American Federal Government, by Professor Paul S. Reinsch, published by Ginn and Company, comprises chiefly selections from recent speeches, addresses, and published articles. The editor indicates that his purpose is to give those who use the book the opportunity to see what is actually being done at the present time.

A valuable bibliography issued by the Library of Congress is a *List of Works relating to the Supreme Court of the United States* (pp. 124), compiled under the direction of H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer. Thirty-eight pages are devoted to general works on the court; reports and digests are listed in eight pages, and the remainder comprises material on the chief justices and associate justices, with some of the more important works of the chief justices. There is an author index.

Recent numbers of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law* are *Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West,* by W. F. Gephart, and *The Conflict over Judicial Powers in the United States to 1870,* by C. G. Haines.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

L'Amérique Précolombienne: Essai sur l'Origine de sa Civilisation, by Alphonse Gagnon (Quebec, Typographie Laflamme et Proulx, pp. 376), is a study of the ancient civilizations of Mexico, Central America, and Peru, with brief preliminary investigations of such questions as *Unité d' Origine ou Pluralité des Races Indigènes Américaines,* the Mound Builders, etc. The work is divided into two parts, *Les Monuments,* and *Les Civilisateurs,* to which are added chapters on related topics: *Ce qu'est devenue la Race Civilisatrice, Antiquité des Ruines Américaines, Immigrations Itératives, Influences Chamitiques sur les Civilisations Sémitiques et Aryennes,* and *Question de Linguiste.* The book is illustrated.

Halldor Hermannsson's bibliography, *Islandica,* which is being issued by the Cornell University Library, is continued in a second volume relating to the Northmen in America.

Longmans, Green, and Company have brought out *Explorers in the New World before and after Columbus; and the Story of the Jesuit Missions of Paraguay, with pre-Columbian Maps,* by Mrs. Marion M. Mulhall.

Professor Edgar L. Hewett, director of the School of American Archaeology at Santa Fé, reports the discovery in Arizona, in a secluded cañon in the heart of the Navajo reservation, of a series of great caves cut in the solid rock, and filled with the ruins of stone huts of a kind never before encountered and with remains of early pottery. The ruins were accompanied by extensive hieroglyphic inscriptions.

Mr. Wouter Nijhoff has reprinted with additional notes and documents Mr. Henry C. Murphy's very rare booklet, *Henry Hudson in Holland* (the Hague, Nijhoff, 1909, pp. 162). All the original documents relating to the third voyage and known to exist in the Dutch, are printed in Dutch, and in English translation.

It is announced that Harper and Brothers are about to publish *Henry Hudson and his Career,* by Thomas A. Janvier, in which will appear some newly discovered material. Another work on Hudson on the eve of appearing is by Miss Agnes C. Laut and will be published by Moffat, Yard, and Company.

Ginn and Company have announced for early publication *The Economic History of the United States, 1765–1860,* by G. S. Callender.

American Bibliography, volume V. (1774–1778), prepared by Charles Evans, has come from the press (Chicago, privately printed for the author by the Blakely Press).

The Transitional Period, 1788–1789, in the Government of the United States, by F. F. Stephens, appears in the Social Science Series of the *University of Missouri Studies.*

Expenditures of the United States Government, 1791–1907 (pp. 42), a compilation made by the Director of the Census for the Committee on Appropriations of the House of Representatives, has been issued by the Government Printing Office.

Messrs. Henry Holt and Company will bring out this fall a new edition of the *Travels of John Davis* in the United States, edited by Mr. Alfred J. Morrison.

The Neglected Period of Anti-Slavery in America, by Alice Dana Adams, is a Radcliffe College monograph (Ginn and Company).

The Journal of an American Prisoner at Fort Malden and Quebec in the War of 1812, edited by G. M. Fairchild, jr., has been privately printed at Quebec by Frank Carrel, Limited. The author of the journal was the surgeon's mate of the Cuyahoga packet boat, which, while conveying supplies and invalids of General Hull's army from Maumee to Detroit, was captured off Fort Malden by the British on July 2, 1812.

It is announced that Sturgis and Walton will publish shortly *West Point and the United States Military Academy: a Brief History,* by Dr. Edward S. Holden, librarian of the academy. The work is based on materials in possession of the academy.

Volume II. of the *Letters and Journals of Samuel Gridley Howe,* edited by his daughter, Laura E. Richards, with notes by F. B. Sanborn, has come from the press (Dana Estes and Company). It deals chiefly with Dr. Howe's labors for the education of the blind.

The seventh volume of Professor McMaster's *History of the People of the United States* is to be published this autumn (Appleton).

The interesting "Home Letters" of General Sherman which have had an important place in *Scribner's Magazine* during the past few months are soon to appear in book form.

Mr. John Bigelow's *Retrospections of an Active Life,* in three volumes, will be published shortly by the Baker and Taylor Company. The work is understood to cover the period from 1817 to 1867 and to include full accounts of the Trent Affair and the French occupation of Mexico.

Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, vice-president of the United States under President Cleveland, and a prominent figure in politics, especially those of Illinois, is about to publish a volume of reminiscences under the title *Something of Men I Have Known* (Chicago, McClurg).

The *Fenian Movement,* by Clyde L. King, is a recent contribution to the *University of Colorado Studies.*

It is announced that Charles H. Kerr and Company will shortly publish the first volume of a work by Gustavus Meyers entitled *History of the Great American Fortunes.* The work will run to three volumes.

Dr. Max Kullnick has published a small book on *Präsident Taft* (Berlin, Mittler, 1909, pp. vi, 89).

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

A Dictionary of American-Indian Place and Proper Names in New England, by R. A. Douglas-Lithgow, M.D., has been published at Salem by the Salem Press Company.

History of the Town of Waitsfield, Vermont, 1782–1908, by M. B. Jones, is published at Boston by George E. Littlefield. The work is largely genealogical in character.

The *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, third series, vol. II., pp. 318–341, will contain several letters of James Monroe, and, pp. 381–442, a valuable correspondence between George Bancroft and Martin Van Buren, 1830–1845, important to the political history of Massachusetts and of the historian.

Apropos of the Fulton centennial the Brooklyn Public Library has issued a *List of Books and Magazine Articles on Henry Hudson and the Hudson River, Robert Fulton and Early Steam Navigation.*

Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, state historian of New York, has prepared for publication the *Minutes of the Commissioners for Detecting and*

Defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York, Albany Sessions, 1778–1781. Mr. Paltsits has made a thorough study of this body, the results of which will be presented in an extensive introduction. In an appendix will be given the laws relating to the commission, in another appendix a collection of financial data, the result of much research, and in a third the oaths and other miscellaneous matter. The whole work will be in three volumes, the third volume being an elaborate analytical index. Mr. Paltsits is also preparing for early publication the *Minutes of the Executive Council of the Province of New York, 1668–1673.*

It is expected that the third volume of Mr. D. S. Alexander's *Political History of the State of New York*, which brings the narrative to the first term of President Cleveland, will come from the press in the early autumn.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired 52 manuscript letters of Pennsylvania officers in the War of the Revolution and a collection of 2072 assorted early pamphlets.

The pages of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for July are occupied almost entirely with documentary materials. The orderly book of General J. P. G. Muhlenberg, March 26 to December 20, 1777 (the part printed in this issue ends with June 5), throws light on the conditions of the army and its movements. Colonel Hubley's journal is continued (August 14 to September 13, 1779) and is accompanied by numerous sketches of encampments. There are several letters from William Penn, 1685 to 1691, and one from James Logan to Hannah Penn, written at the end of the year 1725, which is concerned largely with proprietary affairs and especially with matters pertaining to the Lower Counties. A valuable series begun in this issue of the *Magazine* is selections from the letter-books of Thomas Wharton, 1773–1783. These letters of a Philadelphia merchant throw much light on social and political conditions in Pennsylvania during the Revolutionary period, as also on the tendency to take up western lands, a matter in which Wharton was interested. Some correspondence of General Edward Hand, 1779–1781, illustrates phases of military history.

The whole anthracite business of Pennsylvania may be said to have sprung from the experiment made by Judge Jesse Fell of Wilkes-Barré when on February 11, 1808, he first burned the stone coal of his valley as fuel, in a grate devised by him. On the fiftieth anniversary of this event the Wyoming Historical and Geological Society was founded. Its hundredth anniversary, and the fiftieth of the society, were marked by a celebration in February, 1908, the record of which occupies the greater part of volume X. of the society's *Proceedings and Collections*, edited by the secretary, Rev. Horace E. Hayden. The chief paper, on the results of Judge Fell's experiment, by Mr. William Griffith, is of great interest and value, and is accompanied with curious and telling

illustrations. The volume also contains an article on the capture by the Indians, in 1782, of the family of Rosewell Franklin, and their rescue; also, from the roll of Revolutionary pensioners published by the Secretary of War in 1835, the list of those dwelling in Bradford and Luzerne counties.

The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography for July offers in its documentary series a variety of material. Some items from the Randolph manuscript touch upon the controversy between Governor Berkeley and the Assembly over the question of taxation. The "Virginia Legislative Papers" in this issue are, for the most part, of the year 1776 and include some letters from county committees and others to Edmund Pendleton, president of the Virginia Convention. A letter from Richard Harrison at Martinique in July, 1776, to the Committee of Safety relates to the business of obtaining supplies from the West Indies. In a series of miscellaneous colonial documents is found a memorial of James Abercromby, agent for the government of Virginia, in support of an address to the king from the council in 1755. Other items deserving mention are "Lord Baltimore's Reason of State concerning Maryland, 1652", and a note concerning the identity of Governor Francis Lovelace.

North Carolina's Priority in the Demand for a Declaration of Independence, by R. D. W. Connor, has been reprinted from the July number of the *South Atlantic Quarterly*. Mr. Connor's theme is not the Mecklenburg Declaration but "The Resolution of the Congress at Halifax, April 12, 1776, and its Influence on the Sentiment for Independence in the United Colonies". The study is a compact and judicious presentation of the case. Mr. Connor is also bringing out a volume of some two hundred pages on *Cornelius Harnett*.

In the *John P. Branch Historical Papers,* volume III., number 1, Professor William E. Dodd publishes a body of miscellaneous letters of Nathaniel Macon, extending from 1798 to 1836 and accompanied by a few letters addressed to him. These, he assures us, complete the Macon correspondence in so far as it is known to be preserved, supplementing fragments which he has published in three or four different places in former years.

The South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine for July contains a letter from Commodore Alexander Gillon to the South Carolina delegates in Congress, written from L'Orient in June, 1779, and pertaining to his mission in France. A letter from Rawlins Lowndes to Henry Laurens, March 30, 1778, gives an account of the loss of the ship *Randolph*. The "Abstracts from the Records of the Court of Ordinary of the Province of South Carolina, 1692–1700", contributed by A. S. Salley, Jr., are continued.

The Alabama Historical Society has issued a reprint of Professor T. C. McCorvey's essay on *The Mission of Francis Scott Key to*

Alabama in 1833, which was published in volume IV. of the society's *Transactions*.

The *German American Annals* for July and August, 1909, contains the conclusion of Professor Deiler's article on the "Settlement of the German Coast of Louisiana and the Creoles of German Descent"; and the continuation of Dr. G. G. Benjamin's article on "Germans in Texas".

The July number of the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* is mainly occupied with three articles: one by Mr. William C. Mills, on Explorations of the Seip Mound, an important earth-work belonging to the highest culture of aboriginal man in Ohio; a second, on the Centennial of Miami University, by Professor A. H. Upham; and a third by Miss Lucy Elliot Keeler, on Spiegel Grove, the home of President Hayes, of which a portion has lately been deeded by Colonel Webb C. Hayes to the state of Ohio for the Ohio Archaeological Society.

The April–June issue of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* is occupied entirely with the second installment of the James McBride manuscripts relating to Miami University. The selections are arranged and edited by Professor J. E. Bradford.

Correspondence of Thomas Ebenezer Thomas, mainly relating to the Anti-Slavery Conflict in Ohio, especially in the Presbyterian Church, comes from the press of Robert Clarke Company.

The history section of the Indiana State Teachers' Association met at Indianapolis April 30 and May 1. In addition to discussions relating to the teaching of history, papers were read by Mr. A. C. Harris on "The Foreign Service of the United States", and by Mr. J. H. Holliday on "Indianapolis in the Civil War".

Under the title "Some Religious Developments in Indiana" Mr. C. B. Coleman contributes to the June issue of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* a discussion of the beginnings of Protestant churches in Indiana.

An account of the erection and dedication of the monument on the battlefield of Tippecanoe, together with material relating to the battle, has been published by the monument commission. The compiler is Mr. A. O. Reser.

The Transition in Illinois from British to American Government, by R. L. Schuyler, comes from the Columbia University Press.

Volume IV. of the *Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library* begins what is termed the "Executive Series", a series to be devoted to the manuscript material illustrating the office of the chief executive of the state. The present volume consists of the letter-books

of the governors from 1818 to 1834 (Shadrach Bond, 1818–1822, Edward Coles, 1822–1826, Ninian Edwards, 1826–1830, John Reynolds, 1830–1834). While the majority of the letters are from the governors, there is also much other official correspondence. The period covered is that in which the state developed from a raw frontier community of about forty thousand people sparsely distributed to a well organized commonwealth of a quarter of a million inhabitants. Of chief importance among the political issues dealt with in these letters are the land question, to which the educational problem was closely related, internal improvements, banking and finance, and the relations to the Indians. The letters themselves occupy 264 pages of the volume. A chronological list of them is appended, and there is an index to the entire volume. In addition to a helpful introduction there are occasional annotations, chiefly biographical.

The History of Cumulative Voting and Minority Representation in Illinois, 1870–1898, by B. F. Moore, appears as a *Bulletin* of the University of Illinois.

Mr. Clarence M. Burton has recently acquired for the Burton Library a very large mass of papers from northern Michigan illustrating in a wide variety of ways the history of the fur-trade in that region during the early part of the nineteenth century.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* prints in its July issue a "Journal of Marches by the First United States Dragoons, 1834–1835". The journal, which is temporarily in the possession of the State Historical Society of Iowa, is edited by Mr. Louis Pelzer. The marches recorded in the journal are from Jefferson Barracks, near St. Louis, to Fort Gibson, in May and June, 1834; from Fort Gibson to the headwaters of Red River, June to August, 1834; from Fort Gibson to Fort Des Moines, September, 1834; and from Fort Des Moines to Wabashaw's village in Minnesota, and return, June to August, 1835. Several of the officers on these expeditions distinguished themselves in the Mexican and Civil Wars. The author of the journal, one of the dragoons, has not been identified. Mr. J. Van der Zee contributes to this issue a study of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States proposed in the legislature of Iowa from 1846 to 1909, and Professor F. H. Garver contributes another of his papers relating to the establishment of counties in Iowa.

The article of chief general interest in the April issue of the *Annals of Iowa* is Professor F. I. Herriott's contribution, "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln". Other articles of interest are Mr. Edward H. Stiles's sketch of Judge John F. Dillon, which is to be continued, and a contribution to the early history of Iowa State College, "Laying the Foundations", by C. E. Bessey. The principal article in the July issue is the second installment of Mr. Stiles's paper. Colonel David Palmer contributes "Recollections of War Times", and Hon.

F. W. Eichelberger a paper on "Governor Kirkwood and the Skunk River War". "The Upper Des Moines Valley, 1848" is the fragment of a journal by an unknown author found among the papers of Edwin Goddard of Keosauqua, Iowa. The Historical Department has come into possession of the manuscript and other materials of Captain James H. Jordan, which relate to the settlement of Iowa.

A Check-list of Books and Pamphlets relating to the History of the Pacific Northwest to be found in Representative Libraries of that Region has been prepared co-operatively by officials of these various libraries, situated in Oregon, Washington, Montana, and British Columbia, and published by the Washington State Library in a pamphlet of 191 pages, compiled by Mr. Charles W. Smith, assistant librarian in the library of the University of Washington. It is well made, annotated to some extent, and can serve as a partial bibliography of the history of the region.

The Columbia River: its History, its Myths, its Scenery, its Commerce, by Professor W. D. Lyman, has come from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

A five-volume *History of Washington,* by C. A. Snowden, has appeared in New York with the imprint of the Century History Company.

The celebration of the third centenary of the founding of Quebec, July 19 to 31, 1908, has been recorded in a volume entitled *Troisième Centénaire de la Fondation de Québec, Berceau du Canada, par Champlain, 1608–1908,* compiled by H.-J.-J.-B.-Chouinard (Quebec, 1908, Laflamme et Proulx, pp. 270). The idea of the celebration appears to have originated with M. Chouinard and was put forth in a published article in December, 1904. The first steps of organization were taken through the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste early in 1906. As is well known, the celebration was carried out on a grand scale, consisting of demonstrations, reviews, historical spectacles, pageants, etc., representing the pivotal events in the history of Canada. In this volume is found the entire story of the inception and progress of the celebration, together with the deliberations of the committee in charge and the various documents pertaining to the affair.

In 1902 appeared Professor Frederic De Kastner's *Héros de la Nouvelle France, Première Série,* in which are told the stories of Pierre Dollard des Ormeaux, Lemoyne d'Iberville and his family, and Marie Madeleine de Verchères. Two other numbers are now at hand. The *Deuxième Série* (pp. 102) contains "Lemoyne de Bienville et l'Établissement de la Louisiane", with incidental accounts of Sérigny, Chateauguay, St. Denis, and Boisbriant. The *Troisième Série* (pp. 98) comprises "Les La Vérendrye père et fils, Dufrost de la Jemeraye et la Découverte du Nord-Ouest", with a preliminary description of the northwest region of Canada condensed from several sources. This description occupies nearly half the volume. The stories, constructed

from original narratives and secondary works, are written in vivacious style and will make accessible and attractive these records of exploration and discovery.

Mr. N. O. Winter, the author of *Mexico and her People To-day,* has written a similar book, *Guatemala and her People of To-day; being an Account of the Land, its History and Development,* which is published by L. C. Page and Company.

The John Carter Brown Library has put forth in a limited edition a facsimile of the first issue of the *Gazeta de Lima,* with a description of a file for the years 1744–1763.

Professor Dean C. Worcester has issued through the Bureau of Printing, Manila, an *Appendix* (pp. 102) to his *History of Asiatic Cholera in the Philippine Islands.* One purpose of the appendix is to correct some errors in the statistical tables and to bring the work up to date; but the principal object is to make public the correspondence relative to a question at issue between the Municipal Board and the Bureau of Health.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Harrisse, *Sébastien Cabot, Pilote-Major de Charles-Quint, 1512–1547* (Revue Historique, September–October); H. M. King, *Was John Cotton the Preceptor of Sir Henry Vane, Jr?* (The Nation, June 10); G. S. Ford, *Two German Publicists on the American Revolution* (Journal of English and Germanic Philology, April); G. F. Zook, *Proposals for a New Commercial Treaty between France and the United States, 1778–1793* (South Atlantic Quarterly, June); E. S. Dudley, *"Secession", Was it Taught at West Point?* (Century, August); *Diary of Gideon Welles,* V., VI., VII. (Atlantic, June, July, August); Morris Schaff, *Battle of the Wilderness,* I., II., III. (Atlantic, June, July, August); R. W. Gilder, *Grover Cleveland* (Century, August); F. W. Moore, *The Study and Teaching of History in the South* (Sewanee Review, April); B. C. Steiner, *Maryland and the West* (South Atlantic Quarterly, June); J. W. Putnam, *An Economic History of the Illinois and Michigan Canal* (Journal of Political Economy, May, June, July).

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The

American Historical Review

IMAGINATION IN HISTORY[1]

I.

TO judge by the plaints of educators and employers the pressing danger of the republic is inaccuracy: the school-boy does not know how to add, nor the biological assistant to dissect, nor the graduate student in history to tell a story truly. We know that the daily press has little regard for truth, because every evening paper is constantly convicting every morning rival of falsehood. Public speakers make up their anecdotes and distil wrong deductions into the minds of their hearers; the records of Congress are full of speeches that were never spoken, and omit much of the raciness of actual debate.

Even historical scholars are not without their failings, their prejudices, and their falsehoods. The other day a leaf in the storm of advertisements led me to suppose that a noted group of historians —Bancroft, Trevelyan, John Fiske—will be quite discredited when Mr. Arthur Johnston's book gets the public ear, for he has discovered that "all histories of the American Revolution, those written by Americans as well as many written by Englishmen, are for the most part unreliable, misleading, unfaithful to the facts, in many cases even mythical. . . . No American should leave this book unread." This is the argument of the young theological student in his sermon on the Cain episode: "Cain was a bad man; Cain was a Bible critic; and he became an atrocious murderer." Once let an

[1] Annual address of the president of the American Historical Association, delivered at New York, December 28, 1909.

historical critic loose and you start a Philadelphian brick-row of destructive criticism. Whately historically doubted Napoleon Bonaparte; and a later writer was emboldened to put forth *Historical Doubts relative to the Archbishop of Dublin.* History nowadays is placed on the defensive. By your good-will, for the moment champion of the American Historical Association, I mean to-day to blow the trumpet hanging at the gate and demand of Giant Error the causes of this alarming state of things.

These causes are not peculiar to modern American civilization. Horace Walpole a century and a half ago sounded the following war-cry against our craft—which he immediately joined:

> So incompetent has the generality of historians been for the province they have undertaken, that it is almost a question, whether, if the dead of past ages could revive, they would be able to reconnoitre the events of their own times, as transmitted to us by ignorance and misrepresentation. . . . Truth is left out of the discussion; and odes and anniversary sermons give the law to history and credulity.

We might bear with historical writers merely stupid, but what shall we do with the false and misleading? Listen to the late Edward A. Freeman—not by an interview just transmitted over Mr. Stead's medium-post, but in what a critic years ago called Freeman's "Most congenial task—that of belabouring Mr. Froude—(in which) he could be almost as interesting as Mr. Froude himself". Says Freeman:

> I know no other writings professedly historical, in which page follows page in which it is really safe to follow the rule of contrary. . . . Mere inaccuracy in detail is quite another matter from the purely fictitious character of large parts of Mr. Froude's story. . . . Mr. Froude stands alone as the one writer of any importance of whose writings one can say that on them any process of correction would be thrown away. The evil is inherent; it is inborn. . . . If history means truth, if it mean fairness, if it means faithfully reporting what contemporary sources record, and drawing reasonable inferences from their statements, then Mr. Froude is no historian.

This suggests De Quincey's objection to a murderer as a valet: "For, if once a man indulges himself in murder, very soon he comes to drinking and Sabbath-breaking, and from that to incivility and procrastination. Once begin upon this downward path, you never know where you are to stop."

Without trying to settle the moot question whether Froude was a liar or an innocent third party, or one of the world's great historians, some sympathy should here be expressed for those unlucky historiographers who on matters of historical truth know not their right hand from their left. One of the most genial, most eminent,

and most beloved of Bostonians had a habit of writing tales that sounded exactly like history, and history that was chiefly fiction. When one of my predecessors in this office, Justin Winsor, remonstrated with him for making unhistorical statements, the author replied that those things were history to him, and doubtless would be to his readers.

Is there no penal code for those who undertake to write history out of something other than the records, to gloss the truth with a quality of mind which is outside of the events themselves? The trouble with many historians of large reputation who have a host of readers is that corroder of exactness—imagination. It is the duty of a sober and studious body like the American Historical Association to dwell upon the strictly scientific character of history, to emphasize the fixed principles of research, to warn the world against the consequences of unsound study and writing of history. The remedy is a matter of method and process and point of view. Is there any way to make history true, except to relieve it of all imagination?

II.

The first place for reform is at the fountainhead—the sources. Innocent people suppose that they can rely on history if only it is founded upon documents; but historiography is undermined by unreliable or frankly fraudulent sources. The Middle Ages much enjoyed fabricating the ancients. Thus the great scholar Sigonio, in 1583, thrust upon a confiding world the *Consolatio* of Cicero; and the publisher hit on the ingenious idea (commended to the modern newspaper) of drawing from the great scholar Sigonio an opinion that none but Cicero could have written the book. The seventeenth century boasts of many such works of the imagination, for example, Bishop Gauden, "a very comely person, and a man of vast parts", who in 1649 foisted upon the world the *Eikon Basilike* as the work of King Charles the First.

The eighteenth century is the golden age of imaginary historians, of whom the greatest was George Psalmanazar, whose very name is a guarantee of candid bad faith. In 1704 he evolved out of his internal consciousness an *Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa,* which was plainly one of the most distant spots visited by Sindbad the Sailor, a region of which the least of its wonders was the tame rhinoceroses and sea-horses. This was the era of Macpherson and his harnessed Ossian; the age of Chatterton, the most remarkable of all fabricators, for his "Old Rowley the Monk" wrote what would have made any young man famous.

Of the multitude of forgeries in the nineteenth century the palm goes to the French artist in vellum, Lucas, who fairly carried on a jobbing trade in spurious letters. Among the 27,000 which one customer, M. Chasles, took were autograph letters from Sir Isaac Newton, Shakespeare, Rabelais, Plato, Lazarus to St. Peter, Judas Iscariot to Mary Magdalene, and Strabo to Juvenal—who was a little matter of ninety-two years Strabo's junior.

English history has been enriched by many similar documents, such as Ingulf's *History of the Abbey of Croyland,* which in its fall carried with it various learned treatises which had leaned upon it. Only about sixty years ago one Constantine Simonides, said to be "not a votary of strict veracity", made and sold palimpsests, created a so-called *History of Egypt* by Uranius, and later tried to prove his honesty by asserting that he had with his own hands forged the *Codex Sinaiticus* which Tischendorf made the basis of the revised text of the New Testament.

America has had some experience of historical imagination: the Reverend Mr. Peters's "Blue Laws of Connecticut" have been shown to be a mixture of misquoted statutes and down-right lies. The so-called *Letters of Montcalm,* circulated in London in 1775, and quoted by Chatham in debate, were then challenged and, more than a century later, were proved to be the work of an Englishman, and set afloat by a vagabond named Roubaud; the *Memoirs* of General James Wilkinson are as reliable as those of that other warrior, Baron Munchausen. The *Travels* of Jonathan Carver, after passing unquestioned for more than a century, serving as raw material for Châteaubriand and Schiller, and unhesitatingly quoted by excellent and careful scholars were, by our late colleague, Edward G. Bourne, shown to be in large degree made up of scissorings from Charlevoix and La Hontan; and the very introduction was studded with gems of fraudulency.

Carver ought to have been detected—as he was suspected—a century ago; and would have been had historians been steeped in their material as are classical scholars and theologians. They should recognize fragments of Charlevoix with the same literary scent that would reveal a quotation from Plutarch in Gregory of Tours, or a sermon of Cranmer in the *Andover Review.* Nevertheless, barefaced copying is a bold but highly successful trick, as is shown in William Gordon's *History* of the Revolution, which for a hundred years passed muster as a first-hand account of things as they were, seen by an intelligent clergyman, right on the ground. Professor Libby, however, has had the temerity to com-

pare Gordon's history with the *Annual Register* written from year to year throughout the Revolution by unknown hands (probably Edmund Burke was engaged); and he finds that Gordon has simply lifted large extracts from that far-away source.

To adapt the work of others and foist it on the world as one's own is not the highest type of intellectual crime—after all it is only a kind of entry thieving: the overcoat though stolen may be whole and serviceable. There are higher fields of imaginary history in which Americans are also proficient. A proof of their skill was given July 1, 1905, when *Collier's Weekly* was deluded into publishing a facsimile of what purported to be a copy of "No. 294" of the *Cape Fear Mercury,* dated "Friday, June 3rd, 1775", in three columns, discovered by Dr. Miller, and containing the alleged Mecklenburg Resolutions of May 20, 1775. On examination by two candid experts, Salley and Ford, this facsimile and the so-called "original" raised many embarrassing questions: "June 3rd, 1775", did not fall on Friday; the number of a later issue than "294" was 266; other extant copies of the paper about that time were printed in two columns instead of three. In the opinion of Worthington Ford "it is a paper which is a really fine specimen of the forger's art."

As a bold and creative act of the imagination, however, nothing in American history surpasses Buell's recent *John Paul Jones.* Paul Jones is tolerably well known to investigators in the period of the Revolution as a wild merchant captain, a man cramped for money, a brawler, experienced in duels, fond of unselected company, but a patriot, a fine seaman, an intelligent officer, a splendid fighter, a leader of men, one who goes down to history along with Hawkins and Drake and Sir Walter Raleigh—his place among the immortals is secure. But the biographer must needs give his hero what he considers a proper background; Commodore Paul Jones ought to have a family and an estate; and Buell in the handsomest manner provides him with both in this paragraph:

> Old William Jones had died in 1760, and by the terms of his will had made John Paul the residuary legatee of his brother in case the latter should die without issue; provided that John Paul would assume, as his brother had done, the patronymic of Jones. On his visit to Rappahannock in 1769, Captain John Paul legally qualified under the provisions of the will of William Jones by recording his assent to its requirements in due form. . . . The legend is that William Paul Jones was still breathing when his brother John Paul reached his bedside, but he never rallied enough to recognize him. In a few hours he died.

Supposedly the author copies his authorities and leaves nothing to the imagination. In fact every word of this statement is imagi-

nary, except the names of William Jones and John Paul Jones. Mr. Junius Davis from a study of the probate court records proves that William Jones did not bequeath anything either to William Paul or to John Paul; at his death he had no landed estate; William Paul never took the name of Jones; John Paul never was adopted by William and never registered his assent to adoption. William Paul did not die a few hours after the arrival of John Paul but the next year; he willed his property not to his brother but to his sister and her children; his will is signed William Paul and not William Paul Jones.

Similar explosive criticism might well be applied to other parts of the work. For instance, Jones is made to say in 1776: "Some 000 guineas remain in balance in my favor in the Bank of North America, or in the hands of Mr. Ross." This must have been a prophetic deposit, inasmuch as the Bank of North America was not organized until 1781. These astonishing documents are based on alleged originals which are not found in any other publication, and the manuscripts of which have never been produced; or on alleged printed sources, such as the *Memorial Papers of Joseph Hewes,* which are not to be found in any of the great libraries of the country, and the title of which is not in any authentic bibliography of North Carolina or of the United States. The statements of the book are contrary to probabilities, to the *Journals of Congress,* and to literary common-sense. Yet that work navigated successfully between the Scylla and Charybdis of the *Nation* and the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW; and may be quoted by later generations as the only sympathetic life of a great figure in American history.

III.

To set in order both the historians and the sources upon which they reach their conclusions is the function of the most approved modern school of research and writing, and is one of the logical tasks of the American Historical Association, which is well known to be composed wholly of cautious persons who never open their mouths without a foot-note to a trustworthy original. What we need is a genuinely scientific school of history, which shall remorselessly examine the sources and separate the wheat from the chaff; which shall critically balance evidence; which shall dispassionately and moderately set forth results. For such a process we have the fortunate analogy of the physical sciences: did not Darwin spend twenty years in accumulating data, and in selecting typical phenomena, before he so much as ventured a generalization? History,

too, has its inductive method, its relentless concentration of the grain in its narrow spout, till by its own weight it seeks the only outlet. In history, too, scattered and apparently unrelated data fall together in harmonious wholes; the mind is led to the discovery of laws; and the explorer into scientific truth is at last able to formulate some of those unsuspected generalizations which explain the whole framework of the universe. That is the way in which Darwin came upon his universally guiding principle of natural selection; is it not the way in which historians must work?

The parallel with science carries us still further; in history as in biology, scientifically speaking every field is worthy of study; the fall of the Roman Empire, as much as the use of wampum as currency by the early colonists in America; and new fields constantly open. To be sure Thomas Arnold in 1841 was certain that historic "art stopped short in the cultivated court of the Empress Josephine."

> To us, all is explored: imagination can hope for . . . no new continent peopled by youthful races, the destined restorers of our worn-out generations. Everywhere the search has been made, and the report received; we have the full amount of earth's resources before us, and they seem inadequate to supply life for a third period of human history.

What a fine subject for a doctor's thesis would be a criticism of Thomas Arnold on the Finality of Modern History! As in science so in history, every small monograph is a contribution to the materials at the service of the whole body of learned men: Darwin studied earthworms; and so we may study "borough English" (which it must be understood is not a dialect, but a rule of descent). In history every worker is an historian just as every true scientific man is an investigator.

As in pure science also the scientific pursuit of history includes a verification of the materials: every assertion must rest upon a source, as every scientific result rests upon experiment; and in history, as in other sciences, the final purpose is the synthesis of results, the combination of facts. Therefore Birrell says:

> Facts are not the dross of history, but the true metal, and the historian is a worker in that metal. He has nothing to do with abstract truth, or with practical politics, or with forecasts of the future. . . . Maxims he will have, if he is wise, never a one; and as for a moral, if he tells his story well, it will need none; if he tells it ill, it will deserve none.

No one in the various schools of history denies that the scientific method is essential for the establishment of truth and for sound generalizations; and history benefits as much as any other branch

of learning from the scientific incredulity of investigators. Our facts are more fleeting; our deductions more subject to suspicion than in the pure sciences, but criticism is the breath of life of the study of mankind. Criticism is applied thought; and in no subject is there a clearer understanding that both the basis and the generalization of our knowledge must be subject to reason. It is one of the main objects of history to blast away the conventions and prepossessions which overlie our notions of the past.

IV.

Still the analogy of natural sciences may be pushed too far: we use terms like "research" and "investigation" as though history could be prepared in a laboratory with all the accidental causes shut away, with the phenomena which we wish to examine dissected out from the vast body of material; we speak of libraries as "laboratories of history": but the ultimate material of history is neither books nor records but mind. We are dealing with the manifold manifestations of human nature; we are trying to decipher triple and quadruple palimpsests of human character; to understand and expound the actions of men who did not understand themselves; to find analogies between historical occurrences without being able to discover the causes of those slight divergences of race, of national characteristics, and of personal bent which upset all calculations. Furthermore, history is much more affected than any of the natural sciences by the appearance of abnormal individuals, of great leaders: the geographer is not, like the historian, obliged to change over all his theory of mountain-building because of the sudden appearance of peaks a hundred thousand feet high; nor does the botanist ever discover a king tree, a Napoleon of the forests, which overtops and dwarfs all the surrounding trees. Science does not need, like history, philosophers to ascertain the laws of the mind before generalizations can safely be made and laws deduced.

On the other hand, history has an advantage over most of the strict sciences in the abundance of materials: at first sight the investigator is overwhelmed by the tremendous mass of data. Carlyle says almost despairingly:

> Social Life is the aggregate of all the individual men's Lives who constitute society: History is the essence of innumerable Biographies. But if one Biography, nay, our own Biography, study and recapitulate it as we may, remains in so many points unintelligible to us; how much more must these millions, the very facts of which, to say nothing of the purport of them, we know not, and cannot know!

The only way out of this obsession of facts has been pointed out by Professor Seeley, as summarized by a critic: "History is not a narrative of all sorts of facts—biographical, moral, political—but of such facts as a scientific diagnosis has ascertained to be historically interesting." The nightmare of the historical professor is the student who reverences facts and accepts any statement that he finds in print; to whom the revelations of a great man's barber and the great man's private correspondence with his sovereign are equally materials. The only way out of the tangle is to regard only cogent facts; but this raises the unavoidable difficulty that a finite mind must decide which facts are infinite; that what was cogent to George Bancroft may seem inconsequent to James Ford Rhodes; that the facts about the frame of mind of the Senate toward the President, so vital in the year of the impeachment of 1868, have grown cold and lifeless for our generation.

Some guidance may be found in using facts which fit together in causation: that is the principle of the natural sciences and it is still more valuable to the historian because his materials are the experience of mankind; he judges from historical cause to effect through the workings of his own mind. The great exponent of the theory of causation is, of course, Buckle, whose doctrine may be revealed in two sentences from his works:

> Rejecting, then, the metaphysical dogma of free will, and the theological dogma of predestined events, we are driven to the conclusion that the actions of men, being determined solely by their antecedents, must have a character of uniformity, that is to say, must, under precisely the same circumstances, always issue in precisely the same results. . . . We have man modifying nature, and nature modifying man; while out of this reciprocal modification all events must necessarily spring. The problem immediately before us is to ascertain the method of discovering the laws of this double modification.

The application of these themes is easy—anyone may arrive at the causes in history; but the process is subject to the same difficulty as reading the Hittite inscriptions; various people decipher them, but the readings are all different. Critical historians are more or less cannibals: they live by destroying each others' conclusions; and their science gives some ground for the quip of the *Journal de Genève*:

> Voltaire at least relates facts: modern historians write only to deny them. If they keep up this practice we shall come to the unhappy conclusion that nothing has really happened since the creation of the world. I do not find fault with criticism, on the contrary I prefer it to eloquence from those who relate the past, but after all I should like to have that past related.

Scientific history is in the position of the teacher who can instruct but cannot make her pupils love her. Says Dr. Crothers:

> The Gentle Reader turns to these highly praised volumes and find himself adrift, without human companionship, on a bottomless sea of erudition,—writings, writings everywhere and not a page to read! . . . The historical expert starts with the Magna Charta and makes a preliminary survey. Then he begins his march down the centuries, intrenching every position lest he be caught unawares by the critics. His intellectual forces lack mobility, as they must wait for their baggage trains. . . . There are references to bulky volumes, where at the foot of every page the notes run along, like little angry dogs barking at the text.

Macaulay is guilty of saying that it is very easy "to write history respectably". There is perhaps no logical reason why scientific history should be dull, but even Bishop Stubbs, a path-breaker, if ever there were one, and a tower of sound historical learning, an inciter of truth and good judgment, was not enlivening; as witness this single sentence of his which is undeniably true, just, and helpful—yet which would not arouse a poet to an ode nor a nation to revolution.

> I think that there are few lessons more necessary for men to learn, not merely who are going to take to public life, but who are going to live and move as men among their fellows, than these:—that there are few questions on which as much may not be said on one side as on the other: that there are none at all on which all the good are on one side, all the bad on the other, or all the wise on one and all the fools on the other; that the amount of dead weight in human affairs, call it stupidity or what you will, is pretty equally divided between the advocates of order and the advocates of change, giving to the one party much of its stability and to the other much of its momentum; that intolerance is no prerogative of heterodoxy, nor tolerance the inseparable accompaniment of the conscious possession of truth, a condition which might of all others the best afford to be tolerant, the most merciful and pitiful of error: that all generalizations, however sound in logic, are in morals and practical matters ipso facto false; that there is no room for sweeping denunciations, or trenchant criticisms in the dealings of a world whose falsehoods and veracities are separated by so very thin a barrier: to learn that simple assertion however reiterated can never make proof: that a multitude of half-believers can never make faith: that argument never convinces any man against his will: that silence is not acquiescence: that the course of this world is anything but even and uniform: that such by-words as reaction and progress are but the political slang which each side uses to express their aversions and their propensions; above all, that no material success, no energy of development, no eventual progress or consolidation, can atone for the mischief done by one act of falsehood, treachery or cruelty [*period.*]

Facts as facts, however carefully selected, scientific treatment in itself, however necessary for the ascertainment of truth, are no

more history than recruits arrayed in battalions are an army. We side with Emerson in his note of revolt against the reign of facts: "But if the man is true to his better instincts or sentiments, and refuses the dominion of facts, as one that comes of a higher race; remains fast by the soul and sees the principle, then the facts fall aptly and supple into their places; they know their master, and the meanest of them glorifies him."

V.

For years the Phi Beta Kappa Society kept secret the meaning of its three mystic letters; but long ago the world has been permitted to know that the members of that ancient and honorable body make Philosophy the Guide of Life. What is this philosophy, which seems so much stronger than material facts? I take it that it is that high quality of the mind which makes us see things as they are; and that it is only another term for imagination. To be sure that particular combination of five syllables was avoided by Professor Tyndall because "it is tainted by its associations, and therefore objectionable to some minds." "Imagination" is a suspected term only because it is so often taken to mean the first of the two kinds of imagination set forth in the two parallel derivatives "imaginary" and "imaginative". It was the former of these imaginations against which protested Hume's hard-polished Scotch mind when he said that "an idea of the imagination may acquire such a force and vivacity, as to pass for an idea of the memory, and counterfeit its effects on the belief and judgment."

Over against the materialism of Hume stands the idea which Blake the painter so graphically expressed: "Imagination is the real and eternal world of which this vegetable universe is but a faint shadow." And Shelley held that

> Poets [by whom he meant men of imagination] are not only the authors of language and of music, of the dance, and architecture, and statuary, and painting: they are the institutors of laws, and the founders of civil society, and the inventors of the arts of life, and the teachers, who draw into a certain propinquity with the beautiful and true, that partial apprehension of the agencies of the invisible world which is called religion.

However noble the quality of imagination, it must be held under some restraint. "Gentlemen of the Jury", said Rufus Choate in opening a case, "By an unimpeachable witness I shall be able to establish clearly to your minds the precise moment when, no longer able to bear the accumulated burden of misfortune, the great heart

of my client swelled and broke." In due time the famous lawyer put upon the stand the unimpeachable witness, whose testimony was as follows: "I came in about half past six and I see the defendant here a settin' tipped up on the back legs of his chair with his head agin the wall; and I says to him, 'Abner', says I, 'What's the matter?' says I. 'Jim', says he, 'I'm afeared I have run agin a snag.'"

However you may define this mysterious quality of mind it has a place in historiography, for history is as much a philosophical subject as the economics upon which my colleague here is waiting to enlighten you. There are no facts of history that are not related to personality. The lava streams of Mount Erebus were as far removed from history as though they were on the surface of the moon instead of the Antarctic Continent, till human beings came within sight of them. When you begin your scientific inquiry into cause and effect in history, you must deal with human nature and human conduct. In order to appreciate conduct you must study standards. You cannot fairly find fault with Don John of Austria for capturing the enemy's private property at sea, or Lord Mansfield for sentencing sheep-stealers to be hanged. But neither conduct, which is outward action, nor standards, which are the condition of the outward act, necessarily reveal motives; and motives are the most interesting if the most elusive part of history. We know that Burr killed Hamilton; we know that Hamilton felt constrained to accept the challenge. How are we to know what is really most interesting and most important in that episode, just why Burr was so revengeful, so malign?

On this point also let us listen to Dr. Crothers's Gentle Reader—

> Here is a conflict that has been going on for ages. The men who have done valiant service are not all smooth-spoken gentlemen in black coats—but what of it? They have done what they could. . . . The historian should not only know what they did, but what was the alternative offered them. There was the Prophet Samuel. Some persons will have no further respect for him after they learn that he hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord. They think he ought to have stood up for Free Religion. They take for granted that the alternative offered him was religious toleration as we understand it. It was nothing of the sort. The question for a man of that age was, Shall Samuel hew Agag in pieces, or shall Agag hew Samuel in pieces, and my sympathies are with Samuel.

The basis of history is human nature, the expression of human nature is through history, whether scientific or literary or judicial or imaginative; and therefore history must include the study of

persons. Plato makes a rhetorician tell Socrates that when he went to Sparta the people "required me to lecture them on genealogies, and when I began to discourse to them on this subject they would hardly allow me to make an end". This interest in one's forbears is one of the sanest applications of the human mind, especially inasmuch as we know our ancestors pretty well and our posterity not at all. But though you can study the succession of human character only by looking backward, you have the advantage of seeing many historical dramas clear to the last act. We know the past better in some ways than did the men and women of the past, who could not see the results of their own action. At every turn imagination comes in: everywhere we get beyond what Dr. Donne called "those unconcerting things—matters of fact". Facts are useful as giving a key to character. That James I. never washed his hands is a sociological fact not so shocking to that age as to this; that James I. wrangled with the Puritans at Hampton Court is a fact which illuminates his whole make-up, explains his quarrel with Parliament, accounts for the Mayflower Company.

A little imagination helps one to sympathize with the great men of the past; to understand the limitations of their surroundings. Against the habit of pulling down national heroes there is a visible reaction. Horace Walpole in his *Historic Doubts on the Life and Reign of King Richard III.* was one of the first to go into the interesting pursuit of revising the judgment of mankind on a supposed scoundrel. That has been the favorite task of Froude, who may be said to have chiselled for himself, out of a block of very seamy marble, a new statue of Henry VIII. The book of a well-known military critic upon Napoleon brought from one of his legal friends in Boston the comment "I never knew before that John Ropes was a good criminal lawyer." Edmund Andros has his apologists; Aaron Burr his defenders; somebody has adduced evidence that Benedict Arnold was a misunderstood patriot.

Whether saints militant or sinners errant, great men confuse all the categories of the scientific historian. Tolstoy may look upon them as merely the foam on the top of a vast billow, but, in a world of human nature in which the sternest critics have not been able entirely to banish free will, a great man is a dynamic influence; Louis XIV. delays the adjustment of Europe for two centuries; and Napoleon catches up the two hundred years and completes the national development in a decade. Perhaps nobody is indispensable in history, but it is easy to see in the career of Zwingli and Calvin that without Luther the German Reformation would have failed.

If George Washington had been shot at Braddock's Field, the English colonies in North America might have remained English for another half-century. Without Abraham Lincoln the rivalry of North and South would have gone on indefinitely. Great men perhaps do not make history; they are never greater than the country through which they work, but they concentrate history, reflect it, exemplify it, alter it. Great men have some power to accomplish things; they are the spokesmen of national purpose; they at least suppose themselves to be re-making the world, and no strictly scientific statement can account for great men or measure their influence.

Scientific history professes to know neither right nor wrong. In old-fashioned hospitals there was a thing called "laudable pus", and we are all familiar with the "vicious circle", but to the genuinely scientific mind there is neither vice nor virtue; the massacre of St. Bartholomew is like the Great Awakening of 1740–1742, simply a material for study. Every investigator knows that imaginative history cannot, in the nature of things, be dispassionate; and many historical writers feel a responsibility for pointing out the moral lessons of the evils that they describe. Without developing the whole study of man on every page the historian must nevertheless consider to what end his people, his nations, his combinations of human wills are tending. Every historical student likes to look on his own work as a road-book which not only describes the bridges and the turns and hills but tells you where you can put up for the night and how far it is to Rome. How far history is in itself a moral influence is debatable; but on this side the scientific method fails; there is much in history that cannot be measured like atomic weights, or averaged like insurance losses.

To imagination, or rather to fact infused by imagination, is due this meeting to-day. For the American Historical Association is based on the expectations of those who, in faith combined with abundant works, founded the society in 1884. 'Tis but twenty-five years ago; and yet of the forty original members who took part in the organization over half have joined the majority; and less than ten are present to-day. This movement which has done so much to unify, enlarge, and strengthen the forces of historical research and publication, sprang from the insight, the hope, and the practical imagination of a small number of teachers and writers of history, especially Herbert B. Adams, the founder; Charles Kendall Adams; Charles Deane; Moses Coit Tyler; and Justin Winsor. They claimed for their subject of study all the rights and privileges of a great field of learning; they stimulated younger men by their

precious friendship; they banded the scholars of the country together; they set, in their own works, a high example of patient, thorough scholarship; and they possessed that understanding of human character which is the beginning of historical writing. Out of that group of scholars three of the survivors deserve from us all a special gratitude which they have never claimed: J. Franklin Jameson, two years ago titular president of this Association, and always *princeps* in his interest, his wisdom, and his single-heartedness; Clarence W. Bowen, whose prophetic vision has seen a learned society steadily enlarging its powers through the judicious use of its funds, who is willing to abandon his beloved surplus for any new activity, and nevertheless finds that surplus magically added to our investments at the end of every fiscal year; and Andrew D. White, the first president of the American Historical Association, and to this day—wherever he goes—an association in his own person of a teacher of history, a university administrator, a public man, and a warm friend to rising scholars.

VI.

At every turn, whether you consider the field of the historian, the scope of history, the historical method or the purpose of history, one finds this impotence of facts taken by themselves, this infusion of a shadowy something which may be called sentiment, or the ideal, or spirit, or imagination. Hence numerous efforts to teach history outside of facts. Earlier mankind loved to drape a few facts with robes of imagination, in myths which doubtless preserve some history, like flies in the amber, and are historical materials only so far as they reveal the things that people liked to believe. The modern world is not without its myths; to be descended from gods is a distinction which the Emperor of Japan to this day insists upon as his. Andrew Lang has wickedly applied the scientific tendency to develop a myth in the story of our own times, to prove that:

> Gladstone is really and primarily the thunderbolt, and secondarily the spirit of the tempest. They quote an isolated line from an early lay about the 'Pilot who weathered the storm', which they apply to Gladstone in his human or political aspect, when the storm-spirit has been anthropomorphized, and was regarded as an ancestral politician. But such scanty folk-lore as we possess assures us that the storm, on the other hand, weathered Gladstone. . . . Among the epithets of Gladstone which occur in the hymns, we find 'versatile', 'accomplished', 'philanthropic', 'patriotic', 'statesmanlike', 'subtle', 'eloquent', 'illustrious', 'persuasive', 'brilliant', 'clear', 'unambiguous', 'resolute'. All of those are obviously intelligible only when applied to the sun. . . . The enemies of Gladstone, the *Rishis*, or hymn-writers who execrated

him, were regarded by his worshippers as a darkened class, foes of enlightenment. Gladstone is said to have 'no conscience', 'no sense of honor', to be so fugitive and evasive in character that one might almost think the moon, rather than the sun, was the topic under discussion. But, as Roth points out, this is easily explained when we remember the vicissitudes of English weather, and the infrequent appearances of the sun in that climate.

American history, on its controversial side, has been enriched by several distinct attempts to manufacture myths to order. The first of these might be called the worship of the Pilgrim Fathers: it is the ascription to a band of men and women, who represented a splendid cause and were pioneers in a magnificent historical pageant, of virtues which are in fact possessed only by their descendants. My ancestor, Stephen Hart, helped to settle Cambridge, and later was one of the fundamental orderers of the Fundamental Orders of Connecticut; but in the Pequot War he massacred Indian women and children mercilessly. I take no responsibility for his acts; I refer the case to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

A similar myth causes the exaltation of the Southern Cavalier, who was a personage about as infrequent in Virginia as in New York; it is at least remarkable that few of the great Virginia families of the nineteenth century can show a Cavalier lineage: neither the Jeffersons, nor Madisons, Monroes, Marshalls, Carters, Carys nor Bryans trace undoubted descent from one of the bearers of the love-locks.

In many ways the most interesting of the American myths is that which has clustered about Marcus Whitman and which was resolved into its elementary gases by our late colleague, Edward G. Bourne, a scholar eminent in both constructive and destructive critical spirit. Quite different in kind is the George Washington myth, "popular delusion chiefly due to Mason L. Weems, who with unwinking inaccuracy sets himself forth as 'formerly Rector of Mount Vernon Parish'". Weems has never been properly understood by the American public; he landed himself among the immortals by writing what is substantially a romance—a kind of patriotic *Sanford and Merton*—not intended to give information about George Washington but to suggest virtuous conduct to young Americans. Who but an expert performer upon the imagination could personify Washington's father on the boy's refusal to divide a fine large apple with his brothers and sisters: "George looked in silence on the wide wilderness of fruit. He marked the busy humming bees, and heard the gay notes of birds; then lifting his eyes filled with shining moisture to his father, he softly said, 'Well, Pa, only

forgive me this time; and see if I ever be so stingy any more.'" Human nature rebels at this attempt to make a prig out of a youth who was probably more likely to steal apples than to divide them.

A generation ago people otherwise blameless read Louisa Mühlbach's so-called historical novels—*Frederic the Great and his Family, Joseph the Second and his Court,* etc., and thought they were absorbing European history. On the other hand, some of the most wonderful works of the human mind have been novels which have put historical fact through the crucible of the imagination of genius: the *Scarlet Letter, Quentin Durward, Henry Esmond,* are not only works of art, but contributions to history, whose writers have put themselves in the place of the people they describe and have represented for us a bygone time.

VII.

Andrew Lang, whose irreverence I have already several times rebuked, in his essay on *History as she ought to be Wrote,* roundly asserts:

> Historians jump, like Mr. Froude, into a sea of MSS. and bring up a book of absorbing interest. . . . Or they pore over their work with a patent double-million magnifying pair of spectacles, and never produce anything worth looking at. Of the two maladies, give me Froude's disease. Measles is better than paralysis.

Quite the contrary is the view of Bishop Stubbs:

> I would almost rather that boys were attracted by the reading of Ivanhoe and the Talisman, books which do not pretend to be true, and are full of strange misrepresentations of manners and thought, than by a serious History composed with a view to the picturesque only or mainly. . . . Our real education in History must not be less precise or severe than the discipline of language or of natural science.

There is perhaps a middle way between measles and paralysis: it is not really necessary to drive unhappy boys to the misery of reading *Ivanhoe*; something may be done by making real history attractive. A century ago one William Butler, teacher in a girls' school, conceived the idea of harnessing Clio to the go-cart of female education and he wrote a book entitled *Arithmetical Questions,* of which the purpose was to infuse the mind with lofty examples while it was wrestling with mathematical problems. Here is an example:

> No. 201. FEMALE PATRIOTISM. The generous exertions of the American daughters of liberty in Philadelphia, and the neighbourhood, to assist the continental soldiers, in the war with England, are mentioned with deserved approbation by Dr. Gordon. Desirous of sharing with the gentlemen of America in the splendors of patriotism, and as-

piring to the honour of giving the army some public mark of the esteem they entertained of their virtue, they formed a female association, and collected subscriptions for this purpose. Their donations, says the historian, purchased a sufficient quantity of cloth, and their hands made the same into two thousand one hundred and seven shirts, which were delivered to the person appointed to receive them by General WASHINGTON. . . . Supposing each shirt contained 3 yards and ¼, how many pieces, each consisting of 25 yards and ½, must the American ladies have purchased, to have accomplished their patriotic purpose? *Ans.* 268 pieces, 13 yards ¾.

Picturesque history, as distinguished from dull history on the one side and dramatic history on the other, may be interpreted by the word itself: it is the attempt of the historical writer to write so that his readers may see what he describes. A remarkable example is Froude's account of the execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

The tables and forms had been removed, and a great wood fire was blazing in the chimney. At the upper end of the hall, above the fireplace, but near it, stood the scaffold, twelve feet square and two feet and a half high. It was covered with black cloth; a low rail ran round it covered with black cloth also, and the Sheriff's guard of halberdiers were ranged on the floor below on the four sides to keep off the crowd. On the scaffold was the block, black like the rest; a square black cushion was placed behind it, and behind the cushion a black chair; on the right were two other chairs for the Earls. The axe leant against the rail, and two masked figures stood like mutes on either side at the back. The Queen of Scots as she swept in seemed as if coming to take a part in some solemn pageant. Not a muscle of her face could be seen to quiver; she ascended the scaffold with absolute composure, looked round her smiling, and sate down. . . . One of her ladies handed her a pair of crimson sleeves, with which she hastily covered her arms; and thus she stood on the black scaffold with the black figures all around her, blood-red from head to foot.

This is certainly a wonderful word picture. You can see the stairway and the hall and the scaffold—and the blood-red queen. Perhaps there is too much of the

> "I've measured it from side to side
> Just three feet long and two feet wide."

And the extract reveals one of the dangers and the mischiefs of picturesque writing. Where is there historical proof that she was clad in "blood-red"? The source says "red", of which there are many shades. Froude, like many picturesque writers, had no objection to adding a few details to make the picture more striking—details which so far as historical truth is concerned are nothing but the diamonds on the stomacher of the wife of the Vicar of Wakefield.

Even the most scrupulous picturesque historian leaves in the

mind the impression of constant excitement. Indians were not always scalping nor Cossacks burning villages. Creighton is right when he says: "History cannot be made picturesque by the skill of the writer. . . . It is useless to attempt to make it so by deliberate omissions of all that is not picturesque. We must take human affairs as they come." The heroic, the startling, the extraordinary are fairly the prize of the historian, who must always seek to sound the depths and measure the heights of national life; but history includes also the ordinary commonplace experiences of mankind; hence economic and social history have made a place for themselves alongside the narratives of political events.

As for the pictile arts of style, it is a great thing truly to represent past times; to make us see the people as they were; to sit with our cold feet in the dirty rushes which covered the floor of the Tudor nobleman's hall; to march with the Parisian mob from Versailles escorting the captive royal family; but that is only an adornment for history. It is like learning our Louis XIII. from the Rubens pictures in the Louvre. Clothes, armor, table pewter, and pet animals are part of the setting of history, in so far as they help us to realize our ancestors, but they are only the furniture of history after all. The historian who aims chiefly at picturesqueness shuts himself up with the lesser part of the facts which really inform. He makes a continuous performance out of a national life that is full of commonplaces; only once in a generation is a nation stirred to its noblest thoughts.

Most picturesque history is simply what Hume decried—an effort to combine confused memories into an image of the truth. Mere picturesqueness is not imagination at all, but a realism which is the less satisfactory because no historian can photograph the multiplicity of details, he must always sketch and give broad effects. The simply picturesque writer is simply an impressionist.

VIII.

Of the different types of historical writing which have been described—the fraudulent, the scientific, and the picturesque—none seems to reach to the high towers of the mind. It was all very well for Ranke to begin his lectures: "I will simply tell you how it was." Did not his students really get "how it was" as seen through the mind of Ranke? The dictum that history must be objective, that it consists in a proper marshalling of facts, leaves out of account the varieties of humanity in historical characters and in historical writers. What a man does is conditioned by the make-up of his

mind; by what he thinks about what he does; and in addition the reader's judgment is affected by the mental peculiarities of the historian who describes that mental process.

Here is the opportunity for the great historian. Real, vital history is not simply a condensation of facts, it is a transmutation of the lifeless lead of the annals into the shining gold of the historian. Far above the picturesque in history, which is only the art of assembling striking details, is the dramatic in history, which is breathing the breath of life into the men of bygone times. It is an art which stands alongside that of the painter, the sculptor, and the architect; which puts the great historian parallel with the philosopher, the seer, and the poet. This essential in the writing of history, this power to assemble the dry bones and to make them live, is nothing more nor less than imagination.

Nor is imagination the exclusive property of the artist or author. It is the quality which most of the captains of industry nowadays possess in marked degree. The successful business man is he who can, in his own mind, reproduce the thoughts of his fellowmen so as to foresee their demands. Any commercial traveller will tell you that a man must understand human nature in order to sell a bill of goods. The chief quality of a great statesman is the power to understand the aspirations of a nation and to provide for desires that are as yet felt hazily. For example, the Duke of Wellington and George Washington were very much alike in mental make-up: both passed for matter-of-fact, unemotional men but in reality they both had an astonishing insight. They knew what soldiers would do; they guessed what the enemy would do or leave undone; they understood what their countrymen longed for, expected, and would sustain.

For imagination as applied to narration, in the selection of facts presumably true, in their arrangement and statement with simplicity and charm, take an instance from an American writer once read by school-boys—now too little regarded—John Lothrop Motley, whose chief fault was the consciousness that he was writing a sort of prompt-book of history, where the characters were to appear at their cue and to impress the world with their greatness. Take for example his account of the memorable battle of Lepanto:

> A courier, despatched post haste to Spain, bore the glorious news, together with the sacred standard of the Prophet, the holy of holies, inscribed with the name of Allah twenty-eight thousand nine hundred times, always kept in Mecca during peace, and never since the conquest of Constantinople lost in battle before. The King was at vespers in the Escorial. Entering the sacred precints, breathless, travel-

stained, excited, the messenger found Philip impassable as marble to the wondrous news. Not a muscle of the royal visage was moved, not a syllable escaped the royal lips, save a brief order to the clergy to continue the interrupted vespers. When the service had been methodically concluded, the King made known the intelligence and requested a Te Deum.

In this paraphrase of an original Spanish narrative, you see how the author brings out his king into the foot-lights; how the other characters step back so as not to disturb the unity of the moment. It is dramatic, it is effective, it is also historical.

The same qualities of dramatic vigor, of power to seize men and things and group together those that belong together, to describe men in their habits, to separate them from other men, belong also to Tacitus, who has been conspicuously a model of conciseness in style, but abounds also in a sense of progress, of movement of a dramatic combination of history. How genuinely dramatic his comment on his own narrative of Nero's crimes:

If I were telling of foreign wars, and of men dying for their country in ways thus like each other, I should even so be surfeited, and expect my readers to feel weariness and disgust at this long sad tale of citizens coming, however nobly, to their end; but the story of all this servile endurance, all this blood wasted wantonly at home, wears out the mind and wrings the soul with melancholy. Nor can I ask my readers to accept any other plea than this—that I cannot blame the men who perished thus ingloriously. For these things came of the wrath of the Gods against Rome—a wrath that may not be passed over.

No discussion of imagination in history could be complete without that most striking example of the imaginative historian—Macaulay. There are fashions in history as in other matters. Hume was read at one time, and felt that his work must be a great one for the "Best Seller's" reason, because "Notwithstanding this variety of winds and seasons, to which my writings had been exposed, they had still been making such advances, that the copy-money given me by the book-sellers, much exceeded anything formerly known in England: I was become not only independent, but opulent." Macaulay has been in and out of fashion several times: the scientific historians find him unreal; the dull writers think him meretricious, but one thing is certain—you may get history from Gardiner or Stubbs or George Bancroft, but in reading Macaulay you get Macaulay. He puts into every page his own experience of life; he moves forward and backward; everywhere he finds comparisons, allusions, parallels, categories. Take for instance his judgment of Cromwell:

The Cavaliers could scarcely refrain from wishing that one who had done so much to raise the fame of the nation had been a legitimate

King; and the Republicans were forced to own that the tyrant suffered none but himself to wrong his country, and that, if he had robbed her of liberty, he had at least given her glory in exchange. After half a century during which England had been of scarcely more weight in European politics than Venice or Saxony, she at once became the most formidable power in the world. . . . The Huguenots of Languedoc, the shepherds who, in the hamlets of the Alps, professed a Protestantism older than that of Augsburg, were secured from oppression by the mere terror of his great name.

The arousing style, the prodigality of knowledge, the real interest in, acquaintance with, and love for, historical characters (though he may have misjudged them as we misjudge our acquaintances) combine to put Macaulay in the front rank of the world's historians. He is great because of his dramatic power; his people are all taking a part in a mighty movement; one after another speaks his lines, telling us himself why he is on the stage, or by indirection making us aware of his assignment.

IX.

Above that dramatic instinct which links Macaulay with Shakespeare and Hawthorne, there is an even higher quality which the greatest historians have hardly reached, the power of insight, the capacity not only to discern the character of men, and the capacity of mankind, but to see whither a people is tending. Far be it from the historian to prophesy. That fountain of wisdom, James Bryce, has shown how two men as oracular as Alexander Hamilton and Alexander de Tocqueville saw dangers impending to the American commonwealth which never took effect, and entirely overlooked the most serious threats to national existence and greatness. When Edward A. Freeman in 1863 wrote a *History of Federal Government down to the Disruption of the United States,* he reminded the world that it is the historian's business to deal with the past rather than with the future. One eminent man of our time, Lamprecht, has set himself distinctly to interpret the whole process of history, and even he, the strongest modern advocate of a study of the many rather than the few, of searching for a basis of history in race-experiences rather than in individuals, even he exuberantly declares that with

youthful feelings of anticipation, with an ecstatic presentiment of dimly felt combinations, are the portals of a new epoch entered. Science becomes a prophecy, philosophy turns to poetical metaphysics. . . . The advance step in all this was a clearer view of the vast combinations of the phenomena of the *mass-psyche*—an advance which brought one to describe vital points poetically, in part or wholly so.

To understand great men, to reveal them to later generations, requires a spirit of divination and foresight and of dwelling upon large things. Almost all critics acknowledge that the first of American historians is Francis Parkman, and the insight of that quiet, unassuming man, whose connection with public men and the management of states was very limited, is due chiefly to his power to see the drama in human life. Here is what (in his autobiographical fragment) he says of his own work:

> Before the end of my Sophomore year my various schemes had crystallized into a plan of writing the story of what was then known as the "Old French War"—that is, the war that ended in the conquest of Canada—for here, as it seemed to me, the forest drama was more stirring and the forest stage more thronged with appropriate actors than in any other passage of our history. . . . My theme fascinated me, and I was haunted with wilderness images day and night.

A single extract from Parkman will show how far he was able to achieve his great plan:

> Saussaye anchored in a harbor on the east side of Mount Desert. The jet-black shade betwixt crags and sea, the pines along the cliff, pencilled against the fiery sunset, the dreamy slumber of distant mountains bathed in shadowy purple, such is the scene that in this our day greets the wandering artist. . . . Perhaps they then greeted the adventurous Frenchman. Peace on the wilderness; peace on the sea. Was there peace in this missionary bark, pioneer of Christianity and civilization? Far from it. A rabble of angry sailors clamored on her deck, ready to mutiny over the terms of their engagement. . . . The company, however, went ashore, raised a cross, heard mass, and named the place St. Savior.

Here are the elements of true imaginative history: the setting sketched with a few bold strokes, the personality, the event, the relation to the conquest of a new world. Few writers have ever established such sympathy and understanding between themselves and the personality of men whom they never saw.

I have said that it needs a seer to comprehend a statesman; in the same way it needs a poet to comprehend a seer. It is hard to find anywhere a clearer statement of the perplexities and the broad reach of history than Wordsworth's *Convention of Cintra*:

> The history of all ages; tumults after tumults; wars, foreign or civil, with short or no breathing spaces, from generation to generation; wars—why and wherefore? yet with courage, with perseverance, with self-sacrifice, with enthusiasm. . . . The visible and familiar occurrences of daily life in every town and village; the patient curiosity and contagious acclamations of the multitude in the streets of the city and within the walls of the theatre; a procession, or a rural dance; a hunting, or a horse-race; a flood, or a fire; rejoicing and ringing of bells for an unexpected gift of good fortune, or the coming of a foolish heir to his estate.

Test this idea of the assemblage of historical events and characters to make an inspiring whole by an example from the writer who combines more of the qualities of a great historian than any other one man. Here Gibbon stands looking on at the triumph of an emperor:

> Since the foundation of Rome, no general had more nobly deserved a triumph than Aurelian, nor was a triumph ever celebrated with superior pride and magnificence. The pomp was opened by twenty elephants, four royal tigers, and above two hundred of the most curious animals from every climate of the North, the East, and the South. They were followed by sixteen hundred gladiators, devoted to the cruel amusement of the amphitheatre. The wealth of Asia, the arms and ensigns of so many conquered nations, and the magnificent plate and wardrobe of the Syrian queen, were disposed in exact symmetry or artful disorder. . . . But every eye, disregarding the crowd of captives, was fixed on the emperor Tetricus, and the queen of the East. The former, as well as his son, whom he had created Augustus, was dressed in Gallic trowsers, a saffron tunic, and a robe of purple. The beauteous figure of Zenobia was confined by fetters of gold; a slave supported the gold chain which encircled her neck, and she almost fainted under the intolerable weight of jewels. She preceded on foot the magnificent chariot, in which she once hoped to enter the gates of Rome. . . . The most illustrious of the senate, the people and the army, closed the solemn procession. Unfeigned joy, wonder, and gratitude, swelled the acclamations of the multitude.

Gibbon was a grand man, the prince of historical writers, who, whatever he is writing, is always describing a triumph; for his sentences rank themselves right-forward and fours-right; his paragraphs succeed each other in platoons and squadrons; his chapters are army corps moving forward to the sound of trumpets and cymbals, banners flying, armor gleaming, commanders on caracoling horses, all moving forward steadily, resistlessly, and magnificently.

Let us now hear the conclusion of the whole matter. The danger of the historian is in imagination, that is, in the kind of imagination which invents details or seizes upon the unimportant ones, or combines them into pictures which are but the outside; which tell us nothing of the stir and movement of human souls, the clash of human wills, of the thinking of national thoughts. There is another kind of imagination which works from within outward; which makes the reader see, as the historian sees, the real characters of men; which divines their motives; which, allowing for human weaknesses and for the pressure of adverse circumstances, informs us whether this or that man, this or that people, this or that age, this or that standard has carried forward civilization, opened wide the gates for thought, liberated souls. There is no great history without large

imagination, any more than there is painting, or, for that matter, scientific discovery. Of all the writers of time not one has more clearly seen this task of the historian than the American sage Emerson:

> You shall make me feel what periods you have lived. A man shall be the Temple of Fame. . . . I shall find in him the Foreworld; in his childhood the Age of Gold; the Apples of Knowledge, the Argonautic Expedition, the calling of Abraham, the building of the Temple, the Advent of Christ, Dark Ages, the Revival of Letters, the Reformation, the discovery of new lands, the opening of new sciences and new regions in man. He shall be the priest of Pan, and bring with him into humble cottages the blessing of the morning stars, and all the recorded benefits of heaven and earth.

ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.

THE WEALTH OF THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS IN ENGLAND AND THE DISPOSITION OF IT AFTER THEIR DISSOLUTION

THE wealth of the Templars, which was the immediate cause of the attack on them by Philip IV., has been variously computed but always in large and indefinite figures, owing partly to the difficulty in getting reliable statistics. Fortunately the archives of England contain materials which enable us to make reasonably accurate conclusions as to the location, management, and annual proceeds of the English Templars' landed property. When they were arrested in January, 1308, the sheriffs were required to take a detailed inventory of all movables on each Temple manor and summon juries from the neighborhood to estimate the normal annual value of each piece of property.[1] A second inquest was ordered March 4, 1309.[2] Better than all this fragmentary material are three great schedules of the Pipe Rolls which contain the detailed accounts rendered by the royal keepers of Temple lands, evidently copied from the original accounts, many of which are still extant in the collection of "Ministers' Accounts, General Series", in the Public Record Office.[3] In various other manuscript sources the assessed value of certain manors is named in connection with the appointment of a keeper for them. Unfortunately, no one class of this material gives complete data for all the Templars' possessions in England, either for any one year or for the whole period during which the king held the lands; but, by putting together the contents of the various sources, a fairly accurate compilation can be made to show the name and approximate annual value of each estate.

The following table gives the average annual value by counties, the results in the first column being obtained by computing the average annual net income received by the king, exclusive of the amounts realized by the sale of such movables as silver or brass dishes, etc., which the Templars would not have sold, and those in the second by adding the annual values of the property as appraised by local juries according to royal order.

[1] Claus. 1 Edw. II. m. 13d.

[2] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1307–1314, p. 94; Rymer, II. 70.

[3] L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18–21. (Roll 21 contains only material duplicating that in rolls 18–20.)

Bedford	£ 65 11*s.* 3*d.*	£ 90 0*s.* 7*d.*
Berkshire	7 3 4	96 13 6
Buckingham	29 9 2	34 2 10
Cambridge	130 11 7	121 19 7
Cornwall	2 12 7	.....
Devon[4]	11 18 0	.....
Essex	218 8 11	173 8 6
Gloucester	216 3 8	78 12 0
Hampshire	.....	7 13 6
Hereford	167 4 10	108 0 0
Hertford	156 2 11	158 1 9
Huntingdon	26 0 5	18 12 3
Kent	20 16 9	43 1 2
Leicester	246 16 11	.....
Lincoln	934 9 8	132 15 6
London and Middlesex	22 4 3	64 0 10
Norfolk and Suffolk	13 19 8	27 11 11
Northampton	11 16 8	.....
Northumberland	46 18 8	45 12 1
Nottingham (including lands in Derby)	.....	54 17 2
Oxford	268 1 10	203 7 4
Shropshire and Stafford	126 0 6	25 8 11
Somerset and Dorset	116 8 1	71 7 4
Surrey	32 18 4	33 1 2
Sussex	72 1 0	101 7 1
Wales	2 18 3	.....
Warwick	238 7 7	130 8 6
Westmoreland[5]	7 6 1	.....
Wiltshire	20 19 11	17 7 10
Worcester	21 1 6	21 0 6
York	1130 18 11	587 4 9

The total values are not easy to compute accurately because for some manors the king received almost nothing as compared to the appraisement of the jurors. In such cases the appraised value has been added instead of the previous insignificant amount. The results thus computed for all England show that the total annual value based on receipts was about £4720, and the total appraised value (of those appraised) was £2445 16*s.* 7*d.*

The total annual value of the Temple lands in Ireland as appraised by local juries was £411 11*s.* 2*d.*, but the records of receipts show a very much smaller amount actually taken in at the exchequer.[6] For Scotland details regarding the Temple lands are

[4] There was Temple property in Derbyshire but no separate account of it is given in the exchequer records.

[5] Only a partial account was given for a few months.

[6] Exchequer, K. R. Accounts, bundle 239, no. 13. Brit. Mus., Add. MSS., 6165, fols. 195 ff., is a nineteenth-century copy of this.

difficult to obtain. Only three regular establishments appear in the records: Blantrodok, Culthur, and Templiston, and some lands in Berwick-on-Tweed, and no estimate of their value is given.[7] We have no means of computing the income of the Hospitallers in England for exactly this date; but in 1338, after their finances had been in great disorder for many years, they received an average annual revenue of £1385 6*s.* 6*d.* from their own estates and £1441 18*s.* from those formerly belonging to the Templars.[8] Thus it would appear that the Temple lands in England were only slightly more valuable than those of the Hospitallers, though some allowance must be made for Temple manors which the Hospitallers had deeded away.[9]

The value of the Templars' movable property was much less than we might expect. The inventories taken when they were arrested give a very precise account of all household goods, agricultural implements, stock, food, ecclesiastical goods, clothing, books, and all other articles, with the appraised value of each.[10] There is a marked absence of rich armor, vestments, and expensive trappings, showing that the Templars were living simple lives and cared little for luxury. Even the inventory of goods found at the New Temple, London, the headquarters of the order in England, shows few articles of value outside the Church, no cash, and no weapons except three swords and two balisters (one of which was broken).[11] The cash found in the chests of the preceptors through-

[7] Brit. Mus., Cotton MSS., Vespasian C. XVI., fol. 20 a; *Calendar of Documents rel. to Scotland*, III. 432.

[8] L. B. Larkin, "The Report of Prior Philip de Thame", in *Camden Society Publications*, vol. LXV. (1857), pp. 133–202.

[9] The records of the king's receipts from these, 1308–1313, show that their value is greatly overestimated in the report of Prior Philip. L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18–20.

[10] Most of these first inventories are to be found in P. R. O., L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18–20. Some of the originals have been preserved and are temporarily classified under Exchequer, K. R. Extents. Mr. Herbert Wood has printed the inventory of Clonaul in Appendix B (pp. 371–375) of his article on "The Templars in Ireland" in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, vol. XXVI., section C, no. 14. With this exception, none of the earliest inventories have been printed. The later inventories are not complete, since the royal keepers sold or used up many articles which appear in the original inventories. For examples of these later inventories, see *Gentleman's Magazine* (new series), III. (July–December, 1857); W. Wheater, *Temple Newsam* (Leeds, 1869); the *Scottish Antiquary*, XVIII. 83–87; and Hore, *History of the County of Wexford* (under the heading Kilclogan).

[11] L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 20, m. 3. The value of the ecclesiastical goods found in the New Temple Church and adjoining chapels and altars amounted to £121 5*s.* 9*d.*, and all other movables at the New Temple to £68 7*s.* 2*d.*

out England amounted to only £36 12*s.* 2*d.* The royal officials seem to have believed that much property had been concealed and several unsuccessful efforts were made to trace it.[12] It has been suggested that many Templars must therefore have escaped with their movable goods, but considering that the inquisitors' rigorous search resulted in the capture of only nine fugitives, other explanations seem more probable.[13] The grand master of England and several other prominent Templars were arrested in Kent and while imprisoned at Canterbury were allowed to keep their clothing, armor, and silver utensils worth £18 10*s.*[14] Throughout England the Templars were in very lax confinement in each county till September, 1309, and it is possible that some of them kept their armor and other valuables. A careful scrutiny of every available record shows that there were only one hundred and forty-four Templars in the British Isles and among these there were not more than twenty knights and sixteen priests.[15] Thus the great body of them were serving brothers or sergeants, common men remaining on the estates and busied with agricultural administration and labor. Hence the estates as a rule were provided only with the equipment needed for suitably maintaining the common manorial household and carrying on agriculture with the greatest profit.

The English branch of the order was valuable chiefly for the capital it produced, and the brethren appear to have been shrewd business men engaged extensively in that special industry which suited the locality: for example, the inventories of Bruer, Aslakeby, Eycle, and Wylughton (Lincolnshire) show that the Templars had thirty-eight sacks sixteen stone of wool stored away there.[16] In other sections they paid most attention to the grain crop, and in other parts to stock-raising as well. They derived a considerable income from the churches which they owned. Several of these

[12] L. T. R. Mem. 4 Edw. II. Trin. recorda dorse; 5 Edw. II. Mich. commis.; 1 Edw. II. Hil. brev. retorn. dorse; Pat. 3 Edw. II. m. 35d.

[13] H. H. Bellot, *The Inner and Middle Temple*, p. 17. Thirty palfreys and three sumpter horses valued at £78 4*s.* 8*d.* were found on the Temple estates. Had the Templars wished to escape, they could have done so. L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18–20.

[14] L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 20, m. 6d.

[15] The existing sources yield evidence of only six knights but it seems probable that the preceptors of Yorkshire and Ireland and some others were knights. Likewise there is evidence of only eight brothers who were priests.

[16] These Edward II. ordered to be delivered to the Society of the Ballardi in part payment of his debts to them. L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 20, m. 15–17. In 1298 the royal buyers of wool in co. Lincoln owed the Templars £134 15*s.* 7*d.*; in co. Cambridge, £15 3*s.* 4*d.*; and in co. Gloucester, £29 6*s.* 8*d.*; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1292–1301, p. 332.

were worth from £30 to £40 each,[17] and one, Rothele Church (Leicester), brought an average net income of £76 1*s*. 1*d*. per year between 1308 and 1313.[18] They sometimes engaged in such enterprises as farming the revenues of other churches on the chance of profit, and, when there was a favorable opportunity, they even let out small outlying manors of their own.[19]

Since a desire to replenish the royal treasury from the Templars' property was an important motive for their arrest even in England, it will be interesting to learn how the king succeeded. Notwithstanding his denial of the pope's charge that he was misappropriating the Temple lands, it is certain that he began early to use them as his fancy or need dictated.[20] Within a month after their sequestration, he ordered all the wool which could be secured from them to be delivered to the Ballardi, merchants of Lucca, and the next year he likewise had a quantity of wool turned over to Henry Nasard in part payment of the royal indebtedness.[21] In 1308 he used the grain from the Temple estates in England and Ireland to supply his forces in Scotland.[22] The Templars had provided their preceptories with a good supply of meat and fish and from this the king drew to supply provisions for his coronation feast at Westminster.[23] The pious king also drew on the keepers of the

[17] Weston church and Baldok chapel (Herts) appraised at £43 6*s*. 8*d*.
Wilburghham church (Camb.) " " 40.
Marnham " (Notts) " " 43.
Donington " (Lincs.) worth 32 14*s*. 11*d*.
Whitkyrke " (York) " 38 10*s*.
Hunsinghoure " " " 32 19 11.

[18] L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 19, m. 19–21.

[19] K. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. m. 6o and 60d., Hil. recorda; L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 18, m. 15d., 17, etc.

[20] Roman Roll, 2 Edw. II., m. 6; *Regest. Clem. V.*, no. 5061; Rymer, II. 59–60, 65.

[21] L. T. R. Mem. 1 Edw. II. Pasch. brev. irretorn.: 2 Edw. II. Pasch. brev. retorn.

[22] L. T. R. Mem. 1 Edw. II. Hil. brev. retorn.; K. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. m. 114 Mich. brev. irretorn.; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1307–1313, p. 81.

[23] L. T. R. Mem. 1 Edw. II. Hil. brev. retorn. (January 29, 1308). At Deneye (Camb.), a manor worth about £50 per year, the sheriff found 15 carcasses of beef, 4 of mutton, and 50 small sides of bacon, all of which were sent to London. L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 20, m. 7. At Temple Bruer (Lincs.), the average annual value of which was £285 15*s*. 11*d*., the sheriff found 10 carcasses of beef, 60 of mutton, and 40 sides of bacon. *Ibid.*, roll 20, m. 15. At Flaxfleet (York), a manor worth £115 15*s*. 3*d*. per year, there were 3 beef carcasses, 12 of mutton, 10 sides of bacon, 2000 herrings, and 20 fish "de Doggedrone, stokfisch". *Ibid.*, roll 20, m. 40.

sequestered lands to pay arrears of salary due to his clerks,[24] to give alms to religious houses,[25] and to provide for Scotch refugees.[26] In 1312 he increased his income by cutting and selling considerable amounts of timber from the estates.[27]

Notwithstanding his failure to find much gold and treasure at the New Temple or other preceptories, Edward II. derived a good income from such movables as were found. Horses and stock, kitchen utensils, dishes, tools, and even ecclesiastical goods were disposed of in large quantities, especially just after the arrest. Moreover, when the king formally ordered his keepers to give up the Temple lands to the Hospitallers, he had all the larger animals and the movables delivered to various royal appointees, who sold them for what they would bring or gave them away at the king's order.[28] As a rule the estates were stripped bare of all stock, tools, and movable property which could be sold at any price. Occasionally a millstone or some large and rather unsalable article was left, but even in such cases the keeper seems to have felt bound to give special explanation for his remissness in leaving anything movable on the estate except the church ornaments and the grain already sown for the next crop.[29] Cash found in the chests of the preceptors at the various manors amounted to £36 12*s.* 2*d.*, as far as the accounts show.[30] Payment of all debts due to the Templars was exacted from all debtors, great and small.[31]

It is very difficult to compute what the king received from the Temple lands in any one year, because of delays in rendering

[24] L. T. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. Pasch. commis. dorse; Trin. brev. irretorn.; 5 Edw. II. Trin. brev. irretorn.; 6 Edw. II. Hil. brev. irretorn.; 6 Edw. II. and 7 Edw. II. Mich. brev. irretorn.: 8 Edw. II. Trin. brev. baron. m. 2d.: Mich. brev. baron. m. 6d.; K. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. Pasch. commis. m. 12; 3 Edw. II. Mich. record. m. 45.

[25] L. T. R. Mem. 6 Edw. II. Pasch. brev. irretorn.

[26] *Cal. Docs. rel. to Scotland*, III. nos. 83, 84, 88, 240, 241, 250, 253, 256, 306, 311, 315, 338, 367; L. T. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. Mich. brev. irretorn. Some of these refugees received certain manors free of rent.

[27] L. T. R. Mem. 10 Edw. II. Pasch. brev. baronibus; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1307–1313, p. 461.

[28] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1313–1317, pp. 44, 45; L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 19, m. 20, 23d. ff.

[29] The only articles remaining at Herberbury (Warwick) were the iron work of the mill (worth 6*s.* 8*d.*), the millstone (worth 2*s.*), and some fixtures for the mill (worth 1*s.*). These were delivered to the Hospitallers because no one would buy them. L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 19, m. 22 and 22d. Very frequently the accounts state that the movables left were worn out.

[30] L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18–20.

[31] K. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. Trin. recorda m. 64 and 64d.; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1307–1313, pp. 185, 195; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1307–1313, p. 210; K. R. Mem. 2 Edw. II. Hil. brev. baron. m. 32.

accounts to the exchequer. The sheriffs who arrested the Templars had charge of the lands at first, but in most counties special keepers were soon appointed.[32] Some of these were required to render full account for the proceeds, while others owed to the exchequer only the total annual value as appraised by local juries.[33] Thus only in theory did the income from the Temple lands go entire into the royal treasury. Throughout the reign of Edward II., and even under Edward III., the exchequer memoranda rolls contain numerous orders to oblige the keepers or their heirs to settle their accounts.[34] The profits of most of the manors do not appear on the rolls for more than half the period of royal control and some never were accounted for.[35] Edward II. himself released some keepers from payments due to the exchequer,[36] and royal favorites exploited many of the estates to such an extent that the lords ordainers in 1311 required the resumption of Temple lands granted to them.[37] The payments recorded show that the king received a net income of £8840 0*s.* 5*d.* from the English Temple lands from January 9–11, 1308, till November 28, 1313.[38] The only recorded receipts from the Scottish and Irish lands were £25 2*s.* 10*d.* and £390 19*s.* 8*d.*[39] Thus the net income of the king from all the Temple lands was £9256 2*s.* 11*d.*, or an average of £1542 13*s.* 10*d.* per year for the six years. Edward II. was in such straits for money between 1310 and 1312 that this income must have given him valuable help, but it could not have played a large part in the normal revenue of the crown. The Wardrobe Account of Edward I. shows that the royal receipts were £58,155 16*s.* 2*d.* and the expenditures £64,105 0*s.* 5*d.* for the year 1300, which was not marked by any extraordinary taxation.[40] The Wardrobe Accounts of Edward II. show an ex-

[32] L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18–20.

[33] L. T. R. Mem. 1 Edw. II. Hil. brev. retorn.; *Cal. Close Rolls,* 1307–1313, p. 94; Rymer, II. 70.

[34] *Cal. Close Rolls,* 1333–1336, p. 477; L. T. R. Mem. 10 Edw. III. Trin. com. m. 13d.; 11 Edw. III. Mich. brev. retorn. and Mich. com. m. 1; K. R. Mem. 11 Edw. III. Pasch. com. m. 10 and Pasch. brev. baron. m. 13d.

[35] *E. g.,* Flauflor (co. Nottingham) and Temple Sowerby (co. Cumberland).

[36] L. T. R. Mem. 5 Edw. II. Pasch. brev. baron.; 6 Edw. II. Mich. and Hil. brev. baron.; 9 Edw. II. Trin. recorda m. 122d.

[37] *Munimenta Gildhallae Londoniensis,* II., pt. 11., p. 689.

[38] These figures are based on a careful computation of the net income of the various estates as recorded in L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18–20, and Exchequer Miscellaneous Roll no. 87.

[39] Brit. Mus., Cotton MSS., Vespasian C. XVI., fol. 2*b* a; *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland,* III. 432; Exchequer, K. R. Accounts, bundle 239, no. 13.

[40] *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae,* ed. Topham (1787), pp. 15, 360, cited by Stubbs, *Const. Hist.,* II. 575 and note 1.

penditure of £61,032 9*s.* 11¾*d.* for 1316–1317; £36,866 16*s.* 3½*d.* for 1317–1318, and £45,343 11*s.* 11¾*d.* for 1320–1321.[41] If these figures may be trusted, the royal income from the Temple lands did not reach more than about four per cent. of the normal annual revenue of the crown.

Immediately after the dissolution of the Temple Order at the Council of Vienne, Clement V. ordered Edward II. to deliver the Temple property to the Knights Hospitallers at once.[42] For over a year, however, Edward refused to obey and not till November 28, 1313, did he order his keepers to give up the lands.[43] This by no means proves that the Hospitallers obtained immediate possession, for the removal of the royal keepers seems to have been the signal for a scramble in which the lords of the fees and the king were in a better position to succeed than the small number of Hospitallers. The Templars had accumulated their extensive properties gradually and held them under various tenures of many different lords.[44] This made it far from easy for the Hospitallers to gain possession of their gift from the pope, especially without the use of the Templars' deeds, charters, and rolls, which they had not secured by August 30, 1324.[45] They early secured some few of the estates,[46] but most were seized by neighboring lords, among whom Thomas of Lancaster, Robert de Holand, John de Moubray, Guy de Beauchamp, and Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, figure prominently. In fact a royal order of 1336 states that all the Temple lands came as escheats into the hands of the king and other lords of whom these lands were held.[47] The king himself kept some of them as his escheats or on various other pretexts,[48] and later acquired the large holdings forfeited by Thomas of Lancaster and

[41] T. Stapleton in *Archaeologia*, XXVI. 318, 319. Stubbs (II. 576) estimates that £65,000 may be taken to represent the ordinary revenue of the fourteenth-century kings in time of peace.

[42] Rymer, II. 168, 169; *Regest. Clem. V.*, no. 7886; Register of Archbishop Reynolds (Lambeth Palace), fol. 230 a.

[43] Rymer, II. 236, 237; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1313–1317, pp. 29, 88, 89.

[44] In 1303 the Templars held in Lincolnshire forty-seven different knights' fees or fractions of a fee of twenty-three different lords, and these were only such as they held by military tenure. *Feudal Aids* (R. S.), III. 130–229, Kirkby's Quest for Yorkshire, pp. 151–175, 204–205 ff.

[45] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323–1327, pp. 126, 208, 219.

[46] *Ibid.*, 1313–1318, pp. 234, 388; *ibid.*, 1318–1323, p. 25.

[47] *Ibid.*, 1333–1336, p. 638.

[48] *Cal. of Documents rel. to Scotland*, III., no. 428; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1333–1336, pp. 202, 442; *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1313–1317, pp. 214, 374, 466. Many instances show that the king acquiesced in the seizure of Temple lands by the lords. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1313–1318, pp. 154–155, 255, 263; *ibid.*, 1318–1323, pp. 25, 438.

his friends.[49] Even when the lands of Thomas's party were restored in 1327, many Temple estates were restored to the lords and special definite orders were needed to cause the sheriffs to deliver them to the Hospitallers.[50]

During all these years after 1312, the Hospitallers were making every effort to secure the Temple lands, and the popes did not fail to order the king, nobles, and clergy to assist them.[51] Edward II., however, protested that he had done all he could by giving up possession himself and could not oust the lords.[52] The clergy do not appear to have been at all zealous to help the Hospitallers, in spite of papal bulls and the vigorous measures of Archbishop Reynolds.[53] John XXII. even required the bishops to defy the royal prohibition and unite in Parliament in order to expel lay occupiers of Temple lands, and instructed his legates in England to use ecclesiastical censures to enforce the restitution of such lands.[54]

These efforts proving of no avail, the Hospitallers turned to the more effective method of bribery. As early as 1313 they had granted to Hugh le Despencer the manor of Wyshangre in Gloucestershire,[55] and in 1324 Prior Thomas Larcher granted to Hugh the Younger the manors of Penkern in Wenthelok in Wales, Bustlesham, Temple Gutyng, Bollestrode, and Carleton-by-Basingham, all formerly the property of the Templars and worth over £251 per year net.[56] This grant was made immediately after they received them as the result of the statute of 1324, probably by previous agreement.[57] On August 19, 1324, Prior Larcher also

[49] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323–1327, pp. 108, 481; *ibid.*, 1327–1330, pp. 155, 246, 286; L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., roll 14, m. 12, 25, 26d, 27; Ministers' Accounts, General Series, bundle 835, nos. 2, 4.

[50] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1327–1330, pp. 19–20, 51, 101–102, 152, 155, 266; *ibid.*, 1318–1323, p. 442; *ibid.*, 1330–1333, p. 496; *ibid.*, 1333–1336, p. 149; *Rot. Parl.*, II. 12b and appendix pp. 420–423.

[51] *Regest. Clem. V.*, nos. 7885, 7886; Rymer, II. 168.

[52] Roman Roll, 12 Edw. II., m. 11.

[53] Archbishop Reynolds soundly rebuked Roger, Bishop of Salisbury, for securing an inhibition from the archiepiscopal court to prevent the Hospitallers from presenting to a prebend in the church of Salisbury which had belonged to the Templars, and quashed the court's decision. Register of Archbishop Reynolds (Lambeth Palace), fol. 70b.

[54] *Ibid.*, fol. 230b; Cambridge University Library, MS. Martinus D. I. i. 3. 7, fols. 153–155; Sebastiano Paoli, *Codice Diplomatico*, II. 50–51, 75; Rymer, II. 487–488.

[55] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1336–1339, p. 87.

[56] *Cal. Patent Rolls, Edw. III.*, V. 39; VII. 22; *Cal. Close Rolls, Edw. III.*, I. 13–14, 86; II. 11, III. 211; VIII. 92. The appropriated churches on these lands were reserved by the Hospitallers. The value of these estates is computed from the accounts of the royal keepers in L. T. R. Enrolled Accounts, Misc., rolls 18–20.

[57] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1334–1338, pp. 204–205.

deeded to the king in fee simple the manors of Templehirst, Templenewsam, Flaxflete, Deneye, and Strode, all Temple property and worth over £432 per year net.[58] Besides these gifts, the purpose of which is evident, a number of influential persons about the court were kept favorable to the Hospitallers by various means shown in the report of Prior Philip de Thame in 1338. Sir Robert de Silkeston, for example, who in 1322 was one of two auditors of the accounts for the lands of Earl Thomas and others who held Temple lands,[59] was in 1338 receiving from the Hospitallers about £142 per year in pensions, lands, or churches.[60] Grants of various sorts were made to a large number of persons who had enough influence to help or hinder them.[61] Pensions were paid to many royal officials for maintaining the lands and liberties of the Hospitallers and for help in securing those of the Templars.[62] There was also a distribution of robes to one hundred and forty officials at a cost of £10 per year, and an expenditure of some two hundred marks a year in gifts to the king's judges and other magnates to have favor, for pleas to be defended, and for the expenses of parliaments.[63] Indeed the long continued litigation necessary to get their rights required the Hospitallers to have many friends at court.[64]

With the aid of the king and the Despencers, the Hospitallers secured the enactment of a statute stating that no lord had any title or right to the Temple lands by escheat or otherwise, and granting them to the Hospitallers.[65] Accordingly, on May 16, 1324, the sheriffs were ordered to take possession of the lands and carry out the statute.[66] Even then the king willed that all movables on the lands should be returned to their owners and that the Hospitallers pay for the crops already sown. Finally, on July 1, 1324, the royal keepers in various counties were ordered to permit the sheriffs to deliver the Temple lands to the Hospitallers and only then was the

[58] Rymer, II. 567; *Cal. Patent Rolls, Richard II.*, I. 444.

[59] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1318–1323, p. 442.

[60] Larking, "The Knights Hospitallers in England, being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A. D. 1338", *Camden Society Publications*, LXV. 56, 116, 143, 153, 161.

[61] Some were receiving the issues of one or more manors without paying any rent, some received a manor for a very low rent, and some received pensions for life in return for giving up a Temple manor to the Hospitallers. *Ibid.*, pp. 182, 184–186, etc.

[62] *Ibid.*, pp. 203–204.

[63] *Ibid.*, pp. 210–211.

[64] *Cf.* Cotton MSS., Nero E. VI., fols. 135–136; County Placita, Hertford, nos. 7, 8; Chancery Misc., bundle 49, file 1, no. 6, for some examples of this litigation.

[65] *Statutes of the Realm*, I. 194–196; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323–1327, p. 91.

[66] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 1323–1327, p. 111.

previous order executed.[67] Notwithstanding this, there is considerable evidence that there were further delays in getting possession of much of the property. The prior of the English Hospitallers wrote to the grand master on July 20, 1328, that in the preceding year he had received only £458 1*s.* 10*d.* from the Temple lands.[68] In 1338 his total income from them was £1441 18*s.* Hence a considerable portion was not yet in their possession or they could not re-stock them sufficiently to obtain their normal profits. In some counties the lords defied the statute and continued to hold the lands. On September 9, 1332, the sheriff of Somerset was ordered to sequester all such lands in the county, and on December 15, 1332, was directed to deliver them to the Hospitallers.[69] The sheriff of Devon received similar directions regarding the manor and church of Cleyhangre.[70]

The difficulties of the Hospitallers were aggravated by great delay in securing the Temple archives, without which they often could not prove their claims to property, and especially by the great disorder of their finances.[71] The whole order and its various branches were almost overwhelmed by a burden of debt, incurred mainly for their expedition to conquer and hold the island of Rhodes but partly perhaps by the large payments needed to secure the Temple property.[72] There seems to have been a general inclination among the royal officials and magnates to extort as much as possible from them and keep back their property.[73] The prior was summoned by the exchequer again and again to pay certain debts which it was claimed that the Templars owed to the king. Orders were secured from the king postponing the collection of these, but not till November 24, 1336, were the exactions definitely forbidden, after the Hospitallers had suffered much from distraints levied on this pretext.[74] It was only by continually importuning the

[67] *Cal. Close Rolls,* 1323–1327, p. 117. Chancery Miscellaneous Rolls (unclassified), bundle 17, no. 3, is a bundle of much defaced loose writs, embodying the order of May 16, 1324. There are nineteen of these writs, each endorsed with the sheriff's statement that he had executed the order. A late entry in the Templar cartulary for Oxfordshire (Bodleian Library, Wood MSS., 10, fol. 90b) shows that the sheriff delivered the manor of Temple Sibeford to the Hospitallers on July 3, 1324.

[68] *Camden Soc. Pubs.,* LXV. 217.

[69] *Cal. Close Rolls,* 1330–1333, pp. 496, 514.

[70] *Ibid.,* 1333–1336, p. 149.

[71] *Ibid.,* 1323–1327, pp. 126, 203, 219, 500, 501.

[72] *Regest. Clem. V.,* nos. 4769, 4772, 5384; *Cal. Close Rolls,* 1323–1327, p. 545; *Camden Soc. Pubs.,* LXV. 217–219.

[73] *Cal. Close Rolls, Edw. III.,* V. 410; VI. 291; VIII. 135, 188.

[74] *Cal. Close Rolls,* 1330–1333, p. 112; *ibid.,* 1333–1336, pp. 638, 661; K. R. Mem. 11 Edw. III. Mich. brev. baronibus m. 38. This claim that the Templars owed the king any considerable sum at the time of their arrest is about as unbelievable as a similar claim made and enforced by Philippe le Bel.

king and securing frequent royal letters of protection, confirmations of charters, and other royal letters from 1324 to 1340, that the Hospitallers were able to make progress against the obstructions placed in their way.[75] By 1338 their efforts had been rewarded with considerable success and they had obtained at least nominal possession of most of the Temple estates except those deeded to the Despencers and the king. Thus the lands of the Templars were ultimately gathered together in the hands of their rivals, not to be scattered till the suppression of the monasteries by Henry VIII., to whom the events of 1307–1312 might have furnished an interesting precedent had he wished for one.

The difficulties of the English Hospitallers were duplicated on the Continent, for every one in any position of power made the most of his opportunities to secure a share of the plunder and exact large payments before giving it up. In Portugal, Aragon, and Castile, the Hospitallers got none of the estates; in France, Germany, and Italy they secured part of their legacy after long delays. In fact the immediate result of the dissolution of the Temple Order was a wild orgy of plunder which quickly passed beyond papal control and gave the lie to Clement's plea that to delay the order's dissolution would cause dilapidation of its property to the damage of the Holy Land.

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[75] London Letter-Book E., p. 255; *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1327–1330, p. 192; *ibid.*, 1330–1334, pp. 244, 274; *ibid.*, 1334–1338, p. 158; *ibid.*, 1342–1346, pp. 78–79.

WÖLLNER AND THE PRUSSIAN RELIGIOUS EDICT OF 1788, I.

In no field of thought did the eighteenth century—the wonderful eighteenth century—work a more complete change than in the matter of religion and in men's attitude toward the Church and theological creeds. Luther's movement and its outcome to 1700 had left the religious world theologically minded, superstitious, ignorant, and narrow. But two centuries of conflict had somewhat exhausted the theological contestants and when the age of Louis XIV. closed at the Treaty of Utrecht, continental Europe and especially Germany found that the din of theological discussion had measurably abated. Men began to care less for what Calvin or Luther or Flacius Illyricus or Melanchthon thought, and more for toleration and the real teachings of Christ.

In the development of this more tolerant attitude many men and many movements had played their part. Some of the men and some of the contributary lines of thought lie as far back as the centuries before Petrarch. The sum total of this revolution in men's thought, a revolution as great as that effected by Christian philosophy in the classical world, we call by the untranslatable and almost undefinable term of "Aufklärung".[1] Its keynote was the sovereignty of reason, the breaking of the binding limitations of authority in all fields of thought. In Germany the philosophy of Leibniz as interpreted and popularized by Thomasius and Wolff is one element. The beginnings of scientific thought and the critical attitude of English thinkers and naturalists like Locke, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke, Tolland, and Collins,[2] who found their translators and interpreters in Germany, are another factor, and the age, by rough and ready methods of advance, was justifying the judgment of Kant pronounced in 1781, "Unser Zeitalter ist das eigentliche Zeitalter der Kritik, der sich alles unterwerfen muss." In

[1] *Cf.* the excellent article on *Aufklärung* by Troeltsch in Herzog's *Realencyklopädie für Protestantische Theologie* (third edition edited by Dr. A. Hauck, Leipzig, 1897 ff.), II., also the illuminating essays by Dilthey in *Deutsche Rundschau* (1900–1901), CVII. and by Troeltsch in *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, CXIV. 30 ff. For an attempt to define *Aufklärung*, *cf.* Lorenz v. Stein, *Innere Verwaltung* (Stuttgart, 1884), I. 509 ff.

[2] Hettner, *Literaturgeschichte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts*, II. 232; Spalding, *Lebensbeschreibung*, pp. 17 and 28. Spalding translated Shaftesbury.

the field of religious effort itself Germany in the first quarter of the century was strongly influenced by a movement of a different character, that of Spener and the Pietists.[3] Here definitely was a group of men who sought to elevate true piety above the theologians' creeds, to better the debased character of the preaching in Lutheran pulpits, to introduce the spirit of toleration between sects and in the treatment of the unorthodox.

The ideals of the age in matters of religious toleration, its application of philosophy and natural law to religion, its growing indifference to the Old Testament teachings, and its rationalistic attitude toward Christ and the New Testament, are epitomized in the writings and politics of "the most untheological of the Hohenzollerns",[4] Frederick the Great. Prussia by its very history from the days of John Sigismund and the Great Elector was that state in all Europe where religious toleration was a necessary part of the ruler's political creed. In Frederick, Prussia had a ruler to whom all ideas of the age of "cujus regio, ejus religio" were wholly alien. His position,[5] reiterated over and over again in private utterances and public documents and enforced by governmental acts, is nowhere more adequately summarized and eulogized than by Kant in his essay, *Was ist Aufklärung*.[6]

> A prince who does not find it beneath him to say that he considers it his duty not to dictate to men in matters of religion but to leave them complete freedom in such matters, who thus rejects for himself the claim of being tolerant, is himself enlightened and deserves to be acclaimed by his grateful contemporaries and by posterity as the one who at least from the standpoint of the government recognizes the human race as of age and leaves everyone to make use of his reason in matters of conscience. Under him respected ministers of the gospel, without prejudice to the claims of their calling, may as scholars present for consideration freely and openly those opinions in which their judgment and views vary from accepted creeds—a course that is still more definitely open to those who are limited by no obligations of office. This spirit of freedom is gradually spreading to other lands, even into countries where it has to battle with the hindrances offered by a government that does not understand itself. For these governments have a proof that, with this freedom, public order and harmony have not the least thing to fear. Mankind gradually purges itself of its crudity and roughness if there is not some definite effort to keep it back.

[3] Lévy-Bruhl, *L'Allemagne depuis Leibniz* (Paris, 1890), pp. 28 ff.

[4] Preuss, *Zeit. für Preuss. Gesch. und Landeskunde*, II. 746.

[5] *Cf.* H. Pigge, *Die religiöse Toleranz Fr. d. Gr.*, etc. (Mainz, 1898), and the review of it in *Forschungen zur Brand.-Preuss. Gesch.*, XII. 299. *Cf.* also *Zeit. für Preuss. Gesch. und Landeskunde*, II. 746 ff., also biographies of Frederick by Koser, Winter, and Preuss.

[6] Quoted by Hettner, *sup. cit.*, vol. II., pt. III., pp. 25–26.

Though it is thus easy to indicate the general trend of the century in religious affairs, it is not easy or safe to generalize concerning actual religious conditions in Prussia at the close of Frederick's reign. The complexity and variety is similar to that which will some time confound the historian of nineteenth-century thought when he passes in review such names as Darwin, Huxley, Spencer, Newman, Strauss, Renan, Alexander Campbell, Joseph Smith, Delitzsch, Harnack, Mrs. Eddy, General Booth, and Dowie.[7] Similarly the culture-historian of the eighteenth century passes, in the century which produced Newton and Bayle and Leibniz and Voltaire, to the explanation of the power of a Wesley, a Zinzendorf, a Swedenborg, a Cagliostro, and a Mesmer.

Even in the tolerant age of Frederick the Great, there were published by the adherents of the old orthodoxy pamphlets so bitter that they are in themselves an argument for liberalism.[8] On the other hand, the evidence is clear that some pulpits were occupied by men who preached anything but religion and used their opportunities to spread all sorts of heterodox or absurd views.[9] The latter class, who were very often only seekers for notoriety, made the most noise, and obscured the fact that the great mass of ministers in the provinces were true to the Lutheran principles though not orthodox in the old sense.[10]

The prevailing tendency in the pulpit was to disregard creeds and theological differences, though stiff sectarians were to be found battling valiantly for the old beliefs and denouncing any liberal thinker as a Socianian or a naturalist.[11] The much praised harmony was often an enforced one, for the opposing groups knew that Frederick would not permit persecutions or proselyting[12] in the

[7] *Cf.*, for instance, the article by H. Driesmanns in *Deutsche Kultur*, December, 1907, summarizing views of Harnack, Pfleiderer, Naumann, and others.

[8] It is in their pamphlets and books much more than in their sermons that the religious *Aufklärer* made themselves obnoxious to the conservatives.

[9] Eylert in his *Charakterzüge aus dem Leben Friedrich Wilhelms III.*, I. 481, tells the story of the minister who was going to baptize a child in the name, not of the Trinity, but of Frederick the Great, and who received a severe reprimand from the king.

[10] *Cf.* [Ulrich], *Ueber den Religionszustand in den Preussischen Staaten, passim.* It is interesting to note that in praising the tolerant and liberal spirit in Berlin he makes mention that families of different creeds now lived on different floors of the same house and landlords no longer inquired about a prospective tenant's religion.

[11] *Ibid.*, I. 183–184.

[12] *Cf. Publicationen aus den K. Preuss. Staatsarchiven* (Lehmann), vol. X., nos. 155, 223, and vol. XIII., no. 760. It is interesting to note that in the eighteenth century there are more royal rescripts against proselyting than there are against irreligion. Sectarian squabbles were a greater cause for uneasiness and disorder than the lapse of real religious interest of which they were a sign and a cause.

name of either heterodoxy or orthodoxy. The opinion of a writer in Nicolai's *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek,* the organ of the *Aufklärung,* though written from a point of view hostile to the orthodox and sectarian ideas and appearing in a magazine so bitterly opposed to Wöllner and his policies that it was driven out of Berlin, may be quoted as a fairly satisfactory statement. It means to put the liberal teachers and preachers in a most favorable light, but, as one reads it, it is easy to see how the orthodox and conservative party would find grounds for complaint against religious teachers who in the name of advanced thought and liberal views disregarded the creeds, treated the Old Testament as of interest to Jews alone, and selected from the New Testament only those parts which were given as the direct words of Jesus.[13]

"It is undeniable", says the writer referred to above, "that the controlling spirit of our age has no particular zeal for certain differences in church creeds and above all no great desire to be thoroughly informed concerning the dogmas themselves nor to be convinced of their truth. The largest part of our religious contemporaries value much more highly the useful knowledge of those principles of Christianity which lead to righteousness and contentment than they do a knowledge of those tenets which divide church parties and over which the theologians have wrangled."[14] The same writer in another place [15] is equally free to admit what has been indicated above, that "there unquestionably have been among the ministers of the gospel shallow pates, superficial parrots and prattlers, the grossly ignorant and arrogant fools who sought to make a sensation—and others lacking discretion, hot-headed and rash, who without consideration for the weak or reverence for age and regard for their older fellow-preachers have sought rather to destroy than to build up [belief] among the masses." But he contends that it is unjust to condemn all ministers as corrupters of the people simply on account of this group.

He then goes on to sketch the influence of Spener and the increasing tendency to toleration and moderation and church union.

[13] Berlin Archives, Rep. 9, F. 2, a. 1796–1797. This volume contains a rare copy of a pamphlet by the notorious Cranz, *Fragmente über verschiedene Gegenstände der neuesten Geschichte* (Berlin and Frankfurt, 1791). The pamphlet contains a very good survey of pulpit and religious conditions at that time. The one thing it emphasizes is the general opposition to the Religious Edict and the emphasis it laid on creeds in which no one had any interest. *Cf.* contemporary pamphlets on the trial under the Religious Edict of one of the most radical of these preachers, a man known to his generation as "Pigtail" (Zopf) Schulz.

[14] *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek,* CXIV. 34–37; [Ulrich], *Ueber den Religionszustand,* etc., I. 156 ff.

[15] *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek,* CXIV. 43–44.

In his opinion the French and English deistic writers by subjecting Christianity to a searching critical examination had found its weak points, thus forcing it to yield ground and in turn making some concessions themselves. The result was to be seen in the topics presented in the pulpit. The sermons of the day neglect matters of dogma or take them for granted, and present the claims of practical Christianity. "This is the result", says Henke, "not alone of the compulsion of their own views but of the feeling of the necessity of the times that any one who would teach must very naturally accommodate himself to the viewpoint and wishes of those whom he would instruct. It is the contagious force of the *Zeitgeist*, the power of an irresistible on-rushing current which has produced and developed this way of thinking." This second reformation had come slowly and without tumult but it was there. "It is the will of Providence that it should go on . . . It is this progress that the Religious Edict seeks to hinder—nor that alone, for it would not only prescribe the boundaries of the stream but turn it back."[16]

Despite this exceedingly favorable view of the results of the *Aufklärung* on religious teaching it must be borne in mind that it comes from one of the devotees of the movement and that it is considerably tempered by the frank admissions already quoted. Spalding was one whose early intellectual interests were stimulated by the philosophy of Wolff and by translating Shaftesbury and whose preaching activity was in Berlin, the centre of the religious *Aufklärung*. Yet he calmly states in his autobiography, written while he was struggling against Wöllner, that the spread of free-thinking through periodicals among all classes of readers threatened the very basis of morality,[17] and that for several years before Frederick's death there had been a general feeling that the new régime would bring a change in the religious policy—as the progressists hoped—without limiting freedom of conscience or research.[18] When we have such evidence it inclines us to believe that "the gradual decline of Protestant Christianity as a church and its gradual growth in strength as an ethical or political principle"[19] had been accompanied by evils so generally recognized in Germany

[16] *Cf.* Henke in *Allg. D. Bibliothek*, CXIV. 34–37.

[17] Spalding, pp. 105–107; F. Samuel G. Sack, *Bildnisse jetzt lebender Berliner Gelehrten*, pp. 35–37; *id.*, *Ueber die Vereinigung der beiden protestantischen Kirchenparteien*, etc. (Berlin, 1812), pp. 12–15; Gieseler, *Ecclesiastical History*, V. 311–320; Baur, *Kirchengeschichte*, IV. 593 ff.

[18] Spalding, p. 110.

[19] Nippold, *Kirchengeschichte*, I. 205 ff.

outside Berlin[20] as to justify some definite attempt to curb its excesses.[21] The question at issue was not so much the necessity of some reform as it was the nature of the measures to be taken, the proper authority to take them, and the spirit of their administration.[22] The answer to this question lies in the character of the new king and of his chief adviser in religious matters.

In comparison with the long list of men whom the Catholic service by its more varied demands and essentially wider views of the activity of churchmen has trained for statesmanship, Protestantism, outside of the group represented by Calvin, Knox, and Zwingli, can offer only the ultimate results on colonial expansion of the zeal and aggression of its missionaries. This absence of ecclesiastics in affairs is most strikingly noticeable in Lutheran states. Indeed

[20] Stölzel, *Svarez*, p. 255, quotes Lessing to Nicolai (*Ges. Werke*, XXVII. 269) "Sagen Sie mir von Ihrer berlinischen Freiheit zu denken und zu schreiben ja nichts; sie reduzirt sich einzig und allein auf die Freiheit gegen die Religion soviel Sottisen zu Markte zu bringen als man will."

[21] "Gewiss hatte die gegen das Ueberwuchern der Aufklärung eintretende Reaction ihre volle Berechtigung." Stölzel, *sup. cit.* The Consistory in their protest against the edict (see below) are as severe in their condemnation of existing conditions as Wöllner could be. *Cf. Zeitschrift für historische Theologie* (1859), XXIX. 9–17.

[22] There is not space in this article to present fully the material available on religious conditions in Prussia at this time. Of printed sources the two most extensive are the mildly conservative journal *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica Nostri Temporis* (13 vols., with a full index in the last volume, Weimar, 1776–1789), and its continuations, *Acten, Urkunden, und Nachrichten zur neuesten Kirchengeschichte* (3 vols., Weimar, 1789–1793) and *Archiv für die neueste Kirchengeschichte* (6 vols., Weimar, 1795–1799). These journals are especially full on the subject of religious legislation in all lands, whether Catholic or Protestant. The liberal theological views are represented in the second source, [Joh. H. F. Ulrich], *Ueber den Religionszustand in den preussischen Staaten seit der Regierung Friedrich des Grossen, in einer Reihe von Briefen* (5 vols., Leipzig, 1778–1780). Many of these letters are based on personal observation and many more are based on material gathered by acquaintances or from such sources as the *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica* (see above). The author was a prominent minister of the Evangelical Reformed Church in Berlin, a translator of Leibniz, and one of the principal contributors to the *Berlinische Gelehrte Zeitung*. *Cf.* Meusel, *Lexikon der vom Jahre 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen Teutschen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig, 1815), XIV. Ulrich's work is particularly valuable for educational as well as religious conditions. To these may be added the autobiographies of Spalding, Semler, and Sack. Such secondary works as Philippson, Pigge, Nippold, Hettner, Stölzel, Troeltsch, Geiger, Gieseler, Preuss, Koser, H. Schmid (*Geschichte der katholischen Kirche Deutschlands*, etc., München, 1874), and Baur deal with the subject from different points of view. *Cf.* also J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur von Leibnitz bis auf unsere Zeit* [1814] (4 vols., Berlin, 1886–1890); M. v. Geismar (pseud. for Edg. Bauer), *Bibliothek der deutschen Aufklärer des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts* (2 vols., Leipzig, 1846); Biedermann, *Geschichte Deutschlands im achtzehnten Jahrhundert*; H. v. Mühler, *Geschichte der evangelischen Kirchenverfassung in der Mark Brandenburg* (Weimar, 1846); G. Frank, *Gesch. d. protestantischen Theologie*, etc.

it is Prussia which furnishes the most noteworthy instance of the failure of the narrow-minded ecclesiastic in a ministerial position. In all the long list of two hundred and sixty men who have served the Hohenzollerns as ministers, the name of Reverend Johann Christof von Wöllner, Minister of Religion under Frederick William II., is the one condemned to execration without defense. His name in a land of *Lern-* and *Lehrfreiheit* is one forever connected with a serious attack on the freedom of faith, conscience, and the sacred guarantees of law, and this at a most untoward time—directly following the close of the long and essentially liberal reign of Frederick the Great and on the eve of the French Revolution.[23]

The story of Wöllner's career and acquisition of the ministerial title would be noteworthy in any age or state, but it is particularly striking when its setting is the feudal, military, absolutistic state of Brandenburg-Prussia at the close of the eighteenth century. Born of a pastor's family in 1732 at Döberitz in the Mark, he had made a very creditable academic record both in his preparatory school and as a student of theology at Halle, where he numbered among his instructors the famous Professor Wolff, restored to his chair by Frederick the Great after having suffered for his views under Frederick's father.[24] At twenty-three Wöllner was a pastor and tutor on a large estate. His sermons, some of which were published, are saturated with rationalism and would serve as excellent examples of the very *Aufklärungsgeist* which Wöllner fought so vigorously during his later career. Their mediocrity is a sufficient explanation of why he saw a larger opportunity opened to him by the favor of his patron's widow.

Resigning his pastorate in favor of his father, Wöllner became in 1762 the manager of the widow's estates and practised with con-

[23] *Zur Beurteilung des Staatsministers von Wöllner,* by J. D. Preuss, in *Zeitschrift für Preussische Gesch.,* II. 577–604, 746–774; III. 65–95. Preuss names three ministers who were in disgrace for official acts, Schwartzenberg under the Great Elector, Danckelmann whom Frederick I. disgraced and Frederick William I. pardoned, and Görne, punished by Frederick II. for defalcation and pardoned by Frederick William II.

[24] For a brief and colorless outline of Wöllner's life with a list of his publications, *cf.* J. G. Meusel, *Lexikon d. vom Jahre 1750 bis 1800 verstorbenen Teutschen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig, 1816). Also *id., Das Gelehrte Deutschland* (with portrait of Wöllner, Lemgo, 1800), and Hirsching, *Historisches-literarisches Handbuch berühmter und denkwürdiger Personen welche in dem 18ten Jahrhundert gelebt haben* (Leipzig, 1813), XVI. An excellent account of Wöllner in addition to those by Bailleu and Preuss upon which I have freely drawn is that by Tholuck in Herzog's invaluable *Realencyclopaedie,* XXIII.

siderable energy and success the arts of a literary agriculturist.[25] His marriage a few years later to the daughter of his patroness was consummated twenty-four hours before indignant relatives, who had complained to Frederick the Great, could bring effective opposition against this union of an unclassed pastor with a girl of noble birth. The ensuing investigation cleared Wöllner and resulted in the release of his wife, though her property was kept out of Wöllner's hands by establishing a sort of guardianship to manage it. There it remained throughout Frederick's life, and a request for Wöllner's ennoblement was returned by Frederick with the marginal comment: "Das geht nicht an. Der Wöllner ist ein betriegerischer und Intriganter Pfafe, weiter nichts."

But Wöllner's knowledge of agriculture and interest in the subject gave him employment in several directions. From 1770, the year he took up his residence in Berlin, to 1786, he was steward of the estates of Frederick the Great's younger brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, and he was at various times of service in minor governmental positions, being sent on one occasion to investigate the peat industry in Holland. From 1765 to 1780 he reviewed works on agriculture and similar topics for the great organ of the *Aufklärung* in Berlin, Nicolai's *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek,* a magazine which ranked in the Germany of that day with the publications of Schlözer, Posselt, Häberlin, and Schubart.[26]

Unsatisfied in his ambitions by his own actual accomplishments, which were clearly failing to give him eminence and influence or their semblance, Wöllner found comfort for a time at least in the petty prominence given him by his connection with the Freemasons. Here he hobnobbed with a half-dozen princes and was the mouthpiece on public occasions of his lodge and their representative at conventions. For a time also, as he passed from degree to degree,

[25] His work in this line and his success as an adviser of Prince Henry were of some note. His publications include, besides the reviews in Nicolai's *Allg. D. Bibliothek, Franz Home's Grundsätze des Ackerbaues und des Wachsthums der Pflanzen aus dem Englischen übersetzt und mit Anmerkungen begleitet* (Berlin, 1763, third edition, Berlin, 1782); *Unterricht zu einer auserlesenen ökonomischen Bibliothek bestehend in einer Anzeige der besten ökonomischen Bücher, und derer vornehmsten in grösseren Werken zerstreut befindlichen Abhandlungen über alle Theile der Landwirthschaft* (2 Theile, Berlin, 1764–1765); *Die Aufhebung der Gemeinheiten in der Mark Brandenburg nach ihren grossen Vortheilen ökonomisch betrachtet* (Berlin, 1766), etc. On Wöllner's reform programme, *cf. Märkische Forschungen,* XX. 252 ff.

[26] *Cf.* Gallinger, *Die Deutsche Publizistik und der Amerikanische Unabhängigkeitskrieg* (Leipzig dissertation, 1900), and on Schlözer and Schubart an article by the writer in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology,* VIII. 1–32.

he might hope that ultimately he would find the spring of mystical knowledge and world-philosophy, in the search for which Wöllner is a representative of certain elements in his day and generation.[27] But the way to knowledge and power was more directly opened to Wöllner by another society, the Rosicrucian Order (*Orden der Rosenkreuzer*).[28] The order of the Rosicrucians was one of the remarkable manifestations of religious and philosophic emptiness at the close of a century which had produced Cagliostro, Swedenborg, and Mesmer. Its purpose and general vacuity may be stated in the words of Wöllner: "To further powerfully the glory of the Almighty in a fallen world for the good of the human race and through the great knowledge and power given by divine mercy to the heads of the order alone."[29] Its actual accomplishments were proportioned to the sounding nothingness of Wöllner's definition of its aim. There were the usual conventions, collections of dues, lectures, and ceremonies of a purposeless secret society, supplemented by discussions of the transmutation of metals, chemical experiments, and secret cures for sickness. In all the activities[30] and foremost as a pamphleteer and orator of the order was Wöllner, a brother of the eighth degree, soon discontented because he was not admitted to the last and highest degree.

Whether or not Wöllner was ever admitted to the charmed circle of the ninth degree his biographers cannot say. The important thing is that his connection with the Rosicrucians had

[27] *Cf.* a remarkable letter of Wöllner's given by Bailleu in *Allg. D. Biographie,* XLIV. 151.

[28] There is no adequate general account of the Rosicrucians. Besides the pamphlet literature of the day and occasional paragraphs in such articles as those here referred to, on Wöllner, Bischoffswerder, and Frederick William II., see particularly Philippson, *Gesch. d. Preuss. Staatswesens,* I. 58 ff., and the bibliography there cited. On the Illuminati, an order similar to the Rosicrucians and often confused with it, *cf.* Dahlmann-Waitz, nos. 8272 and 8406. To the bibliography there given should be added L. Engels, *Gesch. d. Illuminatenordens* (Berlin, 1906), which deals with the Illuminati in Bavaria and purports to be written on the basis of thorough archival research; Ferdinand Katsch, *Die Entstehung und der wahre Endzweck der Freimaurerei auf Grund der Originalquellen dargestellt* (Berlin, 1897), pp. 690 ff. *Cf.* F. Kattenbusch's review of the latter work in *Hist. Zeit.,* 1899.

[29] *Allg. D. Biographie,* XLIV. 151. In 1782, Frederick II. wrote D'Alembert, "Have you heard that the Freemasons are founding a religious sect which is more senseless, and that is saying a good deal, than the other sects?" Quoted by Preuss in *Zeitschrift,* etc., *sup. cit.,* II. 586.

[30] He was soon head master over twenty-six circles. In 1782 he published a booklet called, *Die Pflichten der Gold- und Rosen-Creutzer alten Systems in Juniorats-Versammlungen abgehandelt von Chrysophiron.*

opened to him a career. On August 8, 1781, he helped to initiate Frederick William, Prince of Prussia, the heir to the throne.[31]

Frederick William II. is one of the mournful might-have-beens of history. Endowed though he was with many winning personal characteristics and a commanding physical presence, his education was in no way adequate to the burdens he now assumed. Of his youthful endowment of good character and high ideals there was left little more than the physical ability to form again and again oft-broken good resolutions and enough memory of moral values to realize how ill he kept them. A disintegrating character is fertile soil for the belief that extra-human powers and forces may give the strength and guidance that have failed from within. A morbid conscience, an ill-fed mind, and a weakened will coupled with a Hohenzollern conscientiousness and high opinion of his powers and responsibilities were the cranes of Ibycus that hovered over Frederick William II. and betrayed him into the hands of the mystics and mountebanks of Rosicrucianism.

From the day of his initiation into the society Ormesus (Frederick William II.), Heliconus (Wöllner), and Farferus (Bischoffswerder), for so they were designated in the jargon of the order, were united by bonds strong enough to convert three weak men into a real danger to the Prussian state in one of its most critical epochs.[32]

More definite and historically trustworthy, as a source of Wöllner's influence over the Prince of Prussia, than the mysteries of Rosicrucianism is his relation to Frederick William as instructor.[33] In 1783 Wöllner was appointed as lecturer on religious subjects to the Prince of Prussia. The prince was then almost forty years old, married for the second time after divorcing his first wife, and the father of an illegitimate child born the same year as his legitimate son, the later Frederick William III. This hopeful pupil and the scheming and dreaming tutor were not oppressed by the limitations of the field assigned for the lectures. Wöllner's lectures, which continued till Frederick William's accession to the throne three years later, ranged over the whole field of economic and social conditions

[31] The prince had joined the masons in 1772. Preuss in *Zeitschrift*, etc., II. 587.

[32] Other prominent members were Duke Frederick August of Brunswick. Prince Carl of Hesse, Duke Charles of Sudermanland, and Haugwitz, Minister of Foreign Affairs under Frederick William II. For reference to Prince Carl and Haugwitz in the order, *cf.* Ranke, *Sämmtliche Werke*, XLVII. 273–274.

[33] Wöllner had already made a favorable impression on the prince as the sort of man he needed to accomplish the work of combatting the tendencies of Frederick II.'s reign. *Cf.* Heigel, *Deutsche Geschichte*, I. 64.

in the Brandenburg-Prussia of that day. All that Wöllner knew in the field of agriculture, industry, forestry, finance, serfdom, and commerce, and it was a very respectable body of information, and all that he hoped for future reforms, which was limited only by the ambitions he cherished, are here summarized. "These lectures", says Bailleu in his discriminating biography, "regarded as a whole, constitute the severest contemporary criticism of the Frederickian system, and were at the same time a bold far-reaching revolutionary programme." [34]

"Reverently I lay at the feet of your royal majesty the most important of all my productions. It concerns religion." With these words Wöllner introduces and correctly characterizes the measures he proposes for the religious salvation of the Prussian state.[35] They are the most baleful and disastrous instructions ever poured into the ears of a Hohenzollern as he ascended the throne. The seventeen manuscript folios are divided into seven chapters headed respectively, (1) General Reflections on this Subject (Religion), (2) Toleration, (3) Decline of Religion in Prussia, (4) Decline of the Ministry in Prussia, (5) Royal Superior Consistory in Berlin, (6) Means by which Religion may be Restored to its Former Position in Prussia, (7) Auspicious Consequences of the Promotion of Religion on the Growth of the State.

With all the fervor of a religious revivalist he paints the blackness of the freethinking and irreligion for which he holds Frederick the Great chiefly responsible. Next after him he places the responsibility on Zedlitz,[36] his Minister of Worship, "a naturalist" and "denier of Christ", and on the Superior Consistory which falls so far short of the duties it should fulfil. He concludes his dark picture of the irreligion and immorality caused by the *Aufklärung* with a typical emotional appeal well calculated to affect such a religious hypocrite as Frederick William II.: "These then are the beautiful results of the *Aufklärung*! O, most gracious master, for God's sake, for the sake of your good people, be merciful in a coming time and give again to my poor Fatherland the pure religion of Jesus!" [37]

[34] He considers them, however, as being in essence nothing but superficial and mean-spirited attacks on the administrators and advisers of the passing king, lacking "moral earnestness and moral determination". For Wöllner's reform programme, *cf. Märkische Forschungen*, XX. 252 ff. For his ideas on the cabinet and the central administration, *cf.* H. Ulmann, *Die Kabineteregierung in Preussen und Johann Wilhelm Lombard* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 57–61 and appendix VII.

[35] Preuss in *Zeitschrift*, etc., II. 602–604.

[36] On Zedlitz, *cf.* Rethwisch, *Der Staatsminister Freiherr v. Zedlitz*, etc. (second edition, Berlin, 1886).

[37] Preuss, *sup. cit.*

The Wöllner dissertation on religion is not wanting in definite suggestions as to a programme and in gratuitous hints as to the kind of a minister to help carry it out. Irreligion and immorality, which have discouraged marriage and thus hindered population, are to be banished (1) by the example of the king—this to Frederick William who had been living in open adultery, (2) by the observance of Sunday—no army parades or similar breaches of the Sabbath, (3) by censorship of books, examination and supervision of pastors and priests by a minister of religion who is a real shepherd of souls (*Seelsorger*). There is to be toleration, of course, for the usual rhetorical trilogy of Jew, Turk, and heathen, but it is not to be the toleration which is weak enough to allow attacks on religion. Wöllner lays it down as fundamental that the individual may be allowed to think as he will, but this does not apply to the teacher or preacher, who is bound by his office to teach Jesus. When one considers the implications of the third plank in his platform, the inconsequential and unpolitical character of his thinking is apparent.

So much for the system. Now as for the man needed to direct it. Near the close of this lecture Wöllner describes him:

> Most gracious Master, this or a similar instruction [*i. e.*, to the Minister of Public Worship to watch preachers, prevent Deism, Socinianism, indifferentism, etc.] cannot have other than the best result if your Royal Highness yourself shall some day dictate it to a privy councillor [and thus] have the ministers of the gospel restrained. But the Minister [of Public Worship] must not be a scoffer at religion as is Zedlitz, but a sagacious man who has religion himself and is at the same time a thorough patriot, serving not his own private ends and convenience but making the good of all the single business of his soul. Such a man will lighten very much this part of your Majesty's burdens of government, because your Highness can safely rely upon him.[35]

This paragraph may with propriety be considered one of the most timely conscious lapses into autobiography ever inserted into a semi-public document.

Frederick II. died on August 16, 1786. The new reign in its first year clearly won the confidence and approval of the great mass of the people. The milder tone assumed, the softening of Frederick's harsh military, absolutistic rule, the inauguration of many needed reforms in army, education, finance, and administration seemed the harbingers of a new era, except to the few who were looking for the dominant idea in all these undertakings, which if seriously begun and thoroughly executed would be of tremendous

[35] Preuss in *Zeitschrift*, etc., II. 604.

significance to the future of Prussia. At the risk of leaving an incomplete view of the first two years of Frederick William II.'s reign, it is necessary to turn to one disquieting feature—the growing personal influence of the king's former associates in Rosicrucianism, especially of Wöllner.[39]

On October 2, the new king ennobled Wöllner, whose request for this honor Frederick had returned with the sarcastic words already quoted. Then he was made a member of the Royal Academy and a great mass of Frederick's papers and letters purchased by Frederick William from Frederick's secretary, to whom the late king had given them, were presented to Wöllner, who published a garbled and inaccurate selection from them. Offices of importance in the state for which he was in no way fitted were added to his honors. He was created a superior privy councillor of finance and made chief of the Building Department. More important than these positions were the duties which indicate his closeness to the throne and his opportunity for personal interference in all affairs of state and of exercising personal influence over the king. He was placed in full control of the Special Surplus which Frederick had kept in his sole charge, the old king using different men for various lines of expenditure but allowing no one of them to know the range of expenditures determined upon by the royal will. Wöllner in this position offered no resistance to the great increase made by Frederick William II. in the outlay for what would now be called the civil list, always a very moderate sum under the old king as it had been under his father, the first royal Frederick William.

Frederick William's weakness and love of leisure soon shrank from the daily struggle with things as they are and with the practical men who handle them ungloved. What was easier than the resort to a kitchen cabinet? It was not long before the reports of the most important administrative organ below the king, the General Directory, were presented through Wöllner. In this way Wöllner came easily to be the most influential personage in the internal affairs of the Prussian state. To attain this position and to rise even higher in official rank, he hesitated at no sort of subservience or

[39] Almost as important was the king's inclination toward Bischoffswerder, a former Saxon officer, who had initiated the king into the Rosicrucians. He was made adjutant-general and he and Wöllner worked together for their mutual advantage. Their position was strengthened by a more or less open alliance with the king's mistress, Madame Rietz (Countess Lichtenau), who was able to maintain her hold on the king until his death despite two successive morganatic marriages backed by court factions and consented to by the queen in the hope of breaking this connection.

solicitation on his own part, and, with Bischoffswerder as his co-adjutor, played upon the mysticism and superstition of the king. One hesitates to repeat as thoroughly credible the accounts of the private stage at the palace, the spiritualistic mummery performed there, the spirit of Caesar even being materialized for the benefit of this exalted Rosicrucian or more accurately for the benefit of Brothers Heliconus and Farferus, but when sober historians like Philippson and Heigel give space to such performances, they can hardly be passed over without mention.

Any attentive reader of the extracts given us by Preuss and Bailleu from the lectures on religion delivered by Wöllner to Frederick William can easily surmise what ministerial position would be his ultimate aim. Nor could one, on the basis of what has been said of his character, think that he would hesitate in offering himself as a candidate for a place in the ministry. Within two months after his pupil's accession to the throne he was asking for the office of Minister of Finance. But his most persistent efforts indicate that his real ambition was to obtain the office of Minister of Public Worship and Education. Here he had no hesitation in appealing to the bonds and brethren of the order of Rosicrucians. Writing to Bischoffswerder some time late in August or in September, 1786, Wöllner says:

> If Ormesus Magnus [Frederick William II.] is planning that I should put the Department of Religion in order and help revive the cause of religion in this country, a matter which our order would very much appreciate, nothing should stand in his way in confiding the said department to me as Minister, and I should be right diligent throughout my six remaining years of life in humbling the *Aufklärer*. Indeed the chiefs of our order would likely not be at all angry if Ormesus Magnus should distinguish in profane affairs their chief director. What can hinder Ormesus as king from making happy one to whom he gives his confidence? He is already beginning to raise me to noble rank and to create me a privy councillor of finance.[40]

So extraordinary is the spectacle suggested by this letter of the successor of the great Frederick being besought in the name of a mystic secret society to put into the hands of its chief director the very office which could most definitely be used to combat the views and principles for which Frederick stood—so extraordinary I say is the spectacle, that one may easily overlook the fact that it took almost two years before Wöllner with all the personal hold he had on the king, with all the influence of Rosicrucianism behind him,

[40] Philippson, I. 206.

reached the goal of his ambitions. Some influence in this delay may be attributed to the fact that Madame Rietz (the later Countess Lichtenau) was with difficulty holding her own as the king's favorite against two successive morganatic wives, and Madame Rietz was the friend of the Rosicrucian group.[41] The king was busy with pressing matters of internal and foreign policy. More effective possibly was his shrinking from the decisive step, which involved not only a complete break with his predecessor's policy but the ousting of some of the ablest representatives of Frederick's point of view.

Staunchest and ablest of the Frederickian representatives was Zedlitz, who for twenty years had ruled the Department of Religion and Education for Lutheran affairs[42] and represented what was

[41] I do not attribute as much influence to Mme. Rietz in this matter as does Philippson. The latter is in error (I. 206) in putting the death of Countess Ingersheim in 1788. She died in 1789 and the argument from the supposed coincidence of her death and Wöllner's rise, weak in any case, fails completely. *Cf.* Grünhagen in *Zeit. für Gesch. u. Altertum Schlesiens,* XXVII. 11, foot-note 2.

[42] The Department for Education and Religion was administered by two ministers of justice under the supervision of the Privy Council of State (Geheimer Staatsrat). It was divided into two sections or bureaus, each with its minister, the Lutheran which had charge of religious and educational affairs in both Lutheran and Catholic churches, and the department for the Calvinistic or Reformed church and its schools. Under each, in each province there was a double set of consistories, one for the Lutheran and Catholic schools and churches and another for the Reformed faith. These consistories, with the exceptions of those in Silesia and Gelders, reported through the two Superior Consistories in Berlin. It does not seem that there was as much supervision or interference with Catholic affairs as with those of the Protestant churches. *Cf.* Fr. Nicolai, *Beschreibung der königlichen Residenzstädte Berlin und Potsdam* (2 vols., Berlin, 1786), I. 323–328. Also the accounts in Rethwisch, *Der Staatsminister Freiherr v. Zedlitz und Preussens höheres Schulwesen* (Strassburg, 1886), pp. 1–2, and Mühler, *Gesch. der evangelischen Kirchenverfassung in der Mark Brandenburg* (Weimar, 1846), pp. 232 ff. The official character of the clergy of Brandenburg-Prussia should not be forgotten. They were not simply pastors of their flocks and teachers of the Christian religion. They were even in this latter function teachers of state religion or state religions, of creeds and doctrines with a political sanction whose guarantee was national law and international agreements. They were obliged by oath to teach these creeds. Special ministerial departments close to the sovereign had been instituted for their supervision and direction in this phase of their activity. They were in the service of the state as teachers and supervisors of schools, hospitals, and universities. They gathered and reported statistics of marriage and birth and death—things any state and especially a military state must know. They helped in the efforts of other officials to prevent the spread of disease and pests among men, beasts, and the fruits of the field. Much, too much, of their time was consumed in the making of reports to the non-religious departments of state who regarded them as they would any other official and sought to extend their functions and put new duties upon them. They entered on the other hand through their varied functions even more vitally than the tax-gatherer or recruiting sergeant or schoolmaster into the very life of the king's subjects. Their services at the altar of religion were in a sense part of

best and most liberal in Frederick's ideas on those subjects. Behind him was the able and independent group of men composing the Religious Consistory. Well might Frederick William II. shrink from entering the lists supported by Wöllner and Rosicrucianism, even though he had as Prince of Prussia determined to signalize his reign by a struggle with the *Aufklärung* and its clerical representatives. But the two years were not wholly lost though Wöllner had to curb his crusading zeal. Single measures gave full intimation to Zedlitz of his downfall. Appropriations for his department were cut to inadequate sums. Then Silesia, which though independent in so many administrative matters was still under the central government in those of education, was cut off from Zedlitz's control with words that are significant of future purpose. On July 26, 1787, the king wrote the Silesian president, Seidlitz,[43] who had appealed to him in the matter:

> I am wholly of your opinion that the fundamentals of Christianity must be impressed with special care upon the minds of the young, so that in their maturer years they may have a firm basis for their faith and may not be led into error and made to waver in their religion by the so-called *Aufklärer* that at present, alas, are so prevalent. To be sure, I dislike all oppression of conscience and would allow each his own convictions; but what I will never suffer, is that the religion of Jesus should be undermined, the Bible scorned, and the banner of disbelief, Deism, and naturalism openly flaunted in my domains.

A few months later Zedlitz was still further humiliated by the removal from his control of the Calvinistic gymnasia and schools.[44]

Through all these measures and utterances one is made aware of the steady advance of Wöllner. He had never ceased to work for himself and his ideas, by appeals direct and indirect to the king's interest in the cause of the religion of Jesus and his hope for the approval of the Rosicrucian order. In an extraordinary epistle written in April, 1788, direct to the king, he appeals to him to form

their service to the throne of the king. It was the pastors and priests who taught loyalty and rallied the masses in support of the monarchy. Their views and teachings could never be a matter of indifference to the head of the state. They were in their public activities and utterances the servants of a race of earthly kings who in the past had never hesitated to define to them their duties in things temporal and spiritual. To the papal church-state had succeeded in Protestant lands the state, which was a half-church without a pope. On the varying form of the oath taken by the clergy of Prussia in the eighteenth century, *cf.* Mühler, *Gesch. d. Evangel. Kirchenverfassung in d. Mark Brandenburg*, pp. 226 ff.

[43] *Cf.* Philippson, I. 199–200.

[44] *Ibid.*, I. 202.

with Brothers Farferus (Bischoffswerder) and Ocarus (probably Beyer) a "triumvirate" and devote an evening formally to the consideration of measures for defending the kingdom from irreligion along the lines laid down in that velvet-bound manuscript book on religion that he (Wöllner) had written for the king when the latter was crown prince.

> Your Majesty may certainly believe that such a conference held with the most upright purpose and in the spirit of the Order will not be without blessings, and the order will certainly consider it highly to the credit of its crowned O.[rmesus] M.[agnus] to have taken this step for the benefit of the good cause and in order to further the Religion of Jesus for so many thousand beings.[45]

The king did more than call a conference over the velvet-bound manuscript. He made its author Minister of Religion on July 3, 1788. On July 9, appeared the chief measure with which his name is associated, the Religious Edict.

GUY STANTON FORD.

[45] Philippson, I. 208–209.

THE INDIANS IN THE CIVIL WAR

No state in the Union was more prompt and vigorous in taking issue on the question of secession than were the larger and more civilized of those Indian tribes that had been removed, under Federal direction, from the east to the west of the Missisippi.

At the opening of the Civil War, these emigrants, victims of economic advancement and of the states'-rights doctrine, occupied extensive reservations immediately beyond Missouri and Arkansas and formed, collectively, a very considerable portion of the population of two superintendencies, the Central and the Southern. Within the Central Superintendency were practically all those that had come from the Free States, such tribes, for instance, to name them in the general order of their location, as the Sacs and Foxes of Missouri, who were in Nebraska, and in Kansas the Kickapoos, the Wyandots, the Munsees, or Christians, the Delawares, the Shawnees, the Sacs and Foxes of Mississippi, and a variety of small tribes that had come from the region of the old Northwest Territory.[1]

The southern line of the Central Superintendency ran north of the New York Indian Reservation. South of it was the Southern Superintendency, which consequently embraced southern Kansas as well as the whole of the old Indian Territory, or the present state of Oklahoma. The Indian emigrants within it were the New York Indian families, insignificant in number, the five great slaveholding tribes that had come from south of the Mason and Dixon line: *viz.*, the Cherokees, the Creeks, the Choctaws, the Chickasaws, and the Seminoles; also some remnants, as they were called, of Wichitas, Quapaws, Caddoes, Shawnees, and Senecas, together with certain Indian exiles from Texas. These last occupied the "Leased District", on the False Washita River, of the Choctaw and Chickasaw country.

On the very day, January 5, 1861, when the famous caucus of Southern senators adopted resolutions advising immediate seces-

[1] The confederated Weas, Peorias, Kaskaskias, and Piankeshaws, the Pottawatomies, the Ottawas, the Miamies, and Chippewas. Within the Central and Southern superintendencies were a number of indigenous tribes also, the more prominent, as far as the scope of this paper is concerned, being the Kaws of north-central Kansas, the Osages of southern Kansas, and some of the Indians of the Plains.

sion,[2] the Chickasaw legislature showed itself fully cognizant of the fact that a crisis had arrived in American national affairs by suggesting an intertribal conference to secure co-operative activity of some sort on the part of the Five Civilized Tribes should a political separation occur between the North and the South.[3] Cyrus Harris, the governor of the Chickasaw Nation, duly communicated this plan to the authorities of the other tribes but it drew forth a very unfavorable comment from John Ross, Principal Chief of the Cherokees, who felt that the quarrel between the states was no concern of the Indians. Other leading Indians seem to have been of a contrary opinion and the Creek chiefs, being invited to decide upon a date for the conference, named the seventeenth of February.

Meanwhile, the Choctaw Nation, in General Council assembled, took an even more pronounced action and committed itself unequivocally to the pro-slavery cause. This was done on February 7 by a series of resolutions of such a tenor that no one can doubt that motives of self-preservation inspired their passage.[4] Texas and Arkansas were so close to the Choctaw country that the Choctaws could not venture to ally themselves with the North or even to remain neutral. Moreover, as slaveholders, they firmly believed that their "natural affections, education, institutions, and interests" bound them "indissolubly . . . in every way to the destiny" of their "neighbors and brethren of the Southern States".

The work accomplished by the convention of February 17 can best be described by quoting the report of the Cherokee delegates to it, men who had been appointed by John Ross that they might use their influence on the side of discretion and moderation.

> The undersigned respectfully report to you that they attended the proposed Conference between the Creeks, Choctaws, Chicasaws, Seminoles, and Cherokees at the Creek Agency. Neither the Choctaws nor the Chickasaws were represented. The Creeks and Seminoles were. We were very kindly received by them and had a free and friendly interchange of opinions with them in regard to our present condition and duty in view of the pending difficulties in the United States. Our opinions were harmonious and the conclusion that we arrived at in view of our Treaty obligations, was simply to do nothing, to keep quiet and to comply with our Treaties. Mutual expressions of good feeling were given and whatever may be the exigencies of the future, if any should arise, we will be found acting in concert and having a common destiny. The course pursued was submitted to the Creek Council and was fully approved.[5]

[2] Nicolay and Hay's *Lincoln*, III. 180, note.

[3] Indian Office General Files, "Cherokee, 1859–1865", C. 515.

[4] *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, series I., I. 682.

[5] William P. Ross, Thomas Pegg, Lewis Downing, and John Spears to John Ross, dated Fort Gibson, March 15, 1861. General Files, "Cherokee, 1859–1865". C. 515.

While these events were in progress, the conduct of the Arkansas authorities, as viewed from the standpoint of loyalty to the Union, was most reprehensible. Months before the state passed its ordinance of secession, the governor, Henry M. Rector, and the man in charge of the Indian affairs of the Southern Superintendency, Elias Rector, both brought strong influences to bear upon John Ross to induce him to abandon his proposed policy of friendly inactivity; but all to no purpose.[6] John Ross was too shrewd a man to jeopardize the welfare of himself and his tribe by venturing prematurely upon a scheme so hazardous.

The very position of the Indian Territory, however, made a long continued neutrality absolutely impossible. At the outset of the war the country was in an almost defenseless condition. As early as March, 1858, Secretary Floyd had planned a general withdrawal of troops from the Indian frontier.[7] Although Thompson, the Secretary of the Interior, vigorously deprecated such action, it was in great measure persisted in. In May, 1860, several forts were completely abandoned and others weakened. Moreover, when hostilities finally broke out, the Union troops surrendered their position at the first approach of the Texans, leaving the bewildered tribes entirely at the mercy of the pro-Southern agents and Confederate emissaries.

Southern sympathizers among officials and ex-officials in the Indian Territory were very numerous. Foremost stood Douglas H. Cooper, the Choctaw and Chickasaw agent, an appointee of Buchanan. His untrustworthiness was notorious yet was well matched by that of men placed in office during the early days of Lincoln's administration. Some of these refused to give the Indians any assurrance of the continued interest of the United States government in their concerns. Others, like John Crawford, Cherokee agent, William Quesenbury, Creek agent, Samuel M. Rutherford, Seminole agent, and Matthew Leeper, Wichita agent, trusted that the inaccessible character of the Indian country would prevent a report of their doings from reaching Washington and worked openly for secession. Most of them were citizens of Arkansas.

The South seems from the first to have appreciated the importance of the Indian Territory as a possible storehouse for provisions, as a highway to and from Texas, and in some slight degree, no doubt, as a base for securing Colorado Territory and the new

[6] General Files, "Cherokee, 1859–1865", C. 515; *Official Records*, series I., XIII. 490–492, and I. 683; Moore, *Rebellion Record*, II., doc. 114.

[7] Indian Office General Files, "Miscellaneous, 1858–1863".

state of Kansas. Rumor represented Colorado as thoroughly indignant at the short-sightedness of the federal government in withdrawing its troops from the frontier and thus leaving her exposed to the merciless ferocity of the wild Indians of the Plains; and Kansas as controlled by poor, worthless, starving Abolitionists who were still dependent upon charitable donations from the Eastern states and who might be easily overcome by the pro-slavery element could an effective Confederate force be brought from the southward.

In consideration of some of these things, the Confederate government, May 13, 1861, appointed the brave Texan ranger, Benjamin McCulloch, brigadier-general of its Provisional Army, and assigned him to the command of the Indian Territory. Three regiments of white troops were ordered to report to him and, if they could be raised, two Indian regiments. McCulloch took charge of his command with the expectation of making its headquarters at some point in the Cherokee country,[8] which lay immediately south of Kansas, but John Ross objected and, on May 17, issued a proclamation of strict neutrality.[9] McCulloch, thereupon, retired to Fort Smith in western Arkansas and proceeded to muster his forces. On the same day that he had received his appointment, the Confederate Secretary of War, Leroy P. Walker, had instructed Douglas H. Cooper "to raise among the Choctaws and Chickasaws a mounted regiment to be commanded by" himself "in co-operation with General McCulloch"; and had signified that it was designed to raise two other similar regiments among the Creeks, Cherokees, Seminoles, and other friendly tribes. The duty of raising these additional regiments was entrusted to David Hubbard, the Confederate Superintendent of Indian Affairs.

At a considerable time before this, the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States had laid down the lines of a definite Indian policy. It had created a Bureau of Indian Affairs and had attached it to the War Department. It had, moreover, taken some steps towards opening up negotiations with the great tribes, but it was not until May 21 that it formally enacted a law providing for the assumption of a protectorate over them.

At this point a most interesting figure appeared upon the scene in the person of Albert Pike, a New Englander, who had emigrated to Arkansas and had settled at Little Rock. To-day, he is chiefly remembered for his prominence as a Mason and it was the Masonic Order that erected the statue to his memory in Washington; but, in his own day, he was known as a great friend of the Indians, his

[8] Snead, *The Fight for Missouri*, pp. 229–230.

[9] *Official Records*, series I., XIII. 489–490.

poetic sensibilities having been deeply stirred by a consciousness of the great injustice that had been done them ever since the first coming of the white man. As soon as war broke out between the states, he avowed himself an extreme secessionist and promptly volunteered his services to the Confederacy in effecting an Indian alliance. Admittedly he was the man best fitted, by reason of his known interest in the cause of Indian rights, to draw the great tribes of the Indian Territory away from their allegiance to the federal government. This the Confederacy recognized and forthwith regularly commissioned him to negotiate treaties of friendship and alliance,[10] without giving him, however, any definite instructions as to what the terms of the treaties should comprehend. Apparently the object was to gain the support of the Indians at all costs.

When Pike set out upon his mission in the latter part of May, 1861, he had great hopes of securing the Cherokees by taking advantage of a certain dissatisfaction that was slowly developing against the neutral policy of the Principal Chief. In this he failed. He then passed on to other tribes and met with considerable, and yet with no flattering, success. The Choctaws and the Chickasaws were the only Indians that, at this early time, went over to the South as nations and they, it will be remembered, had been the nations most ready for action in the beginning. Some of the tribes split into two factions, as for instance, the Comanches, the Seminoles, and the Creeks. Usually, when this was the case, the half-breeds constituted the disloyal faction and the full-blooded Indians the loyal. Sometimes only a single band, or perhaps two bands, in a tribe supported secession. Such, for example, was the case with the Tonkawas of the Wichita tribe and the Black Dogs of the Osage.

Of the more insignificant tribes of the Indian Territory, the remnants in the northeast, weak, unorganized, and influenced by their agent, Andrew J. Dorn, yielded to Pike without much persuasion. In individual cases they were most probably taken by surprise and intimidated. Among these detached bands, the Quapaws were the only ones that remained unqualifiedly loyal. The Caddoes from the interior country were loyal also, as, indeed, were most of the tribes north of the thirty-seventh parallel. Kansas seems to have been beyond the scope of Pike's operations; and its Indian inhabitants, when not indigenous, being emigrants from the Free States,

[10] President Davis had been authorized by resolution of the Provisional Congress of the Confederate States, March 14, 1861, to send a special agent to the Indian tribes west of Arkansas. See *Journal of the Confederate Congress*, I. 105.

were generally not familiar with or attached to the institution of slavery. They were in the Central Superintendency, of which it was reported that "with scarcely a single exception" the tribes "remained firm and true to the government", several of them furnishing a liberal quota of troops to its military forces. More than one-half of the adult male Delawares regularly enlisted as volunteers, and they were highly esteemed as soldiers by their officers.[11]

Meanwhile the Chickasaw legislature, with the sanction of the governor, Cyrus Harris, took definite action May 25, 1861, and declared outright for the Confederacy, at the same time urging all the neighboring nations to form a defensive and offensive alliance against "the Lincoln hordes and Kansas robbers". Their reasons were expressed in the following preamble to a series of resolutions:

> Whereas the Government of the United States has been broken up by the secession of a large number of States composing the Federal Union that the dissolution has been followed by war between the parties; and whereas the destruction of the Union as it existed by the Federal Constitution is irreparable, and consequently the Government of the United States as it was when the Chickasaw and other Indian nations formed alliances and treaties with it no longer exists; and whereas the Lincoln Government, pretending to represent said Union, has shown by its course towards us, in withdrawing from our country the protection of the Federal troops, and withholding, unjustly and unlawfully, our money placed in the hands of the Government of the United States as trustee, to be applied for our benefit, a total disregard of treaty obligations towards us; and whereas our geographical position, our social and domestic institutions, our feelings and sympathies, all attach us to our Southern friends, against whom is about to be waged a war of subjugation or extermination, of conquest and confiscation—a war which, if we can judge from the political partisans of the Lincoln Government, will surpass the French Revolution in scenes of blood and that of San Domingo in atrocious horrors; and whereas it is impossible that the Chickasaws, deprived of their money and destitute of all means of separate self-protection, can maintain neutrality or escape the storm which is about to burst upon the South, but, on the contrary, would be suspected, oppressed, and plundered alternately by armed bands from the North, South, East and West; and whereas we have an abiding confidence that all our rights—tribal and individual—secured to us under treaties with the United States, will be fully recognized, guaranteed, and protected by our friends of the Confederate States; and whereas as a Southern people we consider their cause our own: Therefore
>
> Be it resolved, etc.[12]

[11] *Report of Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1863, *House Ex. Docs.*, 38 Cong., 1 sess., vol. III., p. 149.

[12] *Official Records*, series I., III. 585–587.

In view of this stand and of that taken somewhat earlier by the Choctaws, it was not surprising that Colonel Cooper raised his Indian regiment with little difficulty. On June 14, George Hudson, Principal Chief of the Choctaws, issued a proclamation calling for seven hundred troops who were to serve as riflemen and for an additional force who were to serve as Home Guards. These latter were to be selected from men unfit for regular duty or exempted by reason of the age limit of forty-five years. Soon after the middle of July, McCulloch was able to report to Walker that the Choctaw and Chickasaw regiment was assembling at Scullyville in the extreme northeastern corner of the Choctaw country, about fifteen miles from Fort Smith, where he intended to keep it as a check upon the Cherokees. The latter were to be further checked by Arkansas on the east and McCulloch on the northeast, that is, on the Missouri line.

Although the Federal troops had been obliged to vacate the Indian Territory at an early day, Lieutenant-Colonel William H. Emory having been ordered April 17, 1861, to withdraw them all to Fort Leavenworth,[13] the United States government was soon urgently called upon to regain the lost position and to rally the loyal Indians. Senator Lane was the organizer of this movement. Meanwhile, Albert Pike was insisting upon a more aggressive attitude on the part of the South; for he rightly prophesied that "the enemy's government" would not permit the Indian country to belong to the Confederate States without a severe struggle. Writing on the eleventh of May, he said:

> I foresaw some time ago that the regular troops would be withdrawn, as too much needed elsewhere to be left there inactive, and that they would be replaced by volunteers, under men actuated by personal hatred of the South. I do not think that more than five or six thousand men will be sent there for a time but those, I am satisfied, will be there soon. To occupy the country with safety we ought to have at least an equal force, if we first occupy it, and shall need a much larger one if they establish themselves in it during an inaction. It will hardly be safe to count upon putting in the field more than 3,500 Indians; maybe we may get 5,000. To procure any, or at least any respectable number, we must guarantee them their lands, annuities, and other rights under treaties, furnish them arms, (rifles and revolvers, if the latter can be had), advance them some $25. a head in cash, and send a respectable force there, as evidence that they will be efficiently seconded by us.[14]

The result of all this was, that Pike, after completing the work of negotiating Indian treaties, which took him the months of June

[13] *Official Records*, series I., I. 667.

[14] *Ibid.*, III. 572 574.

and July, was made "commander of all the Indian troops in the Confederate service".[15]

Sympathy for the Confederate cause was meanwhile steadily growing among the Cherokees. On August 21 the nation, through its General Council, declared for secession. Agent Crawford took a prominent part in the meeting and, as was reported later by Special Agent E. H. Carruth, painted secession and the Confederate cause in the most glowing of colors. John Ross justified, upon grounds of good faith and expediency, his own previous policy of neutrality but declared that the time had now come for the Cherokees to take sides and that, as they were a slaveholding people, the more natural alliance would be with the South. Undoubtedly, the discretion exercised by General McCulloch and the respect he had shown for the Cherokee neutrality had great weight with Ross. McCulloch, it may be remarked, was not wholly in sympathy with the policy of enrolling Indians in the ranks and was firmly of the opinion that, even if enrolled, they should be kept within their own country. He feared that, were they allowed to become an invading army, they would run riot and bring the whole Confederate service into disgrace. The Indians themselves were averse to anything but home-guard duty and, in all their treaties with Pike, solemnly stipulated that under no circumstances should the Indian soldiers be taken beyond the limits of the Indian Territory.

On October 7, 1861, the Cherokee alliance was consummated by a treaty,[16] the last in the Confederate series and the most important. Its third article read thus:

> The Confederate States of America having accepted the said protectorate, hereby solemnly promise the said Cherokee Nation never to desert or abandon it, and that under no circumstances will they permit the Northern States, or any other enemy, to overcome them and sever the Cherokees from the Confederacy; but that they will, at any cost and all hazards, protect and defend them, and maintain unbroken the ties created by identity of interests and institutions, and strengthened and made perpetual by this treaty.

In general, the Confederacy found its strongest support among the half-breeds, who were naturally the more intelligent body in an Indian community and also, to its shame be it said, the more unprincipled. Very early in the summer of 1861, secret societies were formed devoted to the opposing interests. The half-breeds, or

[15] Presumably this statement should be held to mean that Pike was given command of the Indian Territory forces only. The Choctaws of Mississippi and the North Carolina Cherokees were certainly not under him.

[16] *Confederate Statutes at Large*, pp. 394–411.

secessionists, joined the "Knights of the Golden Circle"; the full-bloods, not to be outdone in effective mustering of forces, organized the society of the "Pins",[17] the significance of the name being found in the circumstance that the meetings were held among the hills, where the members tried to hide their real object by connecting serious business with bowling.

The Pins were most numerous among the Creeks, of whom, perhaps, two-thirds remained loyal to the United States government. At the head of this loyal faction was an old chief, Opothleyohola by name, who, not content with making empty protestations of loyalty, prepared, by force of arms, to maintain the integrity of the Indian Territory. Cooper, with his Choctaws and Chickasaws, was sent against him. The old chief managed to hold his own for a time, but finally Cooper's force, being reinforced by some Texas cavalry, a Creek regiment under Colonel D. N. McIntosh, and a Creek and Seminole battalion, to the number of fourteen hundred men, was able to push him beyond the Kansas line.

It was then the middle of winter and the weather bitterly cold. Women and children followed in the wake of the soldiers and all went as refugees northward. Throughout the winter of 1861–1862 the main body lingered in southern Kansas and suffered unspeakably. Their numbers were estimated at some six thousand, but accounts vary. Certain it is that the support of Indian refugees in Kansas became during the early years of the war a most burdensome tax upon the federal government. The situation of these unfortunates was always serious and their very hardships and necessities afforded to agents and politicians a rare opportunity for peculation.

Early in 1862, the Confederacy resolved upon making one grand attack upon the Union stronghold in Missouri; and Major-General Earl Van Dorn took command of both the volunteer troops under Sterling Price and the regulars, including Pike's Indians, under McCulloch. The outcome was the battle of Pea Ridge, or Elk Horn Tavern, as it seems to have been more commonly called at the time, April 6–8. There is a tradition that in this battle Indians fought on both sides and after their old-time custom—war-paint, feathers, arrows, and tomahawks. The tomahawks were certainly in evidence and did some gruesome work among the dead and wounded.

[17] In 1862, Colonel Weer reported the existence of a secret society of Union Cherokee Indians called "Ke-too-wah" with one Solman at its head and numbering two thousand warriors. *Official Records*, series I., XIII. 431.

The Confederate failure has been largely attributed to the lack of co-operation among the commanding generals; and it would seem from the documents that General Pike with the main body of the Indians rendered only a very second-rate service. In partial repudiation of this charge, however, Pike declared that Van Dorn had treated him and his Indians with great contempt and had given them no opportunity to do their best. A Cherokee contingent under Stand Watie and another under John Drew were most efficient, and the former from that time on figured prominently and energetically in the Confederate cause. After the battle, which had resulted in the death of the brave and bold McCulloch, the Confederate troops evacuated Missouri but persistently indulged the hope of regaining it. The volunteers, for the most part, went eastward, while the regulars stationed themselves in western Arkansas and the Cherokee country.

By this time Senator J. H. Lane's plans were fully matured. He had gone to Washington and had there so ably represented the cause of Kansas and of the Indian refugees that he was given such authority to better it as was outlined in the following letter from Adjutant-General Thomas to General Hunter, January 24, 1862:

> By direction of the General-in-Chief I have respectfully to inform you that Brig. Gen. J. H. Lane, U. S. Volunteers, has urged upon the President and Secretary of War an expedition to be conducted by him from Fort Leavenworth against the regions west of Missouri and Kansas [Arkansas]. The outlines of this plan were stated by him to be in accordance with your own views. The following force with supplies therefore, has been ordered to Kansas to operate under General Lane: Seven regiments cavalry, three batteries artillery, four regiments infantry, and he has been authorized also to raise about 8,000 to 10,000 Kansas troops and to organize 4,000 Indians.[18]

A controversy at once arose between Generals Hunter and Lane with respect to the superior position of the former. Evidently Lane had used Hunter's name as a means of securing support with the administration yet intended to act in defiance of explicit directions and form an independent command. His expedition fell into great disrepute and was often referred to in disparaging terms, such as "the Jayhawking Expedition" and "the Indian Expedition". Concerning it, Lincoln wrote on the thirty-first of January:

> It is my wish that the expedition commonly called the "Lane Expedition" shall be as much as has been promised at the Adjutant-General's office under the supervision of General McClellan *and not any more*. I have not intended and do not now intend that it shall

[18] *Official Records*, series I., VIII. 525.

be a *great, exhausting affair*, but a snug, sober column of 10,000 or 15,000. General Lane has been told by me many times that he is under the command of General Hunter, and assented to it as often as told. It was the distinct agreement between him and me when I appointed him that he was to be under Hunter.[19]

The Indians themselves wanted Lane to superintend the expedition. When a rumor came that he was to be displaced, Opothleyohola personally interceded for him and assured Lincoln that the Indians could have confidence in no one else. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs, William P. Dole, accompanied Lane westward and assisted him in gathering together his Indian troops.

The ostensible object of this Lane expedition was "to open the way for the friendly Indians who were then refugees in Kansas to return to their homes and to protect them there". These refugees had come to number many thousands and included about six hundred and seventy-two Seminoles in camp near Neosho, about three hundred Chickasaws and Choctaws at the Sac and Fox reservation near Council Grove and over three thousand Creeks at the same place, besides a miscellaneous horde of Creeks, Cherokees, Shawnees, Senecas, and Quapaws along the southern border of the state. All these, as has been already intimated, entailed great expense upon the federal government and yet were in a deplorable condition all the time, there being no effective way by which their sufferings and privations could be permanently relieved.

After the battle of Pea Ridge, General Pike's Indians lingered for some time in Arkansas; but, when General T. C. Hindman assumed command of the troops that had formerly served under McCulloch, they were gradually drawn back into the Cherokee country. Then began what was eventually to be a serious trouble between Hindman and Pike, resulting in the resignation of the latter. The main point at issue was the employment of the Indians outside of the limits of the Indian Territory, Pike rightly contending that their treaties protected them against such service. The situation in Arkansas was, however, becoming serious and General Curtis, the victor at Pea Ridge, was steadily advancing southward. After much time wasted in useless argument, Hindman yielded to the obstinacy of Pike and met the emergency of the moment by directing "the enrollment and organization into companies and regiments of all men in Arkansas subject to conscription",[20] also by accepting such of the old Missouri State Guard as were available and desirous of

[19] *Official Records*, series I., VIII. 538.
[20] Hindman's report. *Ibid.*, XIII. 31.

continued service in the Confederate cause. By these means the danger was in a sense averted but the relations between Pike and Hindman became daily more and more strained.

In the latter part of June, 1862, alarming intelligence reached Hindman that Lane's expedition was moving from Fort Scott and that its advance guard had crossed the Cherokee line. To meet this force, five thousand strong, Hindman had only Stand Watie's regiment of Cherokee half-breeds, Drew's regiment of full-bloods, and a battalion of Missourians. This small band encountered the Kansas force at a place called Locust Grove, about thirty miles north of Tahlequah, and was defeated. More than that, virtually Colonel Drew's whole regiment deserted to the enemy. At about the same time the Pin Indians among the Cherokees rose in rebellion, committed some horrid excesses, and compelled Ross again to declare neutrality. It was reported that he was strung up several times before he would consent. This exhibition of obstinacy came to be regarded as a mere feint on his part, however, for he shortly afterwards went over entirely to the Federal lines and carried with him the Cherokee money and valuable papers.[21]

In the emergency just detailed, Hindman had again summoned Pike to his assistance, ordering him to move to or near Fort Gibson. Pike at first ignored the order and, when he did start to obey it, moved with such slowness, that Hindman in great irritation repeated it. Pike, irritated in his turn, resigned. His subsequent conduct indicated the source of dissatisfaction. On July 31 he issued a declaration to the Cherokees, Creeks, Seminoles, Chickasaws, and Choctaws, in which he represented that their cause had been betrayed by the Confederacy, that they themselves had, in violation of their treaties, been taken out of their country and forced to serve beyond its boundaries yet without their due measure of credit, that they had been despised and criticized by the white troops, that they had been kept in Arkansas while their own country was being exposed to a merciless horde of jayhawkers, and that they were summoned or rather allowed to go to its defense only when the enemy's force had reached such proportions that their own unaided strength was inadequate to withstand it, yet no appreciable number of white troops had been sent to their assistance.[22] There was a measure of truth in all this, but publicity was the worst thing possible since it produced utter demoralization among the Indians and exposed the Confederate weakness to the Federal army. Realizing this, Colonel

[21] Hindman's report. *Official Records*, series I., XIII. 40.

[22] Declaration of July 31, 1862. *Ibid.*, XIII. 869–871.

Cooper, next in command, felt it incumbent upon him to put Pike under arrest. Henceforth Cooper, a man far more self-seeking than Albert Pike, figured as the leader of the rebel Indians.

The jayhawkers referred to in the foregoing paragraph were, of course, in large part, the members of Lane's expedition, which had come to include three Indian regiments, severally commanded by Furnas, Corwin, and Phillips. It might eventually have comprised five regiments had not the arrangements, begun late in this very year of 1862, proved abortive.[23] The advance guard of the expedition was led by Colonel William Weer, who had been ordered by General James G. Blunt, the general commanding, to concentrate his forces in the Cherokee country. Trouble soon arose between Weer and one of his subordinates, a certain Colonel Frederick Salomon, who was in immediate command of the white troops of the expedition. Apparently the white troops were disgusted at the mere thought of being associated with Indians, were out of all sympathy with the objects of the expedition, and in no mood to submit to the necessary hardships. Finally they mutinied, giving as specific reasons for their conduct, the personal character of Weer, his inactivity, and his foolhardiness in cutting off communication with his base of supplies. Salomon placed Weer under arrest[24] and with the white troops made a retrograde movement.

Meanwhile Colonel Furnas took charge of the Indian regiments and moved on to the Verdigris River. There the First Indian Regiment became uncontrollable and a large part of the Second deserted. Order was restored as soon as Prior Creek was reached, where good water and passably good forage were found. Colonel Furnas's duty was to hold the line of the Arkansas River; and, in August, Salomon was ordered to reinforce him. Throughout the remainder of the summer and the early autumn, various engagements occurred between Cooper's Confederate forces intrenched in the Creek country and Blunt's Federal forces, operating from the Arkansas River as a base. The latter were uniformly successful. As a consequence, the Indians became much discouraged and soon found cause for great dissatisfaction with Cooper. By November, 1862, they were reported as having deserted in large numbers. The independent command of Stand Watie met with more favorable conditions and joined itself to Quantrill's guerrillas. At about the same time dissatisfaction grew rife among the loyal Osages, they complaining, and with good cause, that they were ill supplied with arms and had received no pay.

[23] *Senate Reports*, no. 359, 41 Cong., 3 sess.
[24] *Official Records*, series I., XIII. 484.

In the late autumn of 1862, General Hindman projected a plan whereby the decision rendered by the battle of Pea Ridge might possibly be reversed and the Confederacy might again get possession of Missouri. The result was the battle of Prairie Grove, near Fayetteville, Arkansas, which took place December 4, 1862. At its close Hindman retreated into the fastnesses of the mountains and Missouri was for the second time saved to the Union. The failure of the South had a disastrous effect upon the Indian alliance. Colonel William A. Phillips of the Lane Expedition, or Indian Home Guard, was detailed to pursue Cooper and Stand Watie across the Arkansas River and, in doing so, he thoroughly routed them. After this the rebel Creeks under McIntosh prepared to lay down their arms and to return to their allegiance. The Choctaws were of much the same mind.

Furthermore, the resources of the Indian country having been depleted, it was found advisable by the Confederate authorities to resort to a general system of furloughs as touching those Indians that continued loyal to the Confederate fortunes. The Indians objected to this strenuously; for they realized that they had forfeited their annuities from the federal government and had lost their personal possessions. They were afraid to go home, and refused to leave the army. Under these circumstances General Steele, who took command at Fort Smith early in 1863, ordered Cooper southward. Stand Watie's contingent remained as part of the regular force which Steele was planning to use for the dislodgment of Lane's army from northwestern Arkansas and the Indian country. The defeat was but one more item to be added to the long list of Confederate failures in the West.

The federal government perceived the turn of affairs and seized the opportunity to come to an understanding with repentant Indians. Soon after the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect, Commissioner Dole, who was still in Kansas, negotiated a treaty with the Creeks which embodied its principles.[25] The action proved premature and the treaty was never sanctioned by the tribe at large. Moreover, it aroused Cooper and his Indian forces to new efforts, and they were ordered northward against Blunt. Between the middle of June and the latter part of August, occurred several engagements, such as those of Greenleaf Prairie, Elk Creek, Perryville, and Devil's Backbone, in all of which the Federals were victorious, so that Schofield, the general in command, could report in September that "All Arkansas and the Indian Country west of it are

[25] Indian Office Land Files, "Unratified Treaties".

virtually in our possession."[26] This was not precisely true, for Quantrill and Stand Watie were yet able to do some most effective guerrilla work, but the organized opposition of the South in that region had been completely broken and events rapidly terminated in the making of overtures of peace by the Indians.

As early as February, 1863, the Cherokees, in a special session of their National Council at Cowskin Prairie and in the absence of John Ross, who had gone east to consult with the Washington authorities, formally abrogated the treaty that they had made with the Confederacy. "They also passed an act depriving of office in the nation, and disqualifying all who continued disloyal to the Government of the United States; and also an act abolishing slavery."[27]

The action of the Cherokees was not immediately imitated by other tribes; but the ill success of the Confederates previously noted led speedily in that direction. In March, 1864, the Choctaws held a convention at New Hope and prepared to profit by President Lincoln's recent amnesty proclamation. They appointed a provisional governor, Thomas Edwards, and sent E. P. Perkins as a delegate to Washington. As soon as news of this reached Colonel Phillips at Fort Gibson, he forwarded a protest[28] declaring that the Choctaw Nation was still *de facto* rebel and begging that no terms be made with it until the Federal position were secure. He said, furthermore, that the federal government had now a good opportunity to reduce the great Indian domains to mere reserves and to open the surplus land to settlement. It was an opportunity, he argued, that the nation could not afford to lose.[29]

Perkins, in the meantime, went on to Washington and there endeavored[30] to shift all blame for the Choctaw defection upon the

[26] *Official Records*, series I., vol. XXII., part 1., p. 470.

[27] John Ross to Dole, dated Philadelphia, April 2, 1863. Indian Office General Files, "Cherokee, 1859–1865"; Moore, *Rebellion Record*, VI. 50.

[28] Indian Office Land Files, "Choctaw, 1846–1873", box 38.

[29] Indian Office General Files, "Choctaw, 1859–1866", P. 154.

[30] "I have the honor to present the following facts for the consideration of your Department. At the outbreak of this rebellion the Nation which I have the honor to represent misled by the council of Douglas H. Cooper then the Agent of the Nation and overawed by the Rebel troops surrounding us were swept into the vortex of the present rebellion. The same causes which forced the U. S. Government to withdraw its protection from our border forced us to take the position, which for the past three years we have occupied. Early in the present year a conference of the leading men of our Nation was called at Dookville, but from the proximity of the Rebel forces were unable to take any steps which might reassure the Government of our loyal intentions. Convinced that no convention of Union Citizens could be held in the Southern Dist. a number of us

shoulders of Cooper, where undoubtedly a very large share of it deserved to rest. The government had good evidence of this but wisely refused to take any action whatever until it could certainly be said that the Indians had returned to their allegiance. There was, however, practically no more fighting, in which the Indians in any organized way participated; and in September, 1865, representatives of the several nations met commissioners of the United States at Fort Smith and there concluded a provisional treaty of peace and amity.

The effect of the war upon the great tribes had been most disastrous. It was the opinion of Secretary Usher, a few years later, that nowhere could it possibly have been more desolating and demoralizing. The Indians lost ground financially, socially, and morally that it had taken them half a century to gain; and, for years and years, it was a sad picture of charred dwellings, broken fences, unstocked homesteads, and woe-begone people that presented itself to the white squatters who thronged into the Indian Territory during the Reconstruction Period. Many of these invaders were under the impression that the Indians had forfeited all their rights under treaties by their advocacy of secession, and they were themselves resolved to lose no time in profiting by the circumstance. The government, indeed, proved a little less exacting than its citizens had anticipated, yet it subjected the Indian Territory to reconstruction measures, different from but no less severe than those with which it afflicted the South. Thus, whether or not the Indians were to blame for their participation in a quarrel which in a sense did not concern them, they paid very dearly for their interference.

ANNIE HELOISE ABEL.

summoned a convention at Skullyville twenty miles from Fort Smith. The result of that convention I have the honor to submit herewith.

"I am fully convinced that our Nation are anxious to prove to the Government their loyalty by such a course of conduct as shall meet with your entire approbation.

"We desire to reestablish the form of Government formerly existing among us, which in its character is strictly representative.

"Trusting that Gov't as formed will be recognized by the United States and that the Nation may again be restored to its former happy relations with your Government, I have the honor to remain", etc.

Perkins to Dole, April, 1864. Indian Office General Files, "Choctaw, 1859–1866", P. 166.

DOCUMENTS

Papers relating to Bourbon County, Georgia, 1785–1786, II.

THE documents pertaining to Bourbon County which were printed in the last number of this journal presented the principal phases of the affair to the coming of Francisco Bouligny to take command of the post of Natchez as the successor of Felipe Treviño. Thomas Green, without waiting for any of his colleagues, had plunged precipitately into the negotiations and had only troubled the waters. William Davenport, coming after him, apparently had tried in his awkward way to calm them but had stilled them not at all and had even stirred up some agitations of his own. On the arrival of Bouligny the negotiations were taken up anew but came to a pause after a few days awaiting the coming of the other commissioners, Nicholas Long and Nathaniel Christmas. No better evidence could be offered that the scheme was less than half-baked, even raw, than the fact that the agents of Georgia (who had probably had themselves appointed) failed in so large a measure to act concertedly. Davenport had criticized Green for endeavoring to accomplish the coup by his own unaided might,[1] yet he himself does not seem to have remembered his associates until he found himself face to face with failure.

When Long and Christmas arrived in Natchez, about the end of August, negotiations were once more resumed and resulted in Bouligny's sending to Miró the credentials of the commissioners, together with their correspondence setting forth the object of their mission. Miró's reply (September 7) reached the commissioners about five weeks later. While maintaining firmly Spain's right to the territory about Natchez and protesting against the action of the state of Georgia in assuming to erect a county in the king's dominions, this reply was nevertheless rather cautiously worded and moderate in its demands. Miró was waiting to hear from the Conde de Galvez. Early in November he received from the viceroy a vigorous letter (September 22), which moved him to send at once (November 10) to the agents of Georgia a peremptory order to quit Natchez, giving them fifteen days in which to pack their

[1] See his letter to Governor Elbert, July 17, printed in the October number of this journal, p. 105, *supra*.

baggage and one month additional in which to be entirely outside of the territory. Whether they needed or used so much time does not appear.

Meanwhile, the ship *Galveztown,* bearing despatches[2] from the viceroy of Mexico to Gardoqui, the *encargado de negocios* of Spain to the United States, reached New York late in September.[3] On September 23 Gardoqui addressed a note to Jay on the Bourbon County affair, and on September 26 Jay brought the matter to the attention of Congress. On October 13 Congress passed resolutions strongly disapproving the course which the state of Georgia had pursued, and these resolutions were transmitted to Gardoqui by Jay on October 14.[4] On October 17 Gardoqui wrote to Floridablanca[5] mentioning the action of Congress and on the 21st transmitted the correspondence. Similar letters were written to the Conde de Galvez and to Governor Zespedes[6] at St. Augustine. On November 21 Gardoqui again wrote to Floridablanca and mentioned further evidences of the attitude of Congress.[7]

The correspondence between the Spanish officials with reference to the affair at Natchez continued until late in the spring of 1786, but the later letters of the correspondence are chiefly acknowledg-

[2] See the letter of the Conde de Galvez to Gardoqui, July 24, 1785, printed in the October number of this journal, p. 100, *supra.*

[3] Gardoqui to Floridablanca, September 24 (Archivo General Central, Ministro de Estado, legajo 3886; transcript in the library of Hon. Reuben T. Durrett, Louisville, Gardoqui Papers, VI. 82).

[4] *Dip. Corr. of U. S. A., 1783–1789,* III. 181–184; *Secret Journals for Foreign Affairs,* III. 591–593.

[5] A memorandum respecting the Georgia claim, prepared from the letters of Miró, had already (September 30) been transmitted to Floridablanca by the minister of the Indies, Josef de Galvez (Archivo General Central, Ministro de Estado, leg. 3886; transcript in the library of Hon. Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, Gardoqui Papers, VI. 39–43).

[6] Zespedes on receipt of Gardoqui's letter of October 17 wrote to Josef de Galvez (January 3, 1786): "La buena fee del Congreso será induvitable; pero consivo que no tiene las necesarias facultades para obligar á ningun Estado á la execucion de sus resoluciones, y es constante que la unanimidad de todos sus Miembros no puede sin la concurrencia de la administracion legislativa del Estado de Georgia revocar, mudar, ni aun debilitar el acto de Asamblea que pasó aquel Estado en 7 de Febrero del año proximo expirado . . . erigiendo un Condado nuevo sobre el Rio Misisipi, comprehensivo del territorio de Natchez." The original of this letter is in Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional; a draft is in the Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XLII., C 4, as is also a draft of practically the same letter to the Conde de Galvez.

[7] The letters of Gardoqui to Floridablanca are in Alcalá, Arch. Gen. Cen., Min. de Estado, leg. 3886; transcripts in the library of Colonel Durrett, Gardoqui Papers, VI. 83, 85, 93 (copy of letter, October 21, to the Conde de Galvez), 112, 128. A copy of the letter of October 17 to Zespedes is in Arch. Gen. Cen., Min. de Estado, leg. 3891, transcript in Gardoqui Papers, III. 336.

ments of communications with brief comments.[8] With the departure of the commissioners from Natchez on receipt of Miró's letter of November 10 the Bourbon County case was essentially closed. At all events the state of Georgia appears to have let the matter rest, pending the adjustment of the boundary question by the governments of Spain and the United States, an adjustment which dragged along until the treaty of 1795. Meanwhile, in the act of 1788 by which the state of Georgia ceded her western territory to the United States, the Bourbon County Act was repealed.[9] That the agitation in or concerning Natchez did not, however, cease altogether with this failure of Green and Davenport and their co-laborers is evidenced by the two letters of Davenport and that of Green which are last printed in this series. Other plots[10] there were for wrenching the district of Natchez from the Spaniard, but for the most part the Bourbon County ferment becomes merged in the larger, more far-reaching agitation for the free navigation of the Mississippi.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

XXXI. FRANCISCO BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, JULY 24, 1785.[11]

Muy Señor mio:

Despues de mi llegada ayer á este fuerte he conferenciado con el Teniente Coronel Graduado y anterior Comandante de este Fuerte y Distrito Don Felipe Treviño sobre varios asuntos particularmente sobre M^r. Duvemport comisionado por los Estados de Georgia para fijar los limites de separacion con nosotros en cuya calidad se ha presentado

[8] Such letters are the following: Floridablanca to Josef de Galvez, December 21, 1785 (Arch. Gen. Cen., Min de Estado, leg. 3891; transcript in the library of Colonel Durrett, Gardoqui Papers, III.); Miró to the Conde de Galvez, December 25 (*ibid.*); Gardoqui to Miró, December 25 (*ibid.*); Josef de Galvez to the Conde de Galvez, December 29 (Mexico, Arch. Gen. y Púb., Reales Cédulas y Órdenes, 1785, tomo 132); the Conde de Galvez to Josef de Galvez, January 2, 1786 (Arch. Gen. Cen., Min. de Estado, leg. 3891; transcript in Durrett library, Gardoqui Papers, III.); Zespedes to Josef de Galvez, and to the Conde de Galvez, January 3, 1786 (Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XLII., C 4, and Madrid, Arch. Hist. Nac.); the Conde de Galvez to Miró, January 26 (Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc de la Isla de Cuba); the Conde de Galvez to Zespedes, March 18 (Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XXXIX., M 3); Josef de Galvez to Zespedes, April 15 (*ibid.*); O'Neill to Gardoqui, April 19 (Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba); the Conde de Galvez to Josef de Galvez, April 26 (Mexico, Arch. Gen. y Púb., Real. Céd. y Órd., 1785, tomo 132).

[9] Manuscript volume, Acts of the General Assembly of Georgia, 1786–1789; printed in Watkins, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, pp. 370–371.

[10] See, for instance, *Dip. Corr. of U. S. A., 1783–1789*, III. 233–251; *cf.* foot-note 209, *post*.

[11] Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. Of the letters of Bouligny to Miró this is number 1.

aqui sin otros antecedentes ni Documentos que unos papeles por los quales parece esta autorizado por dichos Estados á hacer esta operacion de acuerdo con los otros tres sujetos de que esta V.S. noticioso.

Ygualmente me ha informado que la conducta de este sujeto desde su llegada aqui es muy sospechosa que ademas de lo que tiene dado á V.S. parte con fecha de 11 del corriente[12] continua siempre en comportarse de un modo irregular y nada decoroso al caracter con que pretende estar revestido entregandose con bastante frequencia á la bevida y susitando conversaciones sediciosas que procura paliar declarandola el mismo al Ayudante de este fuerte sin duda para que por su conducto lleguen al conocimiento del que aqui mande y no le causen despues armonia quando llegue á saberla por otro conducto, Juicio que el mismo Don Felipe Treviño ha hecho y que me parece muy fundado.

Tambien me ha participado que desde las ultimas cartas que ha escrito á V.S. sobre este particular el citado Duvemport ha hecho conversacion en publico delante del Ayudante de este fuerte Don Estevan Minor diciendo de un modo resuelto que este distrito pertenecia sin la menor duda á los Estados Unidos de America y que de un modo ó otro lo poseerian en breve, de cuyas conversaciones in[s]truido el citado Don Felipe Treviño encargó al sobre dicho Ayudante procurase ligar amistad con Duvemport para hacerlo hablar como en efecto lo ha hecho dandole á comer y sobre mesa supo de el que no venian tropas por ahora pero que estavan prontas á venir á la primera demanda noticia que no se puede dudar (sea ó no cierta) habra comunicado igualmente á otros muchos habitantes.

He sabido igualmente del mismo que dos dias antes de mi arribo llegaron á este puesto por tierra los nombrados el Capitan Call[13] y el Doctor West[14] conducidos por unos de los tratantes que estan en la nacion Chicachas llamado Tomas Love (sujeto de buen concepto) quienes luego que llegaron aqui se presentaron al sobre dicho Duvemport y por medio de este supo Don Felipe Treviño que los citados Call y West venian aqui embiados desde los Cactas por los otros dos compañeros de Duvemport que venian por tierra llamados el mayor Long y el nombrado Crismes y se havian detenido en los Chactas para saber en que estado estava este Distrito y tener noticias de Duvemport y de si lo havian ó no arrestado aqui con cuyas noticias devian ellos animarse á venir ó detenerse ally con orden de despacharles inmediatamente el sobre dicho Tomas Love para llevarles esta noticia como en efecto se verificó saliendo el citado Love al dia subsequente con el conocimiento de Don Felipe Treviño y su pasaporte.

Estos dos sujetos Call, y West no se han presentado aun haviendo ofrecido Duvemport que los presentaria al dia siguiente se hallan alojados á saber Call en casa de Juan Bournet[15] y West en casa de Guillermo Henderzon[15] desde la llegada de estos dos sujetos se ha esparcido en el distrito que los citados Long y Crismes tienen consigo

[12] This letter of Treviño to Miró appears in the first installment of this material, printed in the October number of this journal, p. 101, *supra*.

[13] Richard Call, surveyor-general of Georgia.

[14] Not Cato West. The latter was a resident of Natchez at the time of the Bourbon County Act but took no part in these negotiations.

[15] John Burnet and William Henderson both lived in the Bayou Santa Catalina (St. Catherine's Creek) section of the Natchez district. Burnet was afterwards a member of the first territorial legislature.

por valor de tres mil pesos de Mercadurias finas de trato para regalar á los Chicachas y atraerlos al partido Americano. Estas noticias se hallan confirmadas por lo que ha referido á Don Felipe Treviño Carlos Royeux alias La Font de nacion Frances que hace seis dias que llego de la nacion Chicacha quien ha referido: Que á su llegada á la dicha Nacion hace como tres meses encontró la noticia que los Americanos devian venir á tomar posesion de este puesto (lo que de ningun modo creian los salvages) pero los infinitos vagos Americanos y Europeos que se hallan en aquella Nacion se lo aseguraron positivamente: Que pasado algun tiempo de su permanencia en dicha Nacion y habra como un mes vio llegar ocho Americanos dos de ellos que parecian gente distinguida y que traian consigo varios efectos: Que oyo decir alli que estos Americanos solicitaron á los Chicachas para tomar partido por ellos en la expedicion que debian hacer para posesionárse de este Distrito pero que los Chicachas les havian respondido que no tomarian partido ninguno y que estavan en animo de mantenerse neutros y finalmente ha dicho que seis dias antes de partir de dicha Nacion llegó un Chicacha que venia de la Ribera Cheraquis[16] dando la noticia que havia ally mas de tres cientos hombres empleados á trabajar á toda fuerza en la fabrica de Chalanes Batoes y Barcos de todas especies con el objeto de conducir mil hombres de tropas Artilleria y municiones de Guerra. De resultas de todas estas noticias y para verificarlas en parte despachó Don Felipe Treviño un sujeto de toda su confianza llamado Estevan Hayward[17] Realista y habitante de este distrito para que fuese á enterarse de lo que pasava en dicha Ribera haviendole encargado la mayor prontitud y confia que con la posible brevedad estará de regreso providencia que yo he celebrado y le he pedido me indique uno ó dos sujetos á este tenor para poderles embiar á la Ribera Cumberlan[18] y Kintucky donde esta la mayor fuerza de la Poblacion Americana y no pueden menos de saberse estas noticias cuya reunion aumentara mi certidumbre á estos observadores que me propongo despachar immediatamente que Don Felipe Treviño me indique sujetos de confianza y adequados, añadire lo que V.S. me encarga en su instruccion[19] para asegurarme por quantos medios me sean posibles del numero de tropas Artilleria municiones y calidad de los Batoes ó Chalanes con que pretenden bajar pues yo en vista de todas estas noticias ya no puedo ni devo dudar que real y efectivamente se estan preparando para bajar y apoyar con las armas la demanda y posesion que pretenden y se figuran les corresponden de derecho de todo el territorio Septentrional de este Rio comprehendido hasta los 31 grados y de la Navegacion del Rio.

Don Estevan Minor acaba de decirme que haviendose hallado en conversacion con M^r. Duvemport sobre la construccion de los Batoes en la Ribera Cheraquis le dijo este que esas noticias eran falsas pues que los Batoes y Chalanes ya havia dias que estavan construidos, tambien le dijo Duvemport que siempre y quando no le dieren posecion

[16] The Tennessee River. The term as used in these documents generally refers to the settlement in Eastern Tennessee, often spoken of as the Holston settlement. Persons who came from the southeast to the lower Mississippi usually made their way to the Long Island of the Holston and there built rafts or flatboats on which they floated down the river.

[17] See Bouligny's letter to Miró, August 28, *post*, p. 326.

[18] The settlement on the Cumberland River in the region of Nashville.

[19] Doubtless given before Bouligny left New Orleans.

de este fuerte y distrito en el termino de dos meses despues de su llegada tenia ordenes para establecer y ejercer en el Distrito la Justicia en nombre de los Estados de la Georgia.

Este es el resumen de las noticias que Don Felipe Treviño y Don Estevan Minor me han comunicado y havida atencion á ellas y á los antecedentes y circunstancias de este pais me parece seria muy preciso y combeniente hacer bajar á esa al citado Duvemport con buen modo si fuese posible punto que reflexionaré interin llega el Bato en cuyo intermedio quisas recibire ordenes de V.S. sobre el particular lo que celebraria infinito por no verme en la prescision de obrar por mi mismo y tomar un partido fuerte dado caso que el se me opusiere. Don Felipe Treviño me dice que ya ha hablado con el citado Duvemport sobre este punto y que la respuesta de este fue que no tendria dificultad en bajar á la Nueva Orleans siempre y quando se le asegurase que no se le haria mal trato proposicion que yo adoptaré si me la hace (pues hasta ahora aun no lo he visto) dandole condicionalmente la seguridad que pide bajo el supuesto de ser cierta la comicion que trae seguridad que á mi modo de entender no le liberta. de los cargos que por su conducta desde que ha llegado merece se le hagan dado caso que V.S. lo halle despues por combeniente esta proposicion de Duvemport me da motivo á pensar que algo deve quien tanto teme y es prueva muy cierta de los cargos que su misma consiencia le hace.

Pareceme combeniente añadir aunque me persuado que V.S. no lo ignora que para ir de aqui á la Ribera Cheraquis por tierra un hombre escotero acostumbrado á estos viages nesescita á lo menos 20 dias y que tenga la fortuna de superar muchos malos pasos varios pantanos y Bayues y todos los demas inconvenientes y hasares que es preciso correr para atravesar un pais vasto montuoso lleno de Bosques de Brosa y Maleza razon por la que se puede temer que se retarden ó no lleguen las noticias, corriendo tambien el riesgo de la fidelidad del sujeto que se comicione pues es dificil en este Distrito encontrar un hombre adequado para esos viajes cuya conducta no deje sombras de recelo, ademas estos hombres escotivos que van y buelven tranquilizaran por 15 ó 20 dias al cabo de los quales renaceran otra vez los rumores y las dudas en cuya atencion me parece salvo el dictamen de V.S. que seria combeniente embiar un oficial aproposito y disfrasado con sinco ó seis Soldados de toda su confianza que hiciese su recidencia en la misma Ribera Cheraquis y á medida que se ofreciese alguna novedad de co[n]sequencia despachar uno de los Soldados si este pensamiento merece la aprobacion de V.S. me parece que el Subteniente Don Diego Blanco lo desempeñaria por estar reputado por hombre muy esperto en el Bosque, ó otro sujeto á este tenor que V.S. halle por combeniente. Las dificultades que ofrece ese viaje no dá motibo á recelar aqui que tropas formales vengan á atacarnos por ese camino, mayormente teniendo la comodidad de poder formar su expedicion en la misma Ribera Cheraquis y dejandose venir con la corriente presentarse aqui á los 15 ó 20 dias de su salida sin padecer la menor fatiga ni incomodidad. De la Ribera Cheraquis es muy facil saber lo que se pasa en la Ribera Cumberla en la *Chute*[20] y en Rintoches[21] todos Establecimientos que tienen sobre el oyo y los ultimos particularmente donde esta la mayor fuerza de la Poblacion.

[20] The Falls of the Ohio (Louisville).

[21] Rintoches is evidently an error for Kintoches (Kentucky).

Dios nuestro Señor guarde á V.S. los muchos años que deseo. fuerte Panmure de Natchez 24 de Julio de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y Subdito,

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

XXXII. WILLIAM DAVENPORT TO FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.[22]

BELHAVEN[23] 25th[24] July 1785

Sir

The Hon^ble^ house of Assembly of the State of Georgia have thought it expedient to form a County upon the Easteren side of the river Mississippi within their Charter Boundaries, which is called and known by the name of Bourbon. Bounded as follows: Beginning at the mouth of the Yazous where it empties itsilfe into the Mississippi, thence by a line to be drawn along the middle of the said river Mississippi untill it shall intersect the northermost part of the thirtifirst degree of North Latitude, South by a line to be drawn due East from the determination of the line last mentioned in the Latitude of thirtyone degrees North of the Equator as far as the lands reach which in that district have been at any time relinquished by the Indians, thence along the line of the said relinquishment to the said river Yazous, thence down the said river to the beginning—I have the honor to be one of those Gentlemen who are appointed to lay out the said county into districts, and proceed to publick business therein.

But finding your Excellency in possession of this Country obliges me to inform you that the General Assembly of Georgia from a desire to Organize the several parts of the State, and to form and Arange a system calculated for the free and happy administration of affairs, have thought it advisible to lay out the before mentioned County, so that the People settled there in, may by electing representatives to meet their fellow Cittizens in an Assembly participate in the Government.

I have the Honor to subscribe myselfe

Y^r^. Most Ob^t^. and very hum^e^ servant

W^m^. DAVENPORT.

D^n^. Francis Bouleny Com^dt^.
Civil and Military
Natchez

[22] In the Archives of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State, bundle marked "Foreign Affairs, 1785". The letter is marked on the back: "No. 1. A true copy". All the letters of the Georgia commissioners to the Spanish officials, which are found in the archives of Georgia, are copies which the commissioners sent with their reports to the governor. A Spanish translation of this letter is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

[23] Belhaven appears to have been the residence of Richard Harrison, which was in the Bayou Santa Catalina district. See the address on Bouligny's letters to Davenport, *post*, pp. 305, 311.

[24] Davenport's copy is so dated, and the original of Bouligny's reply (*post*, p. 305) refers to it as "su carta can fecha de ayer". The Spanish translation, however, is dated July 26, and the copy of Bouligny's reply says: "su carta con fecha de oy".

XXXIII. Bouligny to Miró, July 25, 1785.[25]

Muy Señor mio:

Oy se me ha presentado M^r^. Duvemport á quien he recibido con mucha urbanidad y atencion y habiendo entrado en materia le he preguntado por que no bajava á la Nueva Orleans á presentarse á V.S me ha respondido que solo traia comicion para fijar los limites en los 31 Grados pero no para bajar mas abajo que su encargo solo le dava facultades hasta los 31 Grados y que fuera de esa distancia no era nada ni tenia facultad ninguna. Le he preguntado que como podia tener comicion para fijar los limites por si solo sin conferenciar con los dueños de los paices Limitrofes que no devia ignorar que aun entre particulares nunca se fijavan limites sin que las dos partes contiguas é interezadas asistieren y que siendo el Gobernador de esta Provincia la principal y sola persona á quien corresponde tratar un punto de esta concequencia me parece era devido se fuese á presentar á el y muy natural que los Estados de la Georgia huviesen dado aviso de esta Miscion al sobre dicho Señor Governador me ha respondido que solo trae la comicion de pedir se le permita fijar los Limites y si se le niega de dar aviso ó bolverse y nada sobre lo restante de la pregunta en vista de esta respuesta y de otras muchas que me ha dado destituidas de razon y fundamento. Le he dicho que asunto de esta consequencia era mejor y se devian tratar por oficios formales en lo que ha quedado acorde y me ha dicho que mañana empezara. Este metodo me ha parecido mas seguro para hacer notorio ó la falsedad con que este hombre obra ó la injusticia de la Mision que la Provincia de la Georgia ha puesto á su cuidado y como estoy moralmente seguro que se deslizara en sus oficios recaera tanto mejor la violencia con que tengo animo de embiarlo á V.S. dado caso que se niegue á bajar voluntariamente, pareciendome que por ahora este metodo es preferible al de hacerle cargos sobre la conducta de que tengo dado parte á V.S. con fecha de ayer tanto mas que Don Estevan Minor me ha pedido no me dé por entendido de nada de lo que por su conducto hemos sabido por que no entre en desconfianza dado caso que sea esta y no la intencion de que se sepa la razon por la que se ha abierto con el con tanta franquesa. Lo he tratado despues con mucha politica lo he combidado á comer le he concedido que salgan á pasearse los sugetos que bajaron con el y que Don Felipe Treviño tenia arrestados en el Fuerte con la condicion que me devia responder de ellos y presentarmelos cada dos ó tres dias[26] haviendo uno solo llamado Juan Woods por hechos anteriores muy audases y atrevidos que ha confesado y ratificado delante de mi y de que daré á V.S. parte en oficio separado.[27]

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años que deseo. Fuerte de Panmure de Natchez 25 de Julio de 1785

B.L.M de V.S. su mas seguro atento Servidor y Subdito,

Francisco Bouligny.

S^or^. Don Estevan Miró.

[25] Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. This is Bouligny's letter no. 4 to Miró.

[26] See Treviño to Miró, July 4 (p. 98, *supra*); and Davenport to Elbert, July 17 (p. 105, *supra*), and July 26 (*post*, p. 305).

[27] Probably Bouligny's letter no. 3 to Miró, which is missing.

XXXIV. Bouligny to Davenport, July 26, 1785.[28]

Muy Señor mio:

Como el caracter de comisario que el Estado de la Georgia dice vm le ha dado para fixar y determinar los Limites que deven separar las posesciones de S. M. C. con las de los Estados unidos de America no ha sido reconosido aun por el S^or^. D^n^. Estevan Miró coronel de los Reales Exercitos y Governador General de esta Provincia a quien solo y privativamente corresponde este conocimiento, devo decir a vm que no entraré en contextacion ninguna sobre los puntos de que vm me trata en su carta con fecha de ayer; Deseando scaber de vm solamente las razones por las quales se detiene vm a qui tanto tiempo sin manifestar ninguna solicitud para que se verifique el presisso e indispensable requisito de presentarse vm personalmente con los Documentos que lo autorisen (qualesquiera que sean) al sobre dicho principal Gefe sin cuyas ordenes ninguno de los subditos y dependientes que se hallan en esta Provincia baxo su mando puede reconocer el caracter con que vm pretende estar revestido ni conferenciar con vm sobre puntos de esta naturaleza, particularmente aquellos que por una gracia particular de la clemencia de S. M. hazen su recidencia en esta Distrito de Natchez conquistado y poseido por las Gloriosas Armas de nuestro inclito y catolico Monarca al conocimiento del Mundo entero.

Dios Guarde a vm muchos anos. fuerte de Panmure de Natchez 26 de Julio de 1785.

B L M de vm su mas Seguro Servidor

Fran^co^. Bouligny.

S^or^. D^n^. Guillermo Davenport.

[Addressed:]

a D^n^. Guillermo Davenport residente en la habitacion de d^n^. ricardo harrisson en el distrito de Natchez

XXXV. William Davenport to Samuel Elbert.[29]

Near Fort Panmure 26^th^ July 1785

Sir

Since my letter of the 17^th^ Lieutenant Gov^r^. Bouleny has arrived and taken the command, to whom I immediately made application for the liberty of the Men confined, which was granted without hesitation, upon my becoming security for their behaviour during their stay in this Country, requesting me to immediately acquaint him of my business in this District. I answered him he should be informed by letter in the morning, and have enclosed you a true copy of my Letters and his Originals.

M^r^ Guillard and Banks two of the Gent^n^ mentioned as Majestrates in the Bourbon Bill declare they will not be subject to the Laws of

[28] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, bundle marked "Foreign Affairs, 1785". The letter is marked on the wrapper "N°. 1". A copy is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. The original is accompanied by a crude translation made in Bouligny's office. In his letter to Miró, July 30 (*post*, p. 308), Bouligny says that he always sends translations of his letters, though unsigned, otherwise Davenport would be unable to reply to them.

[29] Archives of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785".

Georgia; and assembled the Inhabitants to sign a petition to send to Congress, praying that this country should be formed into a seperate State.[80]

It being contrary to the Spanish Laws, that the Inhabitants should be assembled, but by their authority. The Governor has taken the before mentioned Guillard, Banks, and Richard[81] Ellis sen^r., who are confined in the Fort, their destiny yet unknown.

I have the Honor to subscribe myselfe

Y^r. M^o. Obt. Sev^t.

W. Davenport.

S. Elbert Esq^r.

[Addressed:]

The Hon^ble. Samuel Elbert

Cap^t. Gen^l. Governor and Commander in Chief in and over the State

Georgia

XXXVI. Davenport to Bouligny.[82]

Belhaven 28^th July 1785

Sir

Yours of yesterday[83] informs me you will not enter into any Contestations[84] respecting the business which brought me hither, wishing only to know the reason which detained me so long in this country, from waiting on his Excellency D^n. Stephen Miro Colonel of the Armies and Governor General of this Province.

I should have done myselfe the Honour to have waited on his Excellency had he been within the limits to which my Instructions confine me. But on my arrival at this place, finding Lieu^t. Col. Treveno Commandand at Fort Panmure I imediately waited on him, inform'd him of my business; and produced my authority. Since your Honor has arrived and took the Command, I have Informed you by letter of my business and the limits of my instructions.

Had the honorable Legeslature of Georgia known that his most Catholick Majesty had a claim to this part of the Territory, which was granted them by the definitive treaty between the United States of America and his Britanick Majesty I make no doubt but that they would have addrest themselves to his Excellency D^n. Stephen Miro. I wish to take the earliest opportunity of informing his Excellency Samuel Elbert Governer Cap^t. General and commander in chief in and over the state of Georgia, that his Most Catholick Majesty claims this as part of his Teritories, and make no doubt but our instructions

[80] See document number VIII., p. 77, and foot-note 142, *supra*, p. 103.

[81] "John" originally; "Richard" inserted by another hand.

[82] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". It is marked on the back "N°. 2 A true copy". A Spanish translation, inclosed in letter of Bouligny to Miró, July 30 (*post*, p. 308), is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

[83] Bouligny's letter of July 26, *ante*, p. 305.

[84] Davenport gets the word from Bouligny's translation.

will be lengthened to that Channell you mentioned this business must go through

I have the Honor to subscribe myselfe

Y^r. Most Ob^t. and very Hble Ser^t.

W^m. Davenport.

D^n. Francis Bouleny Com^dt
Civil and Military
Natchez

XXXVII. Bouligny to Davenport, July 29, 1785.[35]

Mui Señor mio:

Los rumores que se han esparcido en este Distrito desde la llegada de Vm. há inducido á algunos de sus moradores en cavilaciones que pueden ocacionarles mucho daño y perjuicio, deseando yo por mi parte evitarles en lo venidero estos males dimanados quizas de las combersaciones sucitadas por Vm, hallo preciso é indispensable que Vm. continue su viage para presentarse en la Nueva Orleans al Gefe Principal de esta Provincia, en quien encontrara Vm. seguramente la buena acogida que el caracter con que Vm. dice estar revestido merece, y que yo por mi parte no puedo reconocer por las razones que tengo á Vm. expuestas.

Devo tambien decir á Vm. que nuestras Leyes no nos permiten dar acogida á ningun Estrangero sin una orden expresa del Gefe que

[35] Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. It is inclosed in letter (no. 9) of Bouligny to Miró, July 30, *post*, p. 308. This is Bouligny's letter no. 2 to Davenport and is marked: "Copia. Mi respuesta á la 2^a. Carta". The original has disappeared but Bouligny's translation is in the Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". It reads as follows:

"The troubles that has spread themselves in this district since your arrival here have induced some of the inhabitants in a sort of cabal wich may probably be of a great detriment to them. Wishing for my part as much as lay in my power to spare them for the future those troubles that ase perhaps arise [have perhaps arisen] from your conversations, I find absolutaly necessary you should pursue your voyage to new orleans and Wait on the principal chief of this province in wich you will find certainly such reception as is due to the caracter that you pretend to be invested of, and wich for my part I cannot acknowledge for the reasons I have already mentioned to you I must tell you also that our Laws does not permit to admit any foreigners without one express ordre from the chief that command in and ower this command and wich command does not only extend here, but great deal further.

"D^n. William Guardoqy sent by his catolique Majesty to the united State of america as agent started from havana in the Later end of april to go to philadelphia where very likely he has determin'd the limits that bounds the possessions of his Cat^qué. Majestys and those of the united States of america therefore we may believe that you shall receive from his Excellency D^n. Samuel Elbert Cap^ne. General and Commander in Chief in and over the state of Georgia orders relatives to it as this government receive theirs from his Excellency Count of Galvez viceroy of Mexico and Captain general of this province, and untill then it is more proper that you should be in Orleans than here, where you will enjoy greater satisfaction and this district more quietness."

It should be borne in mind that these translations were the letters which the Georgia commissioners actually read. See foot-note 28, *ante*.

Govierna la Provincia, y que el mando de este se estiende no solo á este, sino tambien á otros muchos mas remotos Districtos. Don Diego Gardoqui[36] embiado por S.M. á cerca de los Estados Unidos de America, salio de la Havana á fines de Abril para Filadelfia donde es regular haya arreglado con el Congreso los limites que deven separar las poseciones de S.M. Catolica, y las de los Estados Unidos de America, en cuya consequencia es natural que Vm. reciva las correspondientes ordenes de su Excelencia Don Samuel Elbert, Capitan General, y Comandante en Gefe del estado de la Georgia, como este Govierno las recivira sin duda Exmo. Señor Conde de Galvez, Virrey de Nueva España, y Capitan General de esta Provincia, en cuyo intermedio es mas natural que Vm. haga su mansion á la Nueva Orleans que no aqui, con lo que logrará Vm. mas satisfacciones, y este Districto mas tranquilidad.

Dios guarde á Vm. muchos años. Fuerte Panmur de Natchez. 29 de Junio[37] de 1785. B.L.M. de Vm. su mas seguro servidor,

Francisco Bouligny.

S^{or}. Don Guilermo Davemport.

XXXVIII. Bouligny to Miró, July 30, 1785.[38]

Mui Señor mio:

Adjunto incluyo á V.S. la traducion de la segunda carta[39] que he resivido de M^{r}. Dabamport, y mi repuesta[40] al confidente y Secretario de dicho Dabamport, es uno que vino con el nombrado M^{r}. Smit, este sujeto me ha informado Don Felipe Treviño que se ha comportado bien desde su llegada aqui, es hombre de un aspecto formal y que denota tener juicio y prudencia. Maisner me acaba de decir que quando fue á llebar mi ultima respuesta á Davemport no haviendole encontrado en casa la dio al citado Smit, haciendole ver á este la copia simple de la traducion que siempre le he embiado de mis cartas aun que no firmada, por que sin este requisito no pudieran contestarla.[41] Dicho Smit la ha leydo manifestando aprovaba su contenido, y disiendole á Maisner que ya havia dicho á Davemport, que su conducta no hera regular, ni seria aqui sufrida.

Por lo que me han dicho varios, juzgo que la razon Principal de la oposicion que Davemport, hace ha bajar es por que no tiene un quarto, y no quisiera ir á hacer ver á la Nueva Orleans sû miseria parece que desde mi llegada en vista de las fuerzas que he traido, y las que saven aqui deven subir juntamente con la prision hecha de Gaillard, Ellis, y

[36] Gardoqui had arrived in Philadelphia on May 20 and had been received by Congress in New York on July 2. See *supra*, p. 79, foot-note 56. Rumors of the trouble at Natchez evidently reached him shortly afterward (see *supra*, p. 111, foot-note 177). On June 15 William Grayson, a member of Congress from Virginia, wrote (probably to William Short): "Georgia has laid off a county on the Mississippi called Bourbon and settlers are gathering fast above the Natches." The letter is in the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Dreer Collection.

[37] This is an error for Julio.

[38] Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. This is no. 9.

[39] Davenport to Bouligny, July 28, *ante*, p. 306.

[40] Bouligny to Davenport, July 29, *ante*, p. 307.

[41] See foot-notes 28 and 35.

Soton Bankes,[42] ha infundido un cierto temor respectuoso que contiene á los mas desafectos de modo que ya no llega á mis oydos el menor rumor al tenor de los pasados, confiando que antes que salga de aqui el Doctor Fara,[43] dare á V.S. las mas detalladas noticias de quanto pasa en el Distrito, y de lo que ha ocurrido en las riberas del oyo al paso de Duvemport por ellas, pues entre los sujetos que han venido con Davamport, ay uno llamado Francisco Brezina[44] hombre ya mayor que ha hecho su mancion muchos años con el Doctor Fara, en la America, y que no ha venido aqui con otra mira que de hallar acojida en casa del citado Fara, á quien mira como su bien hechor y Padre, y con quien devo creer no tendrá secreto ninguno que no le releve.

Aunque no me queda duda que el Doctor Fara es Americano por nacimiento, é inclinacion, el Juicio y prudencia que ha manifestado desde que ha llegado á este Pais me dan mucho motibo á tener en el confianza, y que es incapaz de comprometerse en cabilaciones como las que han circulado en este districto, pues desa prueba altamente la micion de Dabemport y de sus compañeros, diciendo que es una marcha muy irregular la que ha tomado la Georgia, y que solo á los Estados Unidos pertenece hacer esa reclamacion, y eso con la corte de España, y por ningun motivo aqui.

Me alegrare que mi modo de pensar y obrar merescan la aprobacion de V.S. de quien esperaria seguramente las Ordenes para todo si las circunstancias de las cosas y los asuntos perentorios que se ofresen no me pusiesen en la presisa necesidad de obrar por mi mismo, teniendo por mira principal el espiritu de las ordenes de V.S. y por regla de todas mis acciones mi celo por el Real Servicio, y el honor que me govierna. Si en algo me equivoco confio lo disculpará V.S. me hara la Justicia de mirarlo mas como yerros de mi entendimiento que como faltas en que tenga la menos parte la voluntad.

El Doctor Fara, despacho su Piragua á la Punta Cortada[45] para que suban algunas proviciones para Don Jacinto Gaillard y su familia, que el hijo de este ha traido consigo y tiene en casa del citado Fara, en lo que me ha parecido no havia incombeniente; le he entregado este paquete que contiene el n°. 8 y 9[46] para que lo haga entregar al Comandante de la punta cortada á fin que este lo dirija á V. S. con primera ocacion.

Dios guarde á V.S. los muchos años que deseo. Fuerte Parmure de Natchez 30 de Julio de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento y seguro servidor y Subdito,

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

[42] The arrest probably took place on July 26. Bouligny does not mention it in his letter of July 25 to Miró, but Davenport does speak of it in his letter to Governor Elbert, July 26. See also *supra*, p. 95, foot-note 109, and *post*, p. 322.

[43] Benjamin Farrar, one of the justices named in the Bourbon County Act. See further Bouligny's letter to Miró, August 4, *post*, p. 319.

[44] For a further account of Brezino, see *ibid*.

[45] Farrar's residence was at Pointe Coupée. Compare Bouligny to Miró, August 4, *post*, p. 319, and Miró to the Conde de Galvez, August 14, *post*, p. 323.

[46] No. 9 is evidently this letter. No. 8 was probably Bouligny's report of the trials of Ellis, Gaillard, and Banks. See the letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, August 14, *post*, p. 323.

XXXIX. DAVENPORT TO BOULIGNY.[47]

BROCAS'S[48] 30th July 1785

Sir

Yours of yesterday[49] informs me that troubles have spread themselves in this district, since my arrival which has induced some of the Inhabitants in a sort of a Cabal. Upon my arrival here I found the people in great confusion by the imprudence of Mr. Greens not addressing himselfe propperly to the commandant, but to the people, and Mr. Guillards collecting the Inhabitants in order to oppose the measures taken by the Legislature of Georgia and that this might become a separate State.

I was called on by a number of People for my oppinion I justify myselfe by saying my advice to them was to repare to their plantations and attend to their crops, that the Business was to go through another channel not them, this I will refer to any Gentleman who ever heard me speake upon the occation.[50] Your letter says, you find it absolutely necessary I should proceed to Orleans. My Instructions possitively order me to remain in these premises untill I receive further orders. But if your honor pleases I wish to have a personal conferance with you to morrow on that Subject.[51]

I have the honor to Subscribe myselfe

Yr. Most Obedt. Servt.

WM. DAVENPORT.

Dn. Francis Bouleny Comdt.
Civil and Military
Natcheez

XL. BOULIGNY TO DAVENPORT, JULY 30, 1785.[52]

Muy Señor mio:

Hallandome yo obligado á dar quenta á mis Superiores, no solo de todas las demandas y solicitudes que Vm. haga, sino tambien de todos los pasos y diligencias que practique, se hace indispensable que todas sus solicitudes seán por oficios formales, que sirvan de documentos Justificativos no solo de las demandas de Vm. sino tambien de mis respuestas, por lo que espero no hallará Vm. á mal que continuemos un metodo que es ventajoso a entrambos para dar quenta de nuestra conducta a nuestros respectibos Gefes.

Devo no obstante repetir a Vm. que las instrucciones sobre que se apoya para hacer su mancion aqui, no pueden, ni deven tener efecto, hasta que el Gefe de esta Provincia reconosca; y dé el correspondiente

[47] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". It is marked "N°. 3 a true copy". A Spanish translation is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

[48] The house of William Brocas. It was in the same section of the Natchez district in which Richard Harrison lived, the Bayou Santa Catalina.

[49] *Ante*, p. 307. See also foot-note 35.

[50] Compare the statement of Minor, p. 100, *supra*.

[51] See *post*, pp. 311, 312.

[52] The original (marked on wrapper "N°. 3") and the translation which accompanied it are in the Archives of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". A copy is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

pase a los titulos que lo autorizan, sin cuyo preciso requisito, ni yo puedo dar ascenso á dichos documentos, ni permitir mas largo tiempo su permanencia en este distrito, estrañando la oposicion que Vm. manifiesta á un paso tan regular y devido, mayormente con la seguridad que doy a Vm. que hallará en dho Gefe el mas distinguido acojim^to^. no haviendo motibo para dudar de ello en vista de la distincion y particular amistad de que nuestro Soberano ha dado á las Provincias particulares de America, y á los Estados Unidos que las representan las mas notorias y autenticas pruebas.

Por lo que respecta á venirme á ver personalmente,[53] puede Vm. executarlo quando guste, seguro que en ello recivire siempre particular complacencia.

Dios Gu̅e̅ a Vm. m^s^. a^s^. Fuerte Parmure[54] de Natchez, 30 de Julio de 1785.

B L M de Vm su mas Seguro Servidor

FRAN^co^. BOULIGNY.

S^or^. D^n^. Guillermo Davenport

[Addressed:]

A D^n^. Guillermo Davenport en la Havitacion de D^n^. Ricardo Harison
Natchez

XLI. DAVENPORT TO BOULIGNY.[55]

BELHAVEN 31^st^ July 1785

Sir:

As Nicholas Long and Nathaniel Christmas Esq^re^ who are appointed to act jointly with me in this business will certainly be here in the course of this week,[56] and as it is necessary that those Gentlemen should wait upon his Excellency as well as me will deem it a favour that this matter may rest untill their arrival, as I am answerable to my superior for my conduct.

It was by no means my wish that the mode or method of carrying on business by letter should be abolished only on small matters not worth committing to paper was the reason of my desire of a Conference.[57]

[53] Compare Davenport's letter, *ante*, p. 310, and his reply which follows.

[54] In some of Bouligny's earlier letters the name of the fort is plainly written "Parmure".

[55] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". It is marked "N°. 4 A true copy".

[56] Compare Bouligny's statement with reference to Captain Call and Dr. West (letter of July 24), *ante*, p. 300. Long and Christmas did not, in fact, arrive until about a month from this time. See their letter of August 29, *post*, p. 329, and Bouligny's letter of August 28, *post*, p. 326.

[57] See Davenport's letter to Bouligny, July 30, and Bouligny's reply of same date, *ante*, pp. 310–311. Bouligny's translation of the passage in his letter of July 30 is as follows: "It is abosolutely Necessary that all your Pretentions should be by Officious letters, that may serve of tittles Justifications, not only of your demands, but also of my Answers, for which I flatter myself you will not take it Amiss, that we should continue a method which is convenient and proper to both, to give and Account of our Conduct to our Chief respectives." Davenport may have hoped to "influence" Bouligny.

I have the Honor to subscribe myselfe
Y^r. Most Ob^t. Ser^t.

W^m. Davenport.

D^n. Francis Bouleny Com^dt.
Civil and Military
Natchez

XLII. Bouligny to Davenport, July 31, 1785.[58]

Mui Señor mio:

Adhiero gustoso á la proposicion que Vm. me hace de bajar a presentarse al Gefe de esta Provincia luego que lluegen D^n. Nicolas Long y D^n. Natanial Christmas, compañeros de Vm. que deven estar aqui esta semana, pudiendo Vm. en el interin subcistir en este Distrito, meresiendo á Vm. solamente de no conferenciar ni tractar de los asumptos que está Vm. encargado con ningun individuo de aqui, pues estos asumptos deven antes todo ser presentados al Gefe principal y no á otro.

Dios Gũe á Vm. m^s. a^s. Fuerte Parmure de Natchez 31 de Julio de 1785.

B L M de vm Su mas Seg^o. Servidor

Fran^co. Bouligny.

S^or. D^n. Guillermo Dabenport
[Addressed:]
A d^n. Guillermo Davenport en la habitacion de d^n. ricardo harrison
Natchez

XLIII. The Conde de Galvez to Miró, August 2, 1785.[59]

El 16 del proximo pasado Julio llegó á esta Cap^l el Teniente de ese Regimiento fixo Dn. Vicente Folch y me entrego las dos cartas de V.S. de 14 y 20 de Junio ultimo num^os 198 y 199.[60]

Por ellas y p^r los Documentos que las acompañan me hé instruido de las nuebas ocurrencias de esa Colonia; de las pretencion^s. con que se há presentado Tomas Green al Comand^te del Fuerte de Natchéz por parte del Estado de Georgia; de la conducta que ha manifestado con este motivo Dn. Tacito Gaillard y algunos otros y de quantas disposiciones y provid^as há dictado V.S. en obvio de las fatales resultas q^e justam^te pudieran temerse de estas novedades, si con efecto pasasen adelante.

Apruebo desde luego todo lo que V.S. ha practicado en esta parte, como proprio de su prudencia, talento militar y zelo p^r. el Rl. serv^o; y paso á manifestar á V.S. mi resolucion en ord^n á los auxilios que me pide.

Habiendo conbinado la critica situacion en que V.S. se hallá con los inconvenientes que ofrece el envio de Socorros en la actualidad á esa

[58] The original, accompanied by translation, is in the Archives of Georgia, Office of the Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". It is marked on the wrapper "N°. 4". A copy is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

[59] Mexico, Archivo General y Público, Sección de Historia, tomo 162 ("Carp^a. No. 3. Div^n. 4^a. del L°. No. 5°—No. 1°.").

[60] Printed, pp. 74 and 91, *supra*.

Provincia hé encontrado no pocas dificultades en la practica y desde luego gradué de ardua qualquiera determinacion.

Para darla con mas acierto convoqué á Junta extraordinaria de Guerra y R[l] Haz[da]. y efectivam[te] se celebró el 18 del citado Julio.

En ella se leyeron mui detenidamente las dos representacion[s] de V.S. y los Docum[tos] que las instruian y meditado todo con la debida reflexion, contrage á dos puntos esencialm[te] lo que habia de conferenciarse en la Junta.

Fue el prim[o] Si las noticias comunicadas p[r] V.S. prestaban solido fundam[to] p[a] creerse las fatales consequencias que se temian? Y en quanto á esto se opinó uniformem[te] p[r] la afirmativa; pues los contestes avisos que V.S. habia recibido de diversos parages, y el considerable num[o] de Tropa con que se aseguraba estar sostenido el Apoderado del Estado de Georgia, dejaba mui poco que dudar de sus designios.

El segundo punto prop[to] fué Si graduados de legitimos y justos los temores de algun insulto á nros Establecimientos deverian enviarse á V.S. los auxilios que pedia no obstante la critica estacion de los meses de Ag[to], Sep[re] y Octubre para navegar en el seno Mexicano: y p[r] lo que hace á esto se resolvio que no seria prud[a] exponer á los riezgos del presente tiempo de los uracanes en estos mares; ni un considerable numero de Tropa, que en caso de qualquiera desgracia, no podria volver se á reponer; ni porcion crecida de caudales, armas pertrechos, Artilleria y municiones Por esta razón; p[r] que seria dificil hallar comp[te] num[o] de embarcacion[s] proporcionadas p[a] la entrada del Misisipi; por no dilatar los auxilios; por creer que estos no podrian llegar á tiempo de evitar el primer golpe en caso de haber insistido el Estado de Georgia en sus intentos; y lo que es mas, por que á la presente se contenplaba con mucha probabilidad que estaría ya todo compuesto con el arribo á Filadelfia del Encargado de Negocios de nra. Corte cerca del Congreso Americano Dn. Diego Gardoquí; convinieron todos los vocales y se acordó unanimemente: que por aora solo se dirgiesen á V.S. p[r] via de pronto socorro una ó dos Embarcacion[s] proporcionadas con los caud[s]. Armas, Artill[a], y municion[s]. que yo tubiese p[r] conveniente y ademas alg[s]. corto num[o]. de Tropa de la misma que guarnece á Veracruz.

Esta fue en subst[a] la determina[n] de la Junta: y habiendome conformado con ella la mande executar p[r] mi Decreto de 19 del citado Julio. Asi consta de la Copia num[o] 1[o].[81]

En consequencia de esto envio á ese Puerto la Frag[ta] S[a]. Josef el Benturoso, y el Berg[n] Sn Anton[o] ambos Guardacostas de S.M. y con ellos remito (dividido todo de por mitad) doscientos mil p[s]. en dinero para que se inviertan precisam[te]. en los indispensables gastos de estas Expedicion[s] y no en algun otro objeto; y ademas la Artilleria, Armas, municiones y Pertrechos que se expresan en la Copia n[o]. 2[o].

Por lo que hace á Tropa he tenido p[r]. convent[o]. que solo vayan cinquenta hombres con un Cap[n]. y un Subalterno; del Reg[to]. de Ynf[a]. de Zamora mas no considerados como auxilio, sino como guarnicion de los mismos Buques p[s]. la ma[or]. seguridad de los intereses y ef[tos]. de cuid[do]. que llevan á su bordo.

Al Berg[n] Galveztown lo hé despachado p[a] Filadelfia con Escala en la Hav[a] para dar aviso de estas ocurrencias; y al Gov[or]. de aq[a]. Plaza

[81] The account of this junta is so fully summarized in this and the following letter that the record referred to is omitted here. It is found in the Arch. Gen. y Púb., Sec. de Hist., tomo 162, together with considerable related correspondence.

ruego que si V.S. ocurriese alli en solicitud de auxilios por la facilidad que presta la ma°r. proporcion y freq^a. de ocasion^s. se los franquee con la presteza y eficacia posible. Sirva á V.S. de gov^no.

Si el presente tiempo de aguas no embarazará el envio de Tropas á Veracruz para remplazo de su Guarnicion que se compone de 600 hombres, la remitiera á V.S. toda sin embargo de los riezgos del mar en la actual estacion; pero el hacer marchar su relevo al fatal clima de aquel Puerto en la fuerza de las lluvias, seria perder inutilmen^te. tantos hombr^s quantos se pusiesen en camino, como V.S. sabe mui bien; dejar aquella plaza desguarnezida, no puede ser ni debe imaginarse; y cubrirla con las Milicias poniendo á estas sobre las Armas ofrece en el dia inconvenientes insuperables.

Lo expuesto es quanto hé podido hacer para acreditar á V.S. el interés q^e me tomo en sus cuidados. Espero que en el dia estara V.S. libre de ellos de resultas de la llegada de Gardoqui al Norte de America como dexo expuesto; pero si asi no fuese, cuente V.S. con q^e en virtud de sus nuebos avisos le socorreré en mejor tiempo con quanto queda y permitan las no mui ábundan^tes. proporcion^s. de este R^no pues debo interesarme con empeño en todo aquello que diga relacion á esa Prov^a.

Dios, etc. 2 de Ag^to. de 1785.

Sr. Dn. Estevan Miró.

XLIV. The Conde de Galvez to Josef de Galvez, August 2, 1785.[62]

Exmo. Señor:

Mui Señor mio:

El 16 del inmediato pasado Julio llegó á esta Capital el Teniente del Reg^to. fijo de la Luisiana D^n. Vizente Folch despachado por el Gov°r. de aquella Prov^a D^n. Estevan Miró, solo con el fin de conducirme sus dos Cartas de 14 y 20 de Junio en que me dá parte de las nuebas ocurr^as. y designios de los Americanos sobre el Territorio de Natchéz.

Dice en la primera que desde mui poco despues de ajustada la ultima Paz entre nra Corte y la de Londres corrieron varias voces vagas en aquella Provincia de que los Americanos intentaban hacerse dueños del distrito de Natchéz por comprehendido en los 31 grad^s latitud N. limites señalades p^r. los Yngleses en sus tratados con los estados Unidos: Y que en los ultimos dias de Mayo y h^ta. mediados del citado Junio se avivaron mas estas especies y recibio noticias contextes y fidedignas de diversos parages (cuyas copias acompaña), que no solo confirmaban las primeras, sino añadian hallarse yá dos mil y quinientos hombres en lo alto del Rio Ohio con este Objeto.

En la Segunda Carta de 20 de Junio expone Miró; que teniendo ya dispuesto darme quenta por extraordin° de esta noved^d. sobrevino la de haberle escrito el Comand^te. de Natchéz avisandole habersele presentado un tal Tomas Green, á quien se dio establecim^to. en aq^a. Prov^a. el año de 82, y fue preciso desterrarlo de ella por su conducta sospechosa, con Poderes del Estado de Georgia intimandole le entregase el Fuerte y su distrito, ó que de no acceder desde luego á su pretencion le diese una respuesta categorca para ocurrir con ella á los que le habian enviado, y esperar alli las resultas sin proseguir á nada mas

[62] Mexico, Arch. Gen. y Púb., Correspondencia de los Virreyes, Real Audiencia, 1779–1786, tomo 15. This is no. 82 and is marked "Reservada". There is a brief letter of same date to Floridablanca, *ibid.*

obrando en esto con arreglo á las ord^{s}. que trahia: Que el Com^{te}. contestó á Green no era arbitro de resolver por sí en un asunto de tanta gravedad; pero que daria parte al Gov^{or}. y le comunicaria su determinacion. Que á consecuencia de esto, y despues de haber respondido en los terminos que merecia semejante Embajada y la clase del sugeto que la trahia, habia tomado y quedaba dictando q^{tas}. provid^{as}. permitia su actual critica constitucion y consideró oportunas para precaberse de qual quier insulto que intentasen los Americanos: Y finalmente me instruye radicalmente de todo lo ocurrido con remision de Documentos; me manifiesta el debil estado de fuerzas de aq^{a}. Prov^{a}. y me pide, por si saliesen ciertos sus rezelos, le envie con la mayor brevedad á lo menos mil hombres de Tropa veterana, y los auxilios que considera indispensables de dinero, Armas y Municiones.

Examinado bien el contexto de estas dos representaciones y de todos sus comprobantes tubé presente que tal vez estaria ya todo sosegado con la llegada á Filadelfia del Encargado de Negocios de Nra. Corte cerca del Congreso de los Estados Unidos D^{n}. Diego Gardoqui, y que en caso de haber pasado adelante los Americanos en sus designios era muy probable que ya estubiese decidido este asunto; y por consiguiente que no podian llegar á tiempo los socorros de evitar el primer golpe. Por otra parte, la poca Tropa que existe en este R^{no}. pues solo hai dos Regimientos de Ynfant^{a}. mui incompletos; la escaséz de Buques proporcionados para entrar en el Misisipi; la cruel proxima estacion de los Uracanes en todo este Seno Mexicano; lo dificil que seria reponer los auxilios que ahora se enviasen si succediese una desgracia, particularm^{te}. en quanto á Tropa; con otras varias reflexiones sobre el asunto: Todo me hizó comprehender lo arduo de la resolucion y me obligó á procurar medios para asegurar el acierto.

Con este objeto conferencié el asunto extrajudicialm^{te}. con el Insp^{or}. D^{n}. Josef Ezpeleta, y convoque á Junta extraordin^{a}. de Guerra y R^{l}. Hacienda.

Celebrose esta el dia 18 del proximo pasado Julio; y haviendose visto en ella mui detenidamente las dos citadas Cartas del Gov^{or}. de la Luisiana D^{n}. Estevan Miró con todos los Docum^{tos}. que las instruian, se pasó á tratar acerca de los dos puntos que propuse y fueron el 1° Si las noticias recibidas eran bastantes para creerse las resultas que se temian? y el 2°. si en caso de conceptuarse así deberian enviarse los auxilios pedidos no obstante la critica estacion de los meses de Agosto, Sep^{re}. y Oct^{re}. para navegar en el Seno Mexicano?

En quanto á lo prim°. fueron todos de sentir que no debia dudarse de los designios de los Americanos, pues eran mui contextes los avisos que se tenian, y deban bastante que sospechar los preparativos de Gente armada con que cubrian sus intentos, aun que esta todavia no se habia presentado.

Resuelto el primer punto y pasadose á tratar sobre el segundo se tocaron las mismas dificultades y objecion^{s} que déjo apuntadas; y en su consequencia convinieron todos los vocales en que, sin embargo de la necesidad calificada, se enviase por ahora unicam^{te}. á la Luisiana el corto é interino Socorro de din°. Armas y municion^{s}. que yo tubiese por conveniente y pudiesen llevar una ó dos Embarcacion^{s}. que se fletasen al intento, y ademas alguna Tropa de la que guarnece á Veracruz, para acreditar con esto á aquel Govern^{or}. la justa considera^{on}.

que merecen á este Gov^no^. sus cuidados; contestandosele en estos terminos sus cartas, y ofreciendosele auxiliar mas ampliam^te^. en mejor tiempo con sus nuebos avisos si subsistiese la misma necesidad.

Este es en subst^a^. el acuerdo de la Junta, con que me conformé, y cuya resoluc^on^. mandé se pusiese en practica por mi Decreto de 19 del expresado Julio. Todo lo expuesto consta del adjunto Testimonio.

De resultas expedí mis mas extrechas ord^s^. para la pronta habilita^n^. en el P^to^. de Veracruz de dos Buques que p^r^. su porte y cala fuesen adequados para la navegacion del Rio, bien fuesen de los Guarda-Costas de S.M, si se considerasen á proposito, de los del trafico de Campeche, ó de los del com^o^. de España.

Con respecto á esto dispuse enviar á la Luisiana 200 p^s^. en dinero, y la Artilleria, Armas, Pertrechos y Municion^s^. que constan de la adjunta Copia de la relacion formada de mi orden p^r^. este Com^te^. de Artill^a^. D^n^. Marcos Keating; y en quanto á Tropa solo hé tenido p^r^. conveniente que vayan un Cap^n^. un Subalterno y cinquenta hombres, no como auxilio, sino como Guarnicion de los dos Buques para mayor seguridad de los caudales y efectos de consideracion que hán de conducirse á su bordo.

Sin embargo de los riezgos de la navega^on^. en el presente tiempo de que va hecho merito, hubiera yo enviado algun num^o^. de Tropa á la Luisiana; pero he tocado en su practica mayores e inconvenientes.

En la actual estacion de las aguas son tan ordinarias las enfermedades en Veracruz que por lo regular ocupa los Hospitales una gran parte de su guarnicion; por ser gente que sobre cuidarse poco, carece de las comodidades precisas p^a^. conservar la salud; y por consiguiente seria embarazoso, y a un inutil enviar unos soldados debiles, y poco dispuestos para la fatiga.

Aun quando todo esto se venciese p^r^. estar aquella Tropa connaturalizada al Paiz, y con la robustéz necesaria, quedaría otra dificultad no de menos consideracion.

Seria preciso en tal caso tomar uno de dos partidos ó poner las Milicias sobre las Armas causando nuebos gastos al R^l^. Erario para guarnecer á Veracuz; ó hacer salir Tropa de esta Capital en un tiempo que con la freq^a^. de las aguas seria indispensable que al llegar á su destino fuese en derechura al Hospital la ma^r^. parte y otra no mui pequeña á la Sepultura como lo tiene acreditado la experiencia. Lo prim^o^. seria gravar considerablem^te^. esta R^l^. Hazienda que se halla con muchas atenciones sobre sí; y lo segundo lo resiste la humanidad.

Bien conosco que todas estas calamidades deben contarse entre los innumerables peligros de la Guerra; pero no creo que ahora nos hallémos en lance tan extrecho é inevitable; antes bien pienso que á la presente habrán cesado ya los motivos de cuidado, que me han obligado á hacer estas consideraciones con el arribo de Gardoqui á su destino, como queda asentado. Hé expuesto quanto me ocurre acerca de las dificultades que ofrece el envio de Tropa á la Luisiana en la ocasion presente: Voi á continuar el asunto de mi representacion.

Conseqüente á mis prevenciones quedaban ya en 28 del pasado mui adelantados en su apresto y habilitacion la Fraga^ta^. S^n^. Joseph el Venturoso y el Berg^n^. S^n^. Antonio, ambos Guardacostas de su Mag^d^. que son los Buques de que se ha hechado mano para la Exped^on^. al Nuevo-Orleans, segun me escriben el Gov^or^. y Of^s^. R^s^. de Veracruz

con la propria fha; y pienso que al recibo de mis ultimas ord^{s}. que despacho hoi, no habrá dificult^{d}. en que se hagan á la Vela immediatam^{te}. p^{r}. las activas y eficcazes provid^{as}. que hán dictado aquellos Ministros.

Al Berg^{n}. Galveztown que vino de la Luisiana con estas noticias, lo hé despachado á Filadelfia por su ligereza para dar aviso á aquel Encargado de negocios estos acaecim^{tos}. dirigiendole para su Gov^{no}. copias de las Cartas de Miró, y de la Junta celebrada en esta Cap^{l}.

He prevenido á su Capitan D^{n} Lorenzo Delvaux q^{e}. al paso p^{r}. la Hav^{a}. dexe á la Vela sin entrar en el P^{to}. un Pliego p^{a}. aq^{l}. Gov^{or}. en q^{e}. igualm^{te}. le instruyo con copias de todo, de quanto ha ocurrido en el particular, p^{r}. si de alli con menores noticias y proporcion^{a}. pudiese auxilar á la Luisiana en caso de pedirle socorro D^{n}. Estevan Miró; y finalm^{te}. hé dictado quantas provid^{as}. me han sido posibles y exige el presente asunto, ya como Virrey de esta N.E. y yá como Cap^{n}. Gen^{l}. de aquella Provincia necesitada: confiado en que todo cederá en obseqüio del mejor servicio del Rey.

Espero que sean de la aprobacion de S.M. estas mis determinacion^{s}. Sirvase V.E. ponerlo todo en su R^{l}. noticia, y prevenirme lo que sea mas del Soberano agrado de S.M.[63]

Dios, etc. Mex^{co} 2 de Ag^{to}. de 1785.
Exmo S^{r}. D^{n}. Josef de Galvez.

XLV. Miró to Arturo O'Neill, August 2, 1785.[64]

La de V.S. de 26 de Junio[65] me ha proporcionado la satisfaccion mas completa por la exactitud, y pronto celo con que concurre al mejor bien del servicio, y tranquilidad de esta Provincia. Aunque en la actualidad parecen las cosas algo calmadas devemos no dormirnos, y aprovechar momentos para no ser sorprendidos como lo conocera V.S. mismo por la susinta exposicion que voy á hacerle de las ocurrencias succesivas en dicho puesto de Natchez.

Le dije á V.S. con fecha de 21 de Junio[66] habia llegado á aquel puesto Tomas Green que se presento al Comandante é intimandole que pues, que aquel Fuerte, y Distrito se hallaba dentro los limites del estado de Georgia se lo entregase, y habiendole respondido que no siendo de su competencia determinar un asunto de tanta entidad debia bajar á esta Capital á tratarlo conmigo ó esperar mi respuesta: prefirio lo ultimo, y entregó quatro copias de Documentos que dice tiene originales.

El 1ro. compreende una deliberacion del Estado de Georgia en que establece los limites de toda su Provincia.[67]

El 2°. es otra deliberacion del mismo estado para formar en un distrito de tierra situada en el Misisipi un Condado que debe llamarse de Borbon, señalando sus limites desde la desembocadura del Yasú hasta encontrar bajando por el Misisipi los 31 grados latitud norte, y

[63] A subsequent letter (no. 150, August 27, *ibid.*) relates chiefly to the matter of forwarding the military supplies mentioned in this letter.

[64] Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba, Florida Occidental, legajo 11.

[65] O'Neill's letter of June 26 has not been found.

[66] Miró's letter of June 21 to O'Neill has not been found.

[67] The act of February 17, 1783, printed in Watkins, *Digest of the Laws of Georgia*, pp. 258–265, and in Marbury and Crawford, *Digest*, pp. 323–328. See *supra*, p. 68.

demarcando toda su extencion en la que esta compreendido el Fuerte de Natchez y su Jurisdiccion.[68]

El tercero es parte de una Ynstruccion[69] dada al referido Tomas Green para pedir á los Comandantes Españoles los Fuertes, Lugares, y Plazas que puedan caer dentro de los limites del enunciado Condado.

El quarto es una carta del expresado comisionado al Comandante de Natchez para que evaque el Fuerte, ó haga sus objecciones.[70]

En este mismo tiempo tres de los habitantes de Natchez Pueblo naturalmente inquieto han convocado una Junta[71] publica y sediciosa cuyo principal objeto fue hacer yer á aquellos moradores que no les convenia sugetarse al Estado de Georgia, y que habia llegado el tiempo en que debian por si formar un Estado independiente.

El 22[72] del mismo mes de Junio llegó al expresado Puesto de Natchez en un barco Chacto[73] un Oficial Americano llamado Don Guillermo Davemport que se presentó á aqual Comandante diciendo que es el nombrado por el Estado de Georgia para demarcar los limites con el citado Green, y otros dos Oficiales que se hallan ya en la Nacion Chacta, el Mayor Don Nicolas Long y Don Nathaniel Crismas quienes se corresponde[n] con Davemport sin duda para convinar sus operaciones.[74] Todos deben obrar con los Oficiales que por nuestra parte se nombren. He respondido ambiguamente por dar tiempo, y tomarme las medidas necesarias.

El 27 del pasado llegó á aquel Fuerte la 2ª. Compañia de Granaderos á las ordenes del sargento mayor Don Francisco Bouligny y mañana saldrá con el mismo destino la 1ª. de Granaderos la que me ha proporcionado enviar los Piquetes[75] que Vm. me ha remitido preparandome yo mientras para subir, pues las noticias posteriores no me tranquilizan tanto como yo pensaba, respecto á que las primeras diligencias que ha hecho el mayor Bouligny, y de que me ha dado parte manifiestan que hay mucho que temer de la solapada, y sediciosa conducta del Comisario Davemport: En el Rio Cumberland se dice hay prontos barcos Chatos para bajar contra Natchez, y que en una palabra los Americanos estan determinados á apoderarse de dicho puesto por fuerza.[76] Rumores que confirman las Gazetas de Jamayca, y la Gaceta, ó Correo del Bajo Rin, que hablando sobre una conferencia entre el Conde de Aranda y el Doctor Franklin sobre la libre navegacion del Misisipi,[77] confesando el 2°. que la Ynglaterra no tubo ningun derecho, á ceder lo que no era

[68] The act of February 7, 1785, organizing Bourbon County, printed p. 70, *supra.*

[69] See p. 76, foot-note 45, *supra.* The instructions to the commissioners (February 11, 1785) are printed in full, pp. 71–73, *supra.*

[70] The letter of Green to Treviño, printed p. 76, *supra.*

[71] The manifesto of Ellis, Gaillard, and Banks, printed p. 77, *supra.*

[72] Davenport says in his letter of July 17 to Governor Elbert (p. 105, *supra*) that he arrived on the 24th.

[73] Barco chato.

[74] See Bouligny's letter to Miró, July 24, *ante,* p. 299, and Davenport's letter to Bouligny, July 31, *ante,* p. 311.

[75] Compare the letter of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, June 20, p. 93, *supra.*

[76] See Bouligny's letter of July 24 to Miró, *ante,* p. 299.

[77] The same extracts were inclosed to Josef de Galvez in letters nos. 97 and 98, July 22. See p. 108, foot-note 169, *supra.*

suyo, dice resueltamente que es menester dar salida á las producciones de los Habitantes Americanos, cuyas numerozas familias son un torrente á que es menester darle libre curso, pues de oponerle dique nos expondriamos á que pasará por encima, y tarde ó temprano nos detruyera con estripito.

Por todo lo expuesto conoce muy bien V.S. que recelos devemos tener, y de quanta importancia es estar preparado para cubrir de todo insulto los Dominios de S.M.

Volviendo ahora á la contextacion de dicho oficio participo á V.S. han llegado todos los Oficiales, y tropa cuya nota me incluyo V.S. y le doi mil gracias por la generosa oferta que me hace de entablar en caso de mayor urgencia una diversion sobre las fronteras de la Carolina, ó la Georgia, sobre cuyo particular avisare á V. S. en caso necesario.

Yncluyo á V.S. copia de la carta de M^e^.Guillebray,[78] á fin de que le pregunte de donde tubo noticias tan autenticas, y como parece por lo que ha escrito V.S. á Don Pedro Piernas, que le dijo ultimamente que no empreendian por ahora nada los Americanos, será util que V.S. indague las circunstancias que le persuadieron primero á que ibamos á ser atacados, y las que le persuaden ahora á que no, á fin de comunicarmelas.

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 2 de Agosto de 1785.

Estevan Miró.

S^or^. Don Arturo O Neilly.[79]

XLVI. Bouligny to Miró, August 4, 1785.[80]

Mui Señor mio.

En mi oficio N°. 9[81] hé dicho á V.S. que confiava tener del Doctor Fara, las mas detalladas noticias sobre el modo de pensar de estas gentes, y sobre lo que pasaba en el Oyo, como en efecto haviendo este comunicado con varios sugetos, y particularmente con su haijado[82] Francisco Brezino,[83] me ha dicho que todas las Provincias de America, y particularmente los sugetos que componen el Congreso, miran este Pais como la Principal y la mas importante de sus poseciones, sobre todo desde las orillas del Yasu hasta los 31 Grados, por haver en toda esta distancia tierras altas bañadas por el Misisipi, y que les facilita la extracion por agua de todos sus productos: Que por su mayor proximidad de la mar les dán con mucho la preferencia sobre las tierras del Yasu por arriva, las quales tienen á demas el inco[n]benientes de ser anegadizas, á una larga distancia del Misisipi, lo que les imposobilitaria la extracion de sus producciones: Que quando se vino á este Pais, al tiempo de despedirse

[78] Presumably the reference is to McGillivray's letter of May 16, p. 73, *supra*. Compare the letter of McGillivray to Zespedes, August 22, *post*, p. 326.

[79] The name is frequently given this form by the Spanish scribes. O'Neill was commandant of Pensacola from 1784 to 1792.

[80] Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis., y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14. It is no. 16. A copy was inclosed in letter (no. 225) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, August 14 (*post*, p. 323) and is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

[81] July 30, *ante*, p. 308.

[82] Ahijado.

[83] See Bouligny to Miró, July 30, *ante*, p. 308.

del Presidente del Congreso Don Enrique Laurens, le ablo con el mayor entusiasmo de estas tierras, diciendole que no ambicionaba otra cosa que benir á acabar en ella sus dias, y que este mismo entusiasmo era general entre todas las gentes de mas suposicion de la Nueva Ynglaterra desde la Filadelfia acá; Que todos saven que este Pais por su extencion, la calidad de sus tierras, y la facilidad de los transportes tiene en si, y supera con mucha todas las ventajas que reunidas pueden tener las trece Provincias Americanas: Que el balor intrinseco de estas tierras si se pudiese evaluar eccede con mucho á quantos los Americanos poseen sobre las orillas del Occeano: Que no hay cultivo para el qual no sean adequadas Añil Tavaco, Maiz, Trigo, Algodón, Cañamo, y Lino, todo lo produce con mucha abundancia, y menos trabajo personal de los hombres que otro pais ninguno, Pastos inmensos, Maderas de construccion, mucho Alquitran, y Minas de Fierro á mano, salubridad del temperamento, y eccelencia de las Aguas: Que este Pais lo miran los Americanos como la llave y verdadero centro de su dominacion, apoyandose sobre el titulo de cecion que de este territorio le hizo la Ynglaterra con la garantia de la Francia, y tacito consentimiento de la España, como consta por los tratados de Paz difinitivos, firmados en Paris, y en un mismo dia por las tres citadas Potencias: Que no creé que jamas la America consienta en desistirse de esta pretension, y mucho menos aun de la Navegacion del Rio: Que desde el mes de Noviembre del año pasado, salio un embiado de Filadelfia, para acer la formal demanda á la Corte de España, y otros dos tambien para la Corte de Ynglaterra, y Francia, con el mismo fin, figurandose que á la hora presente este punto estará ya decidido, y determinado: Añade el Doctor Fara que quando vino á este Pais hace como siete años, pasó por el Fuerte Pitt, donde hiso algunos dias de mancion en casa del Gobernador,[84] de dicho Fuerte, y Distrito, con quien tenia antecedentes de amistad, y supo de él que la Poblacion de aquel Districto hera ya en aquella epoca considerable, y en estado de poner diez y siete mil hombres sobre las armas, segun el calculo de las Milicias que le hiso ber: Que desde entonces acá ha sabido, y Brecino le ha confirmado, que esta Poblacion y otras que se han establecido en barios Rios, que derraman en la Bella Rivera,[85] se han aumentado considerablemente: Que las Poblaciones de Cumberlan, Charaquis, Chut, Kitoches,[86] estan en estado hoy en dia de poner quarenta mil hombres sobre las armas: Que la causa principal de esta crecida Poblacion, y afluencia de gentes en aquel parage dimana de los muchos desertores de los Ejercitos que tuvo la Ynglaterra en las Provincias Maritimas, durante la guerra; de los soldados licenciados de los Estados Unidos á la Paz, á quienes há señalado el Congreso en donacion á cada uno doscientos Arpanes de tierra; De muchos Bagos y corredores de Bosques,[87] que se han refugiado alli de todas las Provincias de la America, particularmente de las Provincias acia acá de la Filadelfia, por la facilidad que de todas ellas tienen para hir á Cumberlan, en diez ó doce dias: De los derechos crecidos que cada Provincia se há

[84] Probably Brigadier-General Lachlan McIntosh, who was placed in command at Fort Pitt in May, 1778, succeeding General Edward Hand.

[85] The river Ohio. The name "Oyo" is oftener used in these documents.

[86] The settlements on the Cumberland (Nashville), on the Holston, at the Falls of the Ohio (Louisville), and in central Kentucky.

[87] The more familiar *coureurs de bois*.

visto obligada á establecer para atender á sus urgencias, lo que há inducido á muchos havitantes á bender sus tierras y poseciones para irse á establecer al lado opuesto de las Montañas, que ellos llaman el Alegani, y nosotros llamamos Apalaches; Contribuyendo mas que todo á esta afluencia de gentes en dicho parage, una deliveracion de los Estados Unidos que deja libres los havitantes, y moradores sobre las orillas de Oyo, y Rios que en el derraman de todo derecho é imposicion: Que toda esta Poblacion desde seis años á esta parte se ha ocupado mucho en el cultivo, y há hecho cresidisimas cosecha[s] de Tavaco, y Trigo, que tiene depositadas en Almacenes co[n]siderables, y esperan con la mayor impaciencia que se les habra la puerta, para bajarlo todo por el Misisipi, unico Camino y salida por donde pueden extraerlo, pues por el lado de las Provincias Maritimas Americanas, los Montes Apalaches se lo impiden é imposibilitan: Que la deliveracion del Congreso señalándo á cada Provincia los limites que creé tener derecho de darles, sobre las orillas del Misisipi, ha dado motivo á pensar á todos sus moradores como una cosa cierta, incontestable, su dominio en este territorio, con lo que se há aumentado el entusiasmo de la Nacion; y particularmente de los havitantes, y moradores del Oyo, que miran ya esto como su legitimo patrimonio, y acen continuas representaciones á los Estados Unidos para que se les de la posecion, ó se les permita benir á tomarla: Que brezino le ha dicho haver visto seis cañones de bronce de grueso calibre, mas abajo de la Chutt, que no estavan alli quando el Doctor Fara pasó, y que no pueden haver sido conducidos, sino de la parte superior de Ouabache, que toma su origen en las inmediaciones del Canada: Que ademas de esto save que en el Fuerte Pitt, hay como veinte cañones algunos de ellos de bronce del calibre de nueve libras, y algunos de Fierro de mayor calibre: Que segun le han dicho, en el puesto Vencenes inmediato tambien de las orillas del Ohio, hay igual numero de Cañones, y con corta diferencia de los mismos calibres: Que Brezino le há asegurado que quando él bajó con Davemport, no vio ni supo que se construise ningun Chalan, ni Bato: Que por su parte esta persuadido firmemente que nadie se meneara, sin una orden expresa del Congreso, pues la Georgia, ni otra ninguna Provincia tiene facultad por si sola, y sin una orden expresa del Congreso de cometer la menor hostilidad, y finalmente que por lo que respecta á los havitantes de este territorio, con quienes há conferenciado ampliamente, me asegura que no se mesclarán en la mas minima cosa, y que todo estan firmemente resueltos, á esperar las resultas de lo que se decida en las respectivas Cortes, y en el interin ocuparse de sus cosechas de Tavaco, que en el dia ofrecen la mas favorable perspectiva.

Esta es la relacion que me há echo el Doctor Fara, á la que yo por mi parte me inclino á dar credito en muchas cosas, pareciendome solo ecxagerado el crecido numero de gentes que supone ecsisten sobre las orillas del Oyo, V.S. podra questionarlo pues deve salir mañana para la Punta Cortada, donde solo se detendra dos dias, y bajará inmediatamente á esa, con animo de presentarse á V.S. para implorar su clemencia por su Suegro,[55] y demas complices, en la imprudente carta que escribieron á este Pueblo, haviendole asegurado yo, que allaria en V.S. toda

[55] Richard Ellis. See Rowland, *Mississippi*, I. 684, 698. "La imprudente carta" is document number VIII., p. 77, *supra*.

la bondad, y todo el favor posible, pues su enojo y rigor solo lo hacia sentir á los culpables mal intencionados.

Dios guarde á V.S. los muchos años que le deseo: Fuerte Panmur de Natchez 4 de Agosto de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y obediente subdito,

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

XLVII. BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, AUGUST 5, 1785.[89]

Muy Señor mio:

Adjunto incluyo á V.S. orijinal los quatro oficios[90] que he recibido de Don Guillermo Davemport, pareciendome mas regular efectibamente que estos Documentos existan en esa Secretaria, haviendo yo guardado las traducciones por lo que pueda ofrecer para la contestacion de los Oficios subcesibos.

Dios guarde á V.S. los muchos años que le deseo. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 5 de Agosto de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y subdito.

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

S^or^. Don Estevan Miró.

XLVIII. BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, AUGUST 10, 1785.[91]

Muy Señor mio:

Contesto á los dos oficios[92] de V.S. con fecha de 19 de Julio sobre examinar y averiguar lo que pasó en el combite que dio el habitante Job Corris, á M^r^. Davemport, y la orden que en consequencia me da V.S. de arrestar dicho Davemport, si resultase criminal.

Las dificultades que ofrecia esta [a]veriguacion, el inconveniente de dar este paso sin sacar nada en limpio, como podria muy bien succeder y en parte á succedido con Gaillard, Ellis, y Soton Bankes, los terminos de una regular conducta, correspondencia y contestacion en que se ha puesto Davemport, como V.S. habra visto por los Documentos remitidos, desde que empese este metodo: el sobre salto é inquietud que ocasionaria en toda esta Poblacion, una averiguacion de esa naturaleza, tanto en los culpables, si los ha habido, como en los inocentes; y mas que todo la facultad que V.S. me dá de sufocar este asunto me inclinan habida atencion á todos los antecedentes, y no darme por entendido de un asunto que veo enteramente enfriado:[93] confiando que la conducta que he tenido y el rigor que he aparentado (desde mi llegada aqui) usaria subitamente con el primero que se atreviese á deslinearse en la mas minima cosa, los contendrá en los limites del respecto que deben á la autoridad, ocupandose tranquilamente de sus labores, á lo que no ha contribuido poco tambien el proceso que he hecho á Gaillard, haviendo pintado con las mas vivos colores á los testigos, y otros sugetos, el

[89] Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. This is no. 18.

[90] Davenport's letters of July 25, 28, 30, 31, *ante*, pp. 303, 306, 310, 311.

[91] Inclosed in letter (no. 249) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, November 10, *post*, p. 343. It is marked "No. 2. Copia No. 33".

[92] The second and third letters, numbers XXV. and XXVI., pp. 106, 107, *supra*.

[93] Compare Miró's letters of July 19 to Bouligny, pp. 106–107, *supra*, and see his letter of November 10 (number LXIX. of these documents), *post*, p. 346.

crimen enorme en que incurrian y rigor con que seria tratado el primero que en puntos de esta entidad cometiera la menor falta.[94]

Dios guarde á V.S. los muchos años que deseo. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 10 de Agosto de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento seguro serbidor y subdito,

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.[95]

Señor Don Estevan Miró

XLIX. MIRÓ TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ, AUGUST 14, 1785.[96]

Exmo. Señor

Muy Señor mio:

Don Francisco Bouligny llegó el veinte y cuatro[97] de Julio á Natchez, desde cuyo dia hasta el cinco del presente me ha escrito diez y nueve oficios los mas concernientes al asunto que en el dia interesa sobre si será aquel Fuerte atacado ó no por los Americanos. De todos resulta lo que V.E. verá en la adjunta copia[98] que me ha parecido indispensable incluir á V.E. y por lo que toca á lo que los demás comprenden relacionaré solo lo que sea digno de la atencion de V.E.

Francisco Brescina, de quien se tienen las noticias que refiere la expresada copia, ha venido con Don Guillermo Dawenport con el designio de acojerse en casa del Doctor Farar americano vecino de la Punta Cortada siete años hace, y de los mas ricos de la Provincia, á quien mira como su bien hechor, y Padre, por lo que no es de creer haya dejado de decirle en todo la verdad.

Asi de su relacion como de las demas noticias que ha adquirido Don Francisco Bouligny resulta que el Estado de Georgia ha dado los extraordinarios pasos de enviar comisionados con las circunstancias que tengo participado á V.E. persuadidos á que no hallarian oposicion ninguna por nuestra parte, sin haber por lo tanto hecho ningunas prevenciones hostiles, siendo manifiestamente falso que haya tropas apostadas en el Ohio, ni en marcha por lo interior de las tierras.

Sin embargo, han participado algunos Yndios que en el dia estan trescientos hombres en los Rios Cheraqui y Cumberland construyendo Lanchanes y barcos chatos, por lo que Don Francisco Bouligny ha enviado á reconocer dichos Rios primeramente á un Yngles Realista[99] vecino de Natchéz, y después á un Frances con un Gefe Chactá y seis guerreros que se ofrecieron á ello, debiendo segun las noticias interesantes que adquiera despachar uno de ellos succesivamente con cartas para participarlos, lo que le he aprobado.

Por lo que toca al Estado de fermentación del Distrito ha cesado toda inquietud, hallandose en el dia en la mayor tranquilidad, mani-

[94] With regard to Banks, Ellis, and Gaillard, see the letter of Long, Davenport, and Christmas to Governor Elbert, September 13, *post*, p. 335.

[96] There is a long letter from Bouligny to Miró written on the following day (August 11), chiefly concerning the defenses of Natchez. It is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

[96] *Ibid.* It is marked "Número doscientos veinte y cinco".

[97] Bouligny says in his letter of July 24 (*ante*, p. 299) that he arrived the day before.

[98] Bouligny's letter of August 4, *ante*, p. 319.

[99] Stephen Hayward. See Bouligny's letter of July 24, *ante*, p. 299, and his letter of August 28, *post*, p. 326.

festando en sus conversaciones aquellos habitantes que no quieren pensar en otra cosa mas que en sus cosechas, buen efecto que ha producido el Vando[100] de que acompaño copia la llegada de Don Francisco Bouligny con la segunda compañia de granaderos, y la prision de Gaillard, Ellis, y Sutton Banks cuyo proceso me ha remitido el referido sargento mayor el cual no resultan tan criminales: como aparentaba su carta convocatoria, y V.E. verá cuando lo remita en primera ocasion por hallarse en el dia en manos del auditor, y no haber tiempo de copiarlo.[101]

Aunque no habia recibido Bouligny mis oficios[102] para formar cargos á Don Guillermo Davenport, y habitantes del convite de casa de Broens,[103] comprendo por lo que me escribe, que no tuvo consecuencia alguna lo alli actuado, ó que no seria en los términos que fué participado á Don Felipe Treviño el mismo Davenport se ha portado despues con mucha moderacion habiendo prometido ultimamente por escrito á Don Francisco Bouligny bajar á esta capital con los otros dos comisionados, luego que lleguen.

En vista de todo he suspendido mi marcha,[104] continuando solamente poner en Estado la Galera que se hallaba en la Valiza y se carena actualmente estando corrientes un Lanchón y dos Lanchas cañoneras, y todo el tren de cartucheria, cureñage y demás pertrechos, que en mi oficio numero ciento treinta y tres participe V.E. iba á preparar, habiendo cercenado la compra del cuarto cañonero, para evitar este gasto á la Real Hacienda; pues á pocos dias podré á una forzosa habilitarlo, estando asi pronto á subir siempre que haya novedad que lo exija, ó V.E. me lo ordene, persuadido á que es inevitable la guerra, en cuyo caso cuanto mas antes lo ejecute será mejor para poder fortificarme en la posicion ventajosa que está á media legua del Fuerte de Natchez, y conserva la proteccion del Rio lo que aquel no hace, circunstancia digna de la mayor atencion, por lo que cubre lo restante de la Provincia hacia abajo.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años. Nueva Orleans catorce de Agosto de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco.

Exmo Señor,

B.L.M. de V.E. su mas atento servidor,

ESTEBAN MIRÓ.

Exmo Señor Conde de Galvez.

L. BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, AUGUST 17, 1785.[105]

Mui Señor mio:

Ayer puso á mi noticia Don Guillermo Davemport, que Don Nicolas Long, uno de los compañeros que esperava, havia empreendido su marcha para ir á la Nacion de los Chiz,[106] á unirse con Don Nataniel Chrismas,

[100] See p. 95, foot-note 109, *supra.*

[101] Probably the letter (no. 8) mentioned in Bouligny's letter of July 30 to Miró, *ante*, p. 308.

[102] The letters to Bouligny, July 19 (numbers XXV. and XXVI.), pp. 106, 107, *supra.*

[103] This should be Brocas. With regard to the affair at the house of William Brocas, see especially numbers VIII., X., and XI. of these documents, pp. 77, 82, 85, *supra.*

[104] Miró had planned to lead his forces in person to withstand the supposed invasion. See his letters to the Conde de Galvez, June 14 and 20, and to Josef de Galvez, June 25, pp. 78, 91, 95, *supra.*

[105] Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. It is no. 40.

[106] The Chickasaws.

y como la carta escrita por Tomas Green á su hijo,[107] y de que tengo dado noticia á V.S. anteriormente, le dava parte que se iva igualmente á unirse con el citado Chrismas, estos dos hechos me dan motibo á pensar que esta union es premeditada para resolver lo que tienen que hacer en las actuales circunstancias. Tambien me ha noticiado el referido Davemport, haver recibido aviso que el dia veinte de Mayo se hallaban juntos en Charlestown tres Comisarios nombrados por el congreso,[108] y dos sugetos de la primera consideracion, uno de la Carolina del Sud, y el otro de la Carolina del Norte, y que todos los cinco estaban proximos á empreender su marcha para la nacion Crick, á fin de arreglar, y componer una diferencia que esta Nacion tenia con el Estado de la Georgia, sobre las tierras regadas por el Rio Okony, y cuyos embiados iban en consequencia de una carta amistosa y suplicatoria escrita por Alejandro Mac. Guillvray, Gefe de dicha Nacion á dicho Estado, y en la que se humiliaba pidiendo perdon de haverseles opuesto anteriormente en el establecimiento que havian empezado á hacer los Georgianos sobre el dicho Rio Okony.[109]

Esta noticia aun quando sea cierta por lo que respecta á los Comisarios, no me parece verosimil en la carta que supone haver escrito Mac. Guillvray al Estado de la Georgia; pues haviendo dicho Mac. Guillvray escrito á V.S. en el mes de Abril, ó Mayo[110] si bien me acuerdo una carta manifestando un modo de pensar mui distinto del que supone Davemport, no es creible haya en este mismo tiempo con corta diferencia escrito en esos terminos á la Georgia á menos que no seá un hombre de una doble intencion y que me parece seria muy combeniente averiguar.

Una carta que por casualidad ha llegado á mi noticia escrita por el citado Mac. Guillvray en el mes de Junio del año pasado prueba el teson y la firmesa con que el y su Nacion pretende impedir el establecimiento de los Georgianos en las riberas Okony, y que traducida dice asi.[111]

. . . . . .

Esta carta que me ha traducida M^r^. Duforest, de una gazeta Ynglesa que le ha entregado M^r^. Hutchins[112] me ha parecido mui necesario

[107] No other reference to this letter from Thomas Green to his son has been found.

[108] On March 21 Congress appointed Benjamin Hawkins, Daniel Carroll, William Perry, Andrew Pickens, and Joseph Martin commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the southern Indians. Carroll declined and Lachlan McIntosh was chosen in his stead (May 16). These commissioners with the exception of Perry met at Hopewell in South Carolina and negotiated a series of treaties. William Blount was present as agent for North Carolina and John King and Thomas Glascock for the state of Georgia. About the same time the state of Georgia negotiated a separate treaty with the Indians at Galphinton. See *Journals of the Continental Congress*, April 17, 1786, and *Amer. State Papers, Indian Affairs*, I., especially pp. 38–44.

[109] Much material concerning McGillivray and the Indians during the years succeeding 1785 is in the Spanish archives at Seville.

[110] Probably the letter of May 16, p. 73, *supra*. Compare McGillivray's letter of August 22, *post*, p. 326.

[111] As this letter of McGillivray does not relate directly to Bourbon County it is here omitted.

[112] Anthony Hutchins. An account of him is in Rowland, *Mississippi*, I. 911–914.

ponerla en noticia de V.S. por si halla combeniente avisarlo al Governador de Panzacola, para que este á la mira de lo que se trate por dichos Comisarios en el particular con el citado Mac Guillvray.

Dios guarde á V.S. los muchos años que deseo. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 17 de Agosto de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. su mas atento servidor y Subdito,

FRANCISCO BOULIGNY.

Señor Don Esteban Miro.

P.D.

Las dos personas de consideracion que devian salir de Charlestown, mencionados en este oficio, son el uno el General Benjamin Pickins, de la Carolina del Norte; y el otro el Coronel Benjamin hawkins de la Carolina del Sud.[113]

LI. McGILLIVRAY TO ZESPEDES.[114]

LITTLE TALLASSIE 22d August 1785

Sir

I have the honor of acknowledgeing the receit of your Excellencys most esteemd favor of 13th. June. the letters enclosed for Governor ONeil and Colo. Piernass were delivered to the former the latter is at Orleans, Commanding in absence of Governor Miro who is gone to the Natchez to regulate Some Matters,[115] a great many Troops having arrived, and gone up that river.

The reports your Excellency has heard Concerning the Americans are not founded in Truth although they are proceeding in great Numbers to the Mississippi, with an Intent to establish themselves upon the Territory, as given them by the Treaty of Peace, between Brittain and the States of America, but as Yet no hostillities have Commenced between any forces on the river. Nor is there any Post on the Cherokee river, tho a Very proper place for one at the Mouth of it where it Joins the Mississippi. The americans will Certainly attempt to establish a new State in that Country, at the risque of a war. the authority of Congress is but weak even in the heart of the States and those that are Settled at the distance of five or Six hundred miles from the Seat of Government despise its Mandates. . . .

That your Excellency may enjoy many years of Health and happiness is the Sincere wishes of

Sir, your Excellencys Most Obedient Servant

ALEX: McGILLIVRAY.

His Excellency Governor DeZespedes

LII. BOULIGNY TO MIRÓ, AUGUST 28, 1785.[116]

Mui Señor mio:

Ayer p^{r}. la mañana vino D^{n}. Guillermo Davenport, con sus dos com-

[113] Andrew Pickens of South Carolina and Benjamin Hawkins of North Carolina.

[114] Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, CXIV., J 9.

[115] See *ante*, p. 324, and foot-note 104.

[116] After the first installment of this material had appeared it was learned that several documents (originals and copies) relating to Bourbon County are in the Hubert Howe Bancroft Library, at the University of California. For copies of this letter of Bouligny to Miró (no. 44) and other letters, as mentioned hereafter, we are indebted to the courtesy of Mr. F. J. Teggart, curator of that library.

pañeros Dⁿ. Nicolas Long y Dⁿ. Nataniel Chrismas, á quienes hé recivido con la maior urbanidad, haviendolos detenido á comer, esmerandome en obsequiarlos, no se á tratado punto ninguno, pero Davenport me ha dicho que el Lunes empesarian á pasarme los oficios correspondientes sobre su venida y comision. Me han dicho que Tomas Green, havia venido con ellos, y se havia quedado enfermo en su Havitacion.[117] la diferiencia que manifiestan tener por Dⁿ. Nicolas Long, me hace creer que este sujeto es entre ellos el que tiene mas concepto, y por cuyos consejos se govierna todo, es mozo Joven, pero de un aspecto serio y formal, y por algunas expreciones que ha dicho á Dⁿ. Estevan Minor, en cuya casa ha ido á vivir parece desaprueva en algo la conducta de Davenport, haviendose manifestado que no vienen aqui para darnos motivo al menor sentimiento, ni causarnos la menor inquietud.

Oy con el motivo de dár un combite á varias Damas del distrito, de las Establecidas en el Bayu Santa Catalina y á Mª. Hutchins,[118] ha combidado tambien á la muger de Davenport, á este y sus dos compañeros, de los quales solo ha venido Dⁿ. Nicolas Long, los otros dos haviendome hecho decir, que se hallavan indispuestos.

He savido por el citado Long, compañero de Dⁿ. Guillermo Davenport, que el dia antes de salir de la nacion Chiz, se havia presentado alli el nombrado Estevan Haiward,[119] que llebava encargo de Dⁿ. Felipe Treviño, de reclamar dos negros, y un cavallo que havian sido robados aqui ultimamente á Dⁿ. Estevan Minor, el nombrado Franᶜᵒ. Routh, amigo del citado Haiward, se personó para tomar los negros que estavan en poder de Jonnes, qᵉ havia sido el robador. pero un compañero de Jonnes salio á la demanda de su amigo, y tiró un balazo al citado Routh, y lo dejó muerto. este subceso ocasionó muchos debates en la nacion, particularmente entre los vagabundos, y Foragidos, pero lo que causó mas rumor fue una harenga hecha por el mestizo Glober[120] de nacion Chiz quien se puso á perorar toda la nacion á favor del asasino, diciendo que no devian sufrir que nadie fuese osado á venir á insultar á los que reclamavan azilo y proteccion, disputa que se havia ensendido mucho, y estava aun indesisa quando el se vino. con este motivo se ha explayado el citado Long, que me parece sujeto de Juicio y refleccion, diciendome que el numero de vagos que ay tanto en la nacion Chiz, como en la Chacta es considerable, y merecen mucha atencion, tanto de parte de los Americanos como de la nuestra, que la mayor parte de estos sujetos son naturales de la America, y que han incurrido en crimenes dignos de la horca. que en el dia exeden el numero de quinientos hombres, amanzebados todos con las Indias poseiendo el idioma, y que tienen mucha influencia en las citadas naciones, y son capaces de inducidarlas en muchos desasiertos. me ha manifestado tambien con quanto gusto la America adaptaria un plan de acuerdo con la España que pudiese obviar á los daños que estos hombres ocacionan á los establecimientos, tanto de los Americanos como de los Españoles. persuadiendose que si se podria conseguir sacar esos quinientos hombres

[117] If this statement is true Green must have remained very quiet in his house during the negotiations of the next three days and then once more departed precipitately for the Chickasaw country. See *supra*, p. 91, foot-note 88, and p. 105.

[118] Mrs. Anthony Hutchins. See foot-note 112.

[119] See Bouligny's letter to Miró, July 24. *ante*, p. 299.

[120] Doubtless William Glover. See a letter from him in *Amer. State Papers, Pub. Lands*, I. 456.

de ay,[121] y ponerlos en parage donde no pudiesen nunca bolver, se mantendrian quietas las naciones, y no darian nada que sentir, ni á sus establecimientos, ni á los nuestros, opinion que me parece mui fundada en razon y Justicia y créo seria combeniente adaptar y apoyar con la superioridad, si la discucion de los Americanos sobre este territorio se compone amigablemente, como no me queda duda.[122]

Esta combersacion familiar que he tenido con el citado Long, antes de comer á dado campo al asumpto principal de su comision q^e^. es la pretencion de la America sobre este territorio, y reserbandose de hablarme de oficio, por cartas quando hubiera consultado con sus compañeros, me ha dicho q^e^. sentia infinito los rumores que se havian esparcido en este distrito, y que me asegurava vajo su palabra de honor que no havia pensado la America, ni pensaria jamas cometer contra la España la menor ostilidad, que fuera de esto emplearia todos los medios posibles para obtener este territorio de la España, por q^e^. se veian en tal situacion que les éra imposible pasarse de el, y que sabe y le consta, que no ay sacrificio que no haga la America para obtenerlo de S.M.C. y para cuya solicitud confian mucho con la mediacion de la Francia. Toda su combersacion sobre este asumpto se ha dirijido á darme á entender que no ay tesoros que la America no sacrifique p^a^. obtener este Paiz, pero que nunca la America empleara otros medios que los de la persuacion, y mediacion de las otras potencias, cuyo modo de pensar siendo tan natural y devido, mé inclino á creer que por haora es el mismo que tienen los sujetos que componen el congreso de los Estados Unidos.

Por varias otras expreciones del citado Long y por lo que varios me han dicho de Crismas, parece que el modo de pensar de estos dos sujetos, es mui distinto del de Green, y Davenport, y si continuan á hablar como han hecho hasta haora afirmarán en lugar de alterar la tranquilidad que reyna en el distrito.

Por lo que he sacado de la combersacion de estos dos sujetos parece que han sido comisionados especialmente á observar y reconocer todas las tierras que en direccion de los 37. grados se internan acia el norte. Long particularm^te^. parece haverse ocupado mucho de este objeto, hace muchos elogios de todas esas tierras, y sobre todo las en que havitan los Chactas, cuyos rios, Bayues, y derrames dán mucha facilidad para la conducion de sus produciones por agua hasta la orilla del Mar me han dicho que me presentarian tres sujetos que han venido con ellos dos que son sus criados, y el otro que solo viene con ellos p^a^. despacharlo inmediatamente al General de la Georgia. sin duda con planos ó detalladas discripciones de los paizes que han observado en su viaje, y que me persuado á sido el objeto principal que se les ha encargado. Long me ha tocado en la combersacion que las dos Carolinas y la Virginia havian logrado que los Indios que estas provincias tienen á sus espaldas abandonasen la caza y se dedicasen al cultivo de las tierras. Sin duda la Georgia tendra igual proyecto, y los sujetos que han sido embiados á

[121] Ahí.

[122] On August 22 Bouligny wrote a long letter to Miró describing conditions in the Natchez district and proposing as a remedy for the evils the organization of the citizens into companies of cavalry. Among the prominent persons whose names are suggested for the offices in this proposed militia are found even the sons of Thomas Green. The letter is in the Hubert Howe Bancroft Library.

Mac Guillwray, como he dicho a V.S. en mi carta n°. 40.[123] havran ido con este fin.

El citado D°. Nicolas Long me ha manifestado que por su parte tendria mucha satisfaccion en baxar á la Nueva Orleans. pero Mainer,[124] me ha dicho que no crée que esto se verifique por que ha oydo hablar á los demas apoyandose siempre que sus ordenes particulares, los ciñen á mantenerse y no salir de los limites de los 37 Grados.[125]

Dios Guarde a V.S. los m°. a°. que deseo. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 28 de Agosto de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. Su mas atento y humilde Servidor

FRAN°°. BOULIGNY.

S°r. D°. Estevan Miró

LIII. NICHOLAS LONG AND NATHANIEL CHRISTMAS TO BOULIGNY.[126]

AMITY HALL 29th Aug°. 1785

Sir

Having this evening the Honor of perusing your letters, to our Colleague W°. Davenport Esq°. also his to you, we find the Nature of our business hither sufficiently explained. If there be any particular points on which your Honor desires more full descripsions you will please to signify it in your next, and we shall take a pleasure in giving you what information, is in our power as Commissioners Nominated by an Act of the Hon°le. General Assembly of the State of Georgia for the purposes heretofore explained:

We beg leave to observe to your Honor that as our Commission, includs us conjunctly it would be more systematical that all future letters (with which you may honor us) should be directed to the Commissioners Jointly.

We have the honor to be with Sentiments of Esteem

Y°. Hble Serv°s.

N. LONG.

N. CHRISTMAS.

Francis Bouleny Com°t.
Civil and Military
Natchez

LIV. BOULIGNY TO LONG AND CHRISTMAS, AUGUST 29, 1785.[127]

Mui Señores mios:

He visto por la carta de Vm°. con Fha de oy que están enterados de la correspondencia q°. D°. Guillermo Davenport, ha tenido con migo,

[123] August 17, *ante*, p. 324.

[124] In his letter of July 30 to Miró (*ante*, p. 308) Bouligny mentions a person named Maisner as carrying messages for him. It is possible that in both cases it is a slip of the pen for Minor.

[125] The figures 37 in this and the preceding paragraph are evidently errors for 31. See, however, the instructions, p. 71, *supra*, and *cf.* the statement of Davenport in his letter of July 30 to Bouligny, *ante*, p. 310, and Bouligny's statement (letter to Miró, July 25), *ante*, p. 304.

[126] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". The letter is marked "A true copy N°. 1".

[127] The original is in the Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785", accompanied by a translation. The letter is marked on the wrapper "N°. 1".

por esta havrán Vm^s^. sabido las razones que me movieron á desear que el citado D^n^. Guillermo Davenport, baxase á presentarse al Señor Governador de esta Provincia, y la esperanza que en su ultima carta me dio que á la llegada de Vm^s^. se verificaria, me ha hecho detener, aqui un Bató que con toda comodidad podrá conducirles á Vm^s^. á la Nueva Orleans, residencia del Gefe que deve tomar conosimiento de los documentos que á Vm^s^. autorizan, y contextar á sus demandas; como me persuado que en esto no tendrán Vm^s^. dificultad y que de ello resultará una mutua satisfaccion y mas facilidad para la pronta expedicion de todos los asumptos, me alegraria que Vm^s^. comprendiesen ese viaje co[n] la posible brevedad.

Dios Gũe a Vm^s^. m^s^. a^s^. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 29 de Agosto de 1785.

B L M de vmds. Su mas Seguro Servidor

FRAN^co^. BOULIGNY.

S^or^. D^n^. Nicolas Long, y D^n^. Nataniel Chrismas

[Addressed:]

A los S^res^. Comisarios de la Asamblea General del Estado de la Georgia,
Natchez.

LV. BOULIGNY TO LONG, DAVENPORT, AND CHRISTMAS, SEPTEMBER 1, 1785.[128]

Mui Señores mios:

He recivido la carta que Vm^s^. me han hecho el honor de escrivirme con Fha de ayer[129] que remitire con la posible brevedad al Señor Governador de esta Provincia, quien contextara á su contenido, y paresiendome preciso que dicha carta vaya acompañada con los Documentos originales que autorizan a Vm^s^. (pues que no hallan por combeniente baxar a presentarlos) pueden Vm^s^. entregarmelos que yo los dirijire con la misma ocacion.

Dios Gũe a Vm^s^. m^s^. a^s^. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 1^o^. de Seprẽ de 1785.

B L M de vmd^s^. Su mas Seguro y atento Servidor

FRAN^co^. BOULIGNY.

A los Srẽs D^n^. Nicolas Long
D^n^. Guillermo Davenport
D^n^. Nataniel Chrismas

[Addressed:]

A los Señores Comisarios de la honrrada Asamblea General de estado de la Georgia,
Natchez.

LVI. LONG, DAVENPORT, AND CHRISTMAS TO BOULIGNY.[130]

AMITY HALL 1^st^. Sep^t^. 1785

Sir

We have the honor of Inclosing you a true copy of the authority under which we Act.

[128] In the Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785", accompanied by translation. It is marked "N°. 2".

[129] The commissioners' letter of August 31 is missing.

[130] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785". It is marked "A true copy N°. 3".

The originals we hope you will pardon us for detaining, as by them alone we are secured in our transactions on this Business. Wm. Davenport Esq^r^. waits on you with them we hope your honor will suffer them to be examined and attested in your presence in order that no doubt may arise with Gov^r^. Miro, concerning their Authority he also brings you the different treaties, and other papers which respect our Boundaries. We flatter ourselves your honor will have a Minute taken of them that thereby he may with more ease have reference to them.

It's those papers we refered you to, of yesterdays date,[131] seeing an opportunity of sending immediately to his Excellency, offers itselfe, we cannot decline dropping a sentiment, more on the subject of that letter.

In the Treaty with his Brittanic Majesty dated September 1783 his most Catholick Majesty signs and ratifies the difinitive articles of peace agreed on between the Plenipotentiary, and his Plenipotentiary Don Pedro Count of Aranda etc., etc., in which the Floridas are confirmed to the Crown, and the established limits of West Florida is well known to extend no further than the thirty first degree of Latitude. We therefore doubt not but that his Excellency Governor Miro whom we conclude to be vested with every Authority from his Majesty that may be Necessary for Amicably settling this matter, will after perusing the letters of our correspondence, the Credentials inclosed, and after having refferance to the different Treaties issue his directions for the giveing us immediate possession of the County of Bourbon agreeable to the expectation of the State, her just right, and the Boundaries of it prescribed by the Laws of her Legislature here with furnished.

We have the Honor to be Sir with much esteem

Y^r^. Hble Serv^ts^.
N. Long.
Wm. Davenport.
N. Christmas.

D^n^. Francis Bouleny Com^dt^.
Civil and Military Natchez

LVII. Bouligny to Long, Davenport, and Christmas, September 2, 1785.[132]

Mui Señores mios:

He recibido las dos cartas[133] que con Fha de 1°. y 2. del corriente me han hecho Vm^s^. el honor de escrivirme, Juntamente con los documentos inclusos todo lo que dirijire al Señor D^n^. Estevan Miró, Governador General de esta Provincia en primera ocacion.

Dios Guarde a Vm^s^. muchos años. Fuerte Panmure de Natchez 2 de Setiembre de 1785.

B L M de vmd^s^. Su mas atento y Seguro Servidor

Fran^co^. Bouligny.

A los S^res^ D^n^. Nicolas Long
D^n^. Guillermo Davenport
D^n^. Nataniel Chrismas

[131] See foot-note 129.

[132] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785", accompanied by translation dated September 3.

[133] The reference is apparently to the letters of August 31 (missing) and September 1.

LVIII. Miró to the Conde de Galvez, September 5, 1785.[134]

Muy Señor mio:

El teniente Coronel Don Francisco Bouligny, Comandante de Natchez, con fecha de 24 de Agosto[135] último, me participa haber llegado alli Don Nicolás Long, y Don Nathaniel Christmas, los dos Comisarios por el estado de Georgia, que esperaba D[n]. Guillermo Davenport, y los tres le han pasado quatro oficios que se reducen á manifestar al referido Don Francisco Bouligny los documentos originales, que son los mismos, cuyas copias tengo remitido á V. E. con mis oficios números 199 y 210, habiendo solo uno de los expresados ido á entregárselos, para que en su presencia los examinase y cotexase las copias authorizadas que le dexaron y quedan en mi poder, concluyendo con pedirle me los envie, y reclamando el mencionado Distrito en los terminos siguientes:

"En el Tratado con Su Magestad Británica, con fecha de Setiembre de 1783, Su Magestad Católica firma y ratifica los Artículos del tratado difinitivo convenido y acordado entre el Plenipotenciario de Su Magestad Británica, y su Plenipotenciario Don Pedro Conde de Aranda, etc. etc., en cuyos Artículos las dos Floridas están confirmadas á la Corona de España, y los límites establecidos de la Florida occidental son bien conocidos, por no estenderse más allá del lado del Norte, que hasta los 31 grados de latitud, razón por la qual no dudamos que Su Excelencia el Gobernador Miró que miramos revestido con toda la autoridad necesaria de Su Magestad, para arreglar amigablemente este asunto, enviará (después de lectura de nuestra correspondencia de los documentos adjuntos que nos autorizan, y después de haber examinado los diferentes tratados) sus correspondientes órdenes, para que se nos dé inmediatamente posesión del Condado de Borbón, conforme á la expectativa de nuestro estado, su justo derecho, y los límites que le han sido prescritos por la Ley de la Legislación inclusa adjunta."[136]

A los citados quatro oficios he respondido como V. E. verá en la adjunta copia,[137] deseando sea de la aprobación de V. E.

Me participa Don Francisco Bouligni que Don Nicolás Long, á quien parece tienen alguna deferencia los demás, es sujeto aunque joven muy moderado, manifestando en sus conversaciones estar muy lexos el estado de Georgia de ser su animo prepararse á ninguna hostilidad, confiados, sin embargo, se les entregará el territorio que pretenden, porque se vean en tal situación que les era imposible pasarse de él, y que sabe y le consta que no hay sacrificio que no haga la America, para obtenerlo de Su Magestad Católica, y para cuya solicitud confian mucho con la mediación de la Francia.

Natchez se mantiene en la mayor tranquilidad, no habiendo llegado á los oídos del Comandante la más mínima conversación que pueda dar cuidado.

[134] This letter (no. 230, marked "Copia"), inclosed in letter (no. 103) of Miró to Josef de Galvez, September 6, 1785, is in Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Papeles de Estado, leg. 3891. For a copy of it we are indebted to Colonel Reuben T. Durrett of Louisville, in whose library there is a transcript (Gardoqui Papers, III. 289–293).

[135] The reference is apparently to Bouligny's letter dated August 28 (*ante*, p. 326).

[136] See the letter of Long, Davenport, and Christmas, September 1, *ante*, p. 330.

[137] Miró to Long, Christmas, and Davenport, September 5, *post*, p. 333. See *post*, foot-note 138.

Es quanto tengo que participar digno de la atención de V. E.

Dios nuestro Señor guarde á V. E. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 5 de Setiembre de 1785.

B. L. M. de V. E. su más atento servidor.

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

Excmo. Sr. Conde de Galvez.

LIX. MIRÓ TO LONG, CHRISTMAS, AND DAVENPORT, SEPTEMBER 5[7], 1785.[138]

Muy S^res. mios.

He recibido las quatro cartas que V. SS. han escrito al Teniente Coronel Don Francisco Bouligny, Comandante del Fuerte y distrito de Natchez, desde el 29 de Agosto al 2 de Setiembre último: su asunto está contrahido á haber V. SS. manifestado los documentos que los autorizan á reclamar el referido Fuerte y distrito de Natchez en nombre del Estado de Georgia, como comprendidos en los 31 grados latitud Norte, que la Gran Bretaña señaló por límites en este Rio á los Estados Unidos de América en el último Tratado de Paz.

No me toca de ningún modo hablar sobre el incontestable derecho que la España tiene hasta la desembocadura del Rio Ohio en la orilla Oriental del Misisipi, por que está particularmente encargado de conciliar el arreglo de límites con los referidos Estados Unidos D^n. Diego de Gardoqui, enviado por S. M. á Philadelphia, por lo que sólo diré que no he recibido orden para entregar el referido fuerte y Distrito de Natchez, y que en consequencia del Juramento que tengo prestado estoy obligado á rehusarlo á quien lo reclamare y á defenderlo contra qualquiera enemigos que se presenten á atacarlo, mientras que no reciba Ordenes de mi Soberano para cederlo; en vista de esto no puedo permitir que V. SS. pongan en práctica su comisión de Jueces de Paz en el citado Distrito, ni en ningún otro de los Dominios de S. M. hasta la referida desembocadura del Rio Ohio, que estañ baxo mi mando, y espero que V. SS. se abstendrán de exercer acto alguno de autoridad, el que miraria como una hostilidad; sin embargo, aunque desde luego considero no tienen V. SS. nada que hacer en estos Territorios de S. M. y que yo por las Leyes de Indias no puedo permitir en ellos Estrangero ninguno, por la atención que merece el Estado de Georgia que ha comisionado á V. SS. permito se mantengan en ese Distrito hasta que reciban respuesta de su honorable Estado, con la precisa circunstancia de no tratar con esos Vecinos Vasallos de S. M. sobre la disputa pendiente de límites, por las malas consequencias que las conversaciones de esta especie pueden producir.

[138] For a copy of this letter we are indebted to the courtesy of Colonel Durrett, in whose library there is a transcript. Miró inclosed a copy in his letter (no. 230) of September 5 to the Conde de Galvez, *ante*, p. 332, and also in his letter of September 6 to Josef de Galvez (see *ante*, foot-note 134). A translation of the letter is in the *Publications* of the Louisiana Historical Society, vol. II. (1898), part II., pp. 15–16 (see p. 66 and foot-note 4, *supra*). The letter from which Mr. Cussachs made this translation is dated September 7, and that is the date under which it is mentioned in the letter of Long, Davenport, and Christmas to Miró, October 13 (*post*, p. 339), and also in Miró's reply, November 10 (*post*, p. 342). It would appear therefore that Miró gave to the letter actually despatched to the commissioners a date two days subsequent to that of the copies sent to Mexico and Spain.

Es digno de admiración que la honrada Legislación del Estado de Georgia haya enviado á V. SS. á reclamar el fuerte y Distrito de Natchez sin haberse antes puesto de acuerdo con el Rey mi Amo, pues no pueden ignorar que ningún Capitán general ni Virrey tiene la facultad de entregar los Dominios que manda sin expresa orden de su Soberano, lo que miro y he mirado como un proceder dirigido á buscar pretexto para un rompimiento, lo que estoy preparando á la defensiva, haciendo excesivos gastos, así para el envio de Tropas que ya he hecho á reforzar el Fuerte de Natchez, como en los preparativos que continúo en el Tren de Campaña para subir con crecido número de tropas que aguardo de las posesiones inmediatas de S. M. protextando desde luego como protexto que todos estos gastos son ocasionados por la Legislación del Estado de Georgia, á causa de los pasos que ha dado contra el derecho de Gentes en el envio de V. SS., estableciendo un condado en los Dominios del Rey mi Amo, á fin de que S. M. los reclame según fuere su soberana voluntad.[139]

Deseo ocasiones de servir á V. SS., cuya vida ruego á Dios guẽ. á V. SS. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 5 de Setiembre de 1785.

B. L. M. de V. SS. su más atento servidor,

ESTEVAN MIRÓ.

S^res^.

D^n^. Nicolás Long
Don Nathaniel Christmas y
D^n^. Guillermo Davenport.

LX. THOMAS GREEN TO ANTHONY BLEDSOE.[140]

CHICKESAW 10^th^ of Sep^t^ 1785

Dear Sir

This you will Receve by the hand of M^r^ Coyle which is to inform you that the Spanards will not give up the garrison and that thay have sence I Demanded it have Reinforsed it and is daly so Doing and sayes that thare clame is as far as as the tennesee if not further and has sent one Sasserer[141] a french man under pretence of Claming a negro of Elizah Keith. But his Busnes is a Spey to see the strenth of that place and Cane Tuck and all the weston Settelments and as for his Cerriacter he he is nothing but a tool and a Spey Even at the Natches

[139] The translation of this passage in the volume mentioned in the preceding note is not in accord with the present text and the meaning is obscured. The translation reads: "I do protest from this moment that all this expense is occasioned by the Legislature of the State of Georgia on account of the steps she has taken against the rights of people in your clan; I shall constitute as a county the dominions of the King, my master, that he may reclaim them according to his supreme will." The following expresses more nearly the sense of the passage: ". . . protesting from this moment, as I do protest, that all these expenses are occasioned by the legislation of the state of Georgia by reason of the steps she has taken contrary to the law of nations in sending you gentlemen to establish a county in the dominions of the King, my master, [I protest] to the end that his majesty may reclaim them [the expenses] in accordance with his sovereign will."

[140] The original of this letter is in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California. See foot-note 116.

[141] Luis Chacheret. See Bouligny's letter to Miró, November 13, *post*, p. 347.

and was one of the grates Enemies that the good peopel had thare tho but few new it and now if he is admited to pass he has money sent by him from goverment to purchas flower for the Garrison and has Delueded that Inosent fool John Jack with him who was known formerly to be american So that if he is admited to pass I Expect it will be the braking up that Settelment for the Spanards is a Drawin the Intrust of the Indens from us and has admitted Turnbull and others to bring goods to Mobeal and pencecola where thare Ships is to Land thare goods which cums under the Spanish Trade and has by the influence of the Creeks Stopt ower trade that way and Even sent after our peopel that Came from Georga as Commisheners to have them Murderd but mist them and I am Informd that it was the Creeks that did the mistch about Cumberland and Canetuck this Spring.[142]

Please to inform goverment thare is all the appearince of ware this way for thay are Reparing all thare Garrisons and Bulding of New ons and forses from Deffrant parts are Daly ariving at pencecoly and orlence Thare fore I think it is time for the americans to Look about them and If the natches is not gave up or taken our weston Cuntery is nothing thare fore I hope that Every american will not Suffer a few in crochen Tyrents to take the most Valuable places in this new world I am Dear Si^r. Your Most Sencear frind

and Hble Sarvent

THO^s. GREEN

NB.

I Shuld [have sent] a Gentaman on purpas to you about that man if this oppertunity had not offerd as all the Commisheners thinks he aught to be Stopt when thay heard his busness

T G

Excus baD Righting as I have Lost my Specs

[Addressed:]

For Col^o. Bledso[143]

Faverd at Cumberland

By M^r. Coyle This ——

LXI. LONG, DAVENPORT, AND CHRISTMAS TO GOVERNOR ELBERT.[144]

NATCHEZ September 13^th. 1785

Sir

We do ourselves the honor of enclosing you the letters of correspondence between ourselves and Col. Bouligny Commandant of the garrison and district Natchez, an Officer of his Catholic Majestys, from which your honor may be informed of the precise situation in which this Country at present is, at least so far as we have any knowledge. The answer of Governor Miro on the subject of our business is not yet arrived from Orleans, in a few days we expect it which shall be transmitted you P^r Express immediately after togather with watever may occur in the interim.

[142] *Cf.* Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, vol. III., ch. III.

[143] Colonel Anthony Bledsoe, intimately associated with James Robertson in the Cumberland settlement. He was killed by the Indians in 1788. See Putnam, *History of Middle Tennessee*, pp. 297–298, and *passim*.

[144] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785".

Also is enclosed a circular letter[145] which hath occasioned much confusion in this country, and hath been a means of Alienating the disposition of many people from the State of Georgia. The concequences of it hath been severely felt by the Gentlemen who set it on foot, being contrary to the Spanish laws for any Person to convene the Populace togather on any occasion: cognizance was immediately taken of this action in them, they were therefore apprehended and confined, M^r^. Banks in Irons, after a few days M^r^. Ellis and M^r^. Banks were confined to there houses and fined fifty Dollars M^r^. Gaillard sentenced to be Banished and given one month to prepare for his departure.[146]

Cap^t^. Davenport writes your honor several letters accompanying this, which was done prior to the arrival of the other two of us, and contains his correspondence singularly with the commandant of this Garrison, he also mentions to you the confusion he found this district in, owing to the Misconduct of Col. Thomas Green, but as that was a matter which did not immediately come under the observation of more than one of us, have declined mentioning anything on that head in the present letter, but give reference to his on that Subject.

In passing the different Indian Nations we made it our business as much as possible to pry into the disposition of the different tribes, of all which the Creeks are infinitely the most unfriendly to the Americans, owing to the decided parts that M^c^.Gilvery has taken in favour of the Spaniards. The Chicasaws are as much in favour of the Americans as the Creeks are averse to them, notwithstanding all possible means being taken to turn them to the Spaniards, by a set of Scoundrals who live in their Nation, being the banished and proscribed Refugees of the different States.

The head men of this nation shew'd us a great deal of friendship whilst amongst them often expressing how happy they lived before the late war when we used to furnish them Amunition goods etc., but now they say they are forgotten, and will be obliged to apply for releaf from a set of People they are by Nature enemies to, and to those people who in former days have kill'd and destroy'd so many of their kings and Warriors.

They are desirious of meeting the beloved Men of Georgia and of establishing a firm and permanent peace with them. M^r^. Cousens a man of real influance among this Nation, they desired should bring them

[145] Presumably the manifesto of Ellis, Gaillard, and Banks, p. 77, *supra*. The letter cannot now be found in the archives of Georgia. See Davenport's letter to Governor Elbert, July 26 (*ante*, p. 305), and p. 95, foot-note 109, *supra*.

[146] Compare a letter of James McDonald to Joseph Martin, dated at Lookout Mountain, September 6, 1785 (*North Carolina State Records*, XVII. 519; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, IV. 55). McDonald had heard that "there is a number of Americans Already Taken up at Natches and sent prisoners to Orleans. The principal of them, it is said, will be hanged." On the other hand, Benjamin Hawkins, who was at Charleston as a commissioner of the United States to make a treaty with the southern Indians, wrote to Governor Caswell of North Carolina (September 26): "The Agent of Georgia among the Creeks has lately informed Governor Elbert that the Americans on the Mississippi have taken the Fort from the Spaniards at the Natches. The Governor says he hopes it is not true but I think otherwise." (*N. C. State Records*, XVII. 523; *cf. Cal. of Virginia State Papers*, IV. 57.) See also McGillivray's letter to Zespedes, December 10, *post*, p. 348.

a talk from you as they say he never deceived nor told them lies, and that they can beleave what he tells them.

The Chactaws are a number of them very friendly to us particularly the Towns immediately under the direction of Mingo French Man Stubby[147] who has never yet worn any goods but such as were brought him by Americans, he is desirious of getting commissions for his chief Warriors from the State of Georgia amounting in all to nearly forty in number. We mentioned to him the general treaty that was expected to be held with the continental commissioners,[148] at which he was much pleased and sayd that for these two years past he had experienced many vevisitudes [*sic*] of mind respecting his brethern the American people that he sometimes expected the time was near at hand, when he could take a fast hold without fear of letting go; at other times appearences was so much against it that he lost all hopes of ever seeing that day, he compear'd his own Situation to a tiard cold traveler spent with fatigue and perished almost to death with cold, who setting himselfe down with his flint and knife, to strike fire with bad punk on which a spark falling now and then rayses a smoke anxiously expecting fire is at length mortified by its going out; but that now he was in hopes more than ever that the smoke would soon kindle into a blaze and he again hear a good talk from his old friends, which would set all to rights.

We have mentioned the preceeding circumstances to shew the dispositions of those tribes towards the people of America in order that every incouragement should be given them to continue in the same friendly inclination.

We have the honor to be Sir Y^r^. honors Ob^t^. hb^e^. Ser^ts^.

N. Long. Jr.
W. Davenport.
Nat Christmas.

His honor Governor Elbert.

LXII. The Conde de Galvez to Miró, September 22, 1785.[149]

Por las cartas de V.S. numeros 210, 211, y 223, de 22 de Julio,[150] y 2 de Agosto[151] ultimos en que me encompaña copias de los Oficios, y Documentos que le han sido remitidos á V.S. por el Teniente Coronel Don Felipe Treviño, y su sucesor en el mando del Fuerte de Natchez el Teniente Coronel Don Francisco Bouligny, quedo enterado con individualidad de quanto ha ocurrido en esa Provincia, despues de las primeras noticias que V.S. me comunicó, relativas á la solicitud hecha por Tomas Green Havitante de aquel Puesto, á nombre del Estado de Georgia á fin de que le fuera entregado, y la continuacion de los posteriores pasos dados por el mismo sugeto, y su asociado Don Guillermo Davemport, como tambien de las disposiciones que aquellos dos Comandantes tomaron, y ordenes que V.S. les habia comunicado sobre el asunto.

[147] Chief Franchammastubba, also written Franchimastabé.

[148] The treaty of Hopewell. See foot-note 108.

[149] Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis., y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14. A copy was also inclosed in Miró's letter (no. 99) to Bouligny, November 10, 1785 (*post*, p. 346).

[150] *Supra*, pp. 107–109.

[151] Miró's letter (no. 223) of August 2 to the Conde de Galvez is missing.

Los expresados Oficiales no tiene duda obraron con mucha prudencia, y que con ella se condujó V.S. en sus providencias, pero á mi me parece no fueron acreedores á tanta consideracion unos hombres de conducta sospechosa, cuyo manejo era desde luego hostil, y a quienes por termino alguno constaba se les hubiese autorizado lejitimamente para la comicion que representaban.

Los nombramientos, patentes, y qualesquiera otro Documento de los que han presentado ninguna fé deben hacernos para que con solo ellos sean admitidos, y considerados Green ni sus compañeros en la clase de Comisionados ó Embajadores, y mucho menos para que les sea entregado un distrito de que somos dueños, sin que haya precidido la correspondiente cesion de nuestra Corte, mediante el acuerdo en que era consiguiente se pusiese con el Congreso general de los Estados Unidos, y se nos hubiese hecho saber reciprocamente por el conducto de los respectivos representantes de ambas Potencias.

Tambien sabe V.S. con que facilidad los Americanos dan á la prensa qualesquiera escrito, y tiene la experiencia de como falsearon poco tiempo hace en esa misma Provincia los Villetes Reales, por lo que nada extraño seria que de la propia suerte hayan impreso las Patentes de Jueces de Paz, y demas Comiciones citadas sin conocimiento del Estado por quien se suponen expedidas; Y asi tampoco debe causar la menor fuerza verlas extendidas en letra de molde para darles mas credito, pero aun quando fuesen lejitimas, siempre carecen de la circunstancia de ser comunicadas bajo las formalidades de costumbre, regularidad en casos tales, y entre Naciones ocultas.

En qualesquiera de ellas á donde hubiera llegado un sugeto del caracter que V.S. conoce es Tomas Green, con una solicitud parecida á la suya, y comportandose del modo tumultuario que el ha descubierto entre el vecindario de Natchez (especialmente siendo el mismo uno de los que lo compone) creo que lejos de ser admitido con la pretendida representacion de enviado, habria sido tratado con el rigor que las Leyes imponen a un sedicioso.

Su procedimiento no considero merezca otro titulo: La consequencia notada en los expresados papeles de la indicada Comision: La falta de su presentacion ante V.S. para dar cuenta de ella conforme se le previno por Treviño, y el temor que Green, y Davemport han manifestado con eso á nuestro Gobierno, igualmente que las expresiones de amenaza vertidas despues, y sus diligencias dirigidas á conmover los animos del vecindario de Natchez; son claros testimonios de la mala fé de ambos, y eran sobrado motivo para haber procedido desde luego contra ellos, sin respecto, ni consideracion alguna.

Yo bien me hago cargo que toda la que ha habido por parte de V.S. no pudo llevar otra mira que la de conservar buena armonia con los Americanos, evitando el menor fundamento dé queja, con la idea, por supuesto de ganar tiempo para que la llegada á Filadelfia de Don Diego Gardoqui pusiera fin amistoso á sus deseos, y pretenciones una vez arreglada la demarcacion de limites sobre el Misisipi, pero tambien pienso; Que no estamos en el caso de manifestarles temor alguno; pues jamas atribuiran á otra cosa nuestra tolerancia, que esta solo servira para que abusando de ella nos insulten con mayor empeño; y que al fin no podran ejecutar mas de lo que practicarian de resultas de verse tratados como enimigos declarados, pues ellos lo han de ser siempre que

á eso conspiren las actuales intenciones de los Estados, por mas que los contemplemos, ó desistir de su intento, sino tiene parte en la referida solicitud, y quieren solo conocer la razon con que la resistimos.

En fuerza de estas reflexiones debe tambien V.S. mudar de metodo, y si bolvieren á comparecer esos Yndividuos, ó qualesquiera otro con igual Diputacion, continuando en los mismos pasos; mandara V.S. arrestarlos inmediatamente y formada su correspondiente causa me la remitira V.S. dirigiendo los Reos al Castillo de San Juan de Ulua bajo la custodia necesaria para que yo determine de ellos. La misma providencia tomara V.S. con todo otro Habitante de Natchez que se halle indiciado del delito de sedicion; pero como puede comprehender á muchos exige por supuesto que su culpa este bien calificada antes de determinar la providencia general, que convenga para extinguir de raiz la semilla de la rebelion, y asi encargo á V.S. que para verificarlo se acegure bien de los hechos, y manejo de cada persona de aquellos que se graduen Criminales.

Mediante todo lo referido apruebo que V.S. haya enviado á aquel Fuerte el refuerzo de la Compañia de Granaderos; que haga las precisas prevenciones para su defensa en el ultimo acontecimiento como el que V.S. se haya detenido en precaucion de la salud de la tropa, existiendo preparado á marchar alla quando lo contemple necesario, para cuyo caso, como confio que sabra tomar quantos partidos le dicte su acreditado celo, inteligencia militar, conocimiento del terreno, y de los Enemigos; nada mas me resta que prevenir á V.S. en la materia.[152]

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años. Mexico 22 de Septiembre de 1785.

El Conde de Galvez.

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

LXIII. Long, Davenport, and Christmas to Miró.[153]

Amity Hall 13th. October 1785

Sir,

We have had the honor of your favour wrote in Orleans the 7th. September[154] ultimo, the purport of which (so far as respects our acting in the authority of our commissions prior to the settlement of the present teritorial contention) we conceived to be fully answered in the part of our instructions furnished Col. Bouligny, which we suppose to have been transmitted your excellancy. We have no inclination, nor are we authorized (though never so desireous) to discharge the function of our offices untill that matter be finally adjusted.

[152] The tone of this letter, so in keeping with the known character of Galvez, leads to the conclusion that, had he been in New Orleans, all the Georgia envoys would have departed earlier for the Indian nations. See Miró's reply, November 10 (no. LXVIII. of these documents), *post*, p. 343; also his letter of same date to Bouligny, *post*, p. 346, where he endeavors to throw the responsibility upon Bouligny.

[153] The original of this letter is in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, the curator of which, Mr. F. J. Teggart, has kindly furnished this copy. A Spanish translation was inclosed in Miró's letter (no. 246) to the Conde de Galvez, November 10, 1785 (*post*, p. 343), and also in his letter (no. 110) to Josef de Galvez, November 16, 1785 (Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis. y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14).

[154] *Ante*, p. 333. See foot-note 138.

We were well acquainted with his Majesty's Agent's being gone to the Continental Congress on the affairs of this river and conjectured from the length of time that he hath been gone, that your excellancy had received despatches on that business, before this present period, from which you would be authorized to give a decissive answer to the subject on which we have said much already, and untill we are honored with it our oppinions must differ greatly with your excellancy's in respect to our having, or not having, business in the district; considering ourselves authorized to remain untill finally answered. But from an earnest wish of giving every imajinable quietude to the Gentleman who commands this Garrison, at the same time impress'd with the profoundest respect for your excellency, and tenacious of doing any thing that would create your displeasure, we assure you it is not our intention to say any thing to the Vassals of his Majesty on the point in contest that may eventually be productive of ill consequences to the government.

We are very confident that a Captain General or Voiceroy has not authority to deliver up a country which may be under his command unless by special directions from his Sovereign but are of opinion that they are authorized to conform to the Articles of a Solemn treaty ratified by their Sovereign unless particularly ordered to the contrary. It is by the difinitive treaty of amity and peace that the honorable Legislature of Georgia conceived themselves warrented in the present demand; and to us it is strange that a proceeding founded on such just principils should be construed into a pretext (as your excellency is pleased to term it) for a rupture, so far were the Assembly of Georgia from desiring this, that in those very papers furnished you, copies of our authority, we were forbid doing any (thing contrary to the right of the State) that may eventually occasion a rupture.[155] We will not presume to say in what light the United States will consider the making of fortifications within their boundaries neither do we say that they will not quietly submit to so valuable a member being lopped off from their general teritory, but our opinion is otherwise, and we assure your excellancy our stedfast belief is that the State of Georgia will by no means consent to disburce the expences you mention are likely to be charged them.

We have the honor to be Sir with great esteem and respect
your excellancy's Ob^{t}. hum^{l}. serv^{ts}.

N. Long Jr.
Wm Davenport
N. Christmas

D^{n}. Stephen Miro Gov^{r}.

LXIV. The Conde de Galvez to Miró, October 20, 1785.[156]

En carta numero doscientos veinte y cinco de catorce de Agosto[157] que acabo de recibir me incluye V.S. una copia comprehensiva de lo principal que resulta del contenido de diez y nueve Oficios que el Comandante del fuerte de Natchez D. Francisco Buligny ha escrito á V.S. desde su llegada alli los mas conservientes al asunto sobre si será ó no atacado por los Americanos haciendome tambien V.S. relacion de lo que considera digno de noticiarme en el particular.

[155] See the instructions of February 11, p. 71, *supra*.

[156] Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

[157] *Ante*, p. 323.

Quedo por consiguiente impuesto de todo ello: apruebo la diligencia mandada practicar por el citado Comandante de haber comisionado varios sugetos para el reconocimiento y averiguacion de si es cierta la especie que le comunicaron algunos indios de hallarse trescientos hombres sobre los Rios Cheraquis y Cumberland construyendo lanchas y barcos chatos. Me ha parecido igualmente bien la providencia economica tomada por V.S. de suspender su marcha y la compostura del cuarto lanchon cañonero mediantes las apariencias de tranquilidad en que al mismo tiempo supo V.S. se hallan los habitantes del referido Distrito y señales que los propios comisionados manifiestan de no ser su animo hostil en la actualidad; y finalmente ha sido de mi aprobacion el vando que V.S. dispuso se hiciera saber á los vecinos de Natchez.

De todo doy parte á S.M. y á V.S. avisaré con la oportunidad que me fuese posible lo que juzgare mas conveniente que execute en el caso de que llegase á mi conocimiento ser inevitable un rompimiento ó preciso que V.S. emprendiera la marcha para el fin á que se halla prevenido.

Dios guarde á V.S. muchos años. Mexico veinte de Octubre de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco.

El Conde de Galvez.

Señor Don Estevan Miró.

LXV. Samuel Elbert to Thomas Green.[158]

Savannah 9th. November 1785.

To Col° Greene, in the Chicasaws.

Sir.

I had the honor to receive your Dispatches[159] by Capt Jamieson, who will deliver you this. We have paid this Gent. in a Dr^t^ on the Tr. thirty pounds Ster^g^. in full for coming down and returning.

I am sorry to find that your situation has been made unhappy in consequence of the Bourbon business. It is not in the power of the Ex^e^. to afford you any relief. Your letter will be laid before the Legis^e^. when they meet and I have no doubt they will take some measures for y^r^. relief, till then I think you will be well employed in regulating matters with the Indians so as to impress them with favorable sentiments towards this and the people of the United States.

I am etc.

S. E.

[158] From the letter-book of Samuel Elbert in possession of the Georgia Historical Society. For this copy we are indebted to William Harden, Esq., librarian of that society. A less accurate copy is in the Force transcripts in the Library of Congress ("Georgia Records, Council Correspondence").

[159] The despatches referred to have not been found. There is, however, in the bundle marked "Foreign Affairs, 1785", in the office of the secretary of state, in Atlanta, a wrapper addressed to Governor Elbert "Hon^d^. by Cap^t^ John Jameson" and indorsed "Letter, Thomas Green, Chactaw Nation". The indorsement further shows that the letter was received November 8 and read in council November 9. Another wrapper shows that letters from Davenport were received November 2 and read in council November 8.

LXVI. Miró to Long, Christmas, and Davenport, November 10, 1785.[160]

Muy Señores mios:

He recibido con fecha de 13 de Octubre ultimo la respuesta que VV. S.S. dan á mi oficio de siete de Septiembre; la arrogancia con que V.V. S.S. afirman estan autorizados á mantenerse en ese distrito, con la expresion dura, y fuerza del caso en que me reconvienen V.V. S.S. por las fortificaciones que se trabajan en el, suponiendo las dentro de los limites de los Estados Unidos, me precisan á prevenir á V.V.S.S. y á toda su comitiva salgan de esa jurisdiccion y demas territorios que posee el Rey mi amo por las conquistas de Natchez, Mobila, y Panzacola, las que comprende todo quanto mandaba el General Campbel[161] que las rindió por la capitulacion de la ultima Plaza: doy á V.V.S.S. quince dias de tiempo desde el en que recibieren esta, para empezar su marcha, y un mes despues para salir de los referidos territorios, en la inteligencia de que si concluidos los primeros permanecen V.V.S.S. ahi lo miraré como un acto de hostilidad, y en su consequencia, doy por si llega este caso, las ordenes correspondientes al Teniente Coronel Don Francisco Bouligny.[162]

Si es cierto que V.V.S.S. vienen de parte del Estado de Georgia, juzgo seran corregidos por el referido modo de escribir por el proceder tumultuario de Tomás Green, y por las conversaciones perjudiciales que han tenido Don Guillermo Davemport, principalmente en el convite de Job Corry,[163] pero se puede dudar seán V.V.S.S. verdaderamente tales comisionados, por que estos no los envia jamas una Nacion á otra á tales comisiones, sin estar los respectivos soberanos antes de acuerdo. En favor de la tranquilidad, y buena armonia con los Estados Unidos, no obstante esta duda, admití á V.V.S.S. permitiendo se mantubiesen en ese distrito, hasta que recibiesen su respuesta; pero visto el modo con que V.V.S.S. se producen en la contestacion arriba citada seria contra el decoro que se debe á la Magestad que me ha conferido el mando de estas Provincias el sufrir mas tiempo la permanencia de V.V.S.S. en ellas.[164]

[160] Inclosed in letter (no. 246) of Miró to the Conde de Galvez, November 10 (*post*, p. 343), marked "Copia". It is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba, Florida Occidental, leg. 11. Another copy inclosed in letter no. 110 of Miró to Josef de Galvez, November 16, is in Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis., y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14. A translation of the letter is in the Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Foreign Affairs, 1785".

[161] General John Campbell was in command of the British forces in West Florida in 1780–1781 and capitulated to Bernardo de Galvez at Pensacola on May 9, 1781. Natchez and Mobile had previously been taken by the Spanish forces, the former in September, 1779, the latter in March, 1780. The claim to the territory is therefore based primarily on conquest and secondarily on the boundaries which West Florida actually had under British administration at the outbreak of the war. See pp. 67–68 *supra*.

[162] See the letter to Bouligny, November 10, *post*, p. 346.

[163] See numbers XX., XXI., and XXVI. of these documents, pp. 100, 101, 107, *supra*.

[164] The vigorous attitude taken in this letter is due mainly to the letter from the Conde de Galvez, September 22, *ante*, p. 337.

Dios guarde á V.V.S.S. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 10 de Noviembre de mil setecientos ochenta y cinco.

Miró.

Señores Don Nicolas Long,
Don Nathaniel Christmas, y
Don Guillermo Davenport.

LXVII. Miró to the Conde de Galvez, November 10, 1785.[165]

Exmo Señor

Muy Señor mio:

Incluyo á V.E. bajo el numero 1°. la traduccion de la carta[166] que en respuesta me dirigen los Comisarios del Estado de Georgia, cuyo contenido me ha parecido lleno de arrogancia, y reconvencion por las fortificaciones, que dicen se hacen dentro de los limites de los Estados Unidos, lo que recae solamente sobre las reparaciones, que para mejor defensa he mandado continuar en el Fuerte de Natchez, por lo que aunque, yo los habia admitido como tales comisionados (no obstante la duda de poder ser fingidos los documentos que los autorizan por no haber sido comunicados con las formalidades de estilo en favor de la tranquilidad, y buena harmonia con los Estados Unidos) les mando retirar de esta Provincia en los términos que V.E. verá en la copia n°. 2.[167] lo que como analogo á lo que V.E. me tiene ultimamente prevenido de no tener con ellos consideracion confia será de su aprovacion.

Dios guarde á V.E. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 10 de Noviembre de 1785.

Exmo. Señor,

B. L. M. de V.E. su mas atento servidor,

Estevan Miró.

Exmo Señor Conde de Galvez.

LXVIII. Miró to the Conde de Galvez, November 10, 1785.[168]

Exmo Señor

Muy Señor mio:

En contextacion[169] de mis cartas[170] numeros 210, 211, y 223, desaprueba V.E. mi conducta en quanto haber tratado con demasiada condescendencia á los Comisarios que han venido á reclamar el distrito de Natchez por el Estado de Georgia, sobre lo que suplico á V.E. me permita las siguientes reflexiones.

Quando pareció Tomas Green dió realmente motivos para ser arrestados, pero el Comandante Don Felipe Treviño tubo dos fuertes razones para no hacerlo: la primera que siendo un subalterno temió

[165] This is no. 246. It is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. A copy, inclosed in letter no. 110 of Miró to Josef de Galvez, November 16, is in the same archives, Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis., y Flor., est. 86, caj. 6, leg. 14.

[166] The letter of Long, Davenport, and Christmas, October 13, *ante*, p. 339.

[167] Miró's reply to Long, Christmas, and Davenport, *ante*, p. 342.

[168] No. 249. It is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

[169] Letter of September 22, *ante*, p. 337.

[170] Miró's letters nos. 210 and 211, July 22, are printed, *supra*, pp. 107–109; his letter no 223 is missing.

comprometerse con la superioridad en punto de derecho Nacional con el recelo de ocacionar una Guerra, por lo que no se atrevio á obrar sin ordenes: la segunda que si hallaba solamente con 55 hombres de Guarnicion, é ignorava si habia, ó no, tropas inmediatas para sostener á Tomas Green, ó si sus pasos habian adquirido muchos seguaces en el distrito; circunstancias que me parecen debian inducirle á obrar con prudencia. Quando yo recibi la noticia del arrivo de Tomas Green me hallaba en el mismo caso arriva expresado, con noticias circunstanciadas, y comunicadas de diferentes parages de que habia 2,500 hombres en marcha contra Natchez, y mientras preparaba el socorro[171] contexté á Don Felipe Treviño, aprobandole su conducta;[172] y escribi á Tomás Green[173] en terminos fuertes, como V.E. ha visto, mandandole bajase á esta Capital á presentarme los Documentos, y amenazandole de aprenderlo, si no lo hacia, por lo que escogio el partido de huirse;[174] lo que me parece prueba que no creyó se le trataba con tolerancia: si entonces hubiera yo mandado lo aprendiesen, y hubiese sido sierto que se hallaban las Tropas americanas alli, y que de resultas de esta providencia hubiesen atacado, y tomado á Natchez, me persuado se me hubiera hecho grave cargo de haberme precipitado, y de haber promovido dicho ataque, antes de enviar socorro.

En el intermedio llego Don Guillermo Davemport 2°. Comisario, y estando á un de mi parte en duda si las tropas americanas existian ó no á la inmediacion; mis ordenes al Comandante de Natchéz fueron, que no daria respuesta alguna á los Comisarios, y que para ser admitidos debia bajar á esta Capital á lo menos uno de ellos, ó enviarme los Documentos originales, que los autorizaban.[175] Quando me comunicó Don Felipe Treviño que le habian participado que Don Guillermo Davemport habia hecho una harenga en un convite, induciendo los Habitantes á unirsele, para tomar el Fuerte:[176] mande á Don Francisco Bouligny, que habia ya salido de esta para Natchez, le formase causa, y si salia culpado me lo enviase con ella:[177] envie copia de esta orden á V.E. en los Documentos de la citada carta n°. 211.[178] en cuya repuesta V.E. me dice que los he tratado con demasiada condescendencia, y que debo mudar de metodo, si volviesen á comparecer estos, ó qualquiera otro con igual diputacion.[179] De esta ultima expresion infiero que V.E. cree que Davemport se habia tambien ausentado; pero en los Oficios arriba citados, ó sus documentos, á que me contesta V.E. tengo participado que Davemport se mantenia en Natchez esperando á los otros dos Comisarios que estaban en Camino.[180]

De todo lo referido resulta, que no se habia admitido á Tomás Green,

[171] See Miró's letters of June 14 and 20, pp. 78, 91, *supra*.

[172] Miró to Treviño, June 16, p. 85, *supra*.

[173] Miró to Green, June 19, p. 90, *supra*.

[174] See letter of Treviño, July 11, p. 101, *supra*.

[175] The reference is probably to Miró's letter to Treviño, June 21, which is missing. See Treviño to Miró, July 11, *ibid*.

[176] See letter of Treviño to Miró, July 11, and the statement of Stephen Minor, July 10, pp. 100, 101, *supra*.

[177] Miró to Bouligny, July 19 (especially the third letter), pp. 106–107, *supra*.

[178] July 22 (second letter), p. 108, *supra*.

[179] See the letter of Galvez, September 22, *ante*, p. 337.

[180] Probably in the missing letter of August 2. *Cf.* Miró's letter of that date to O'Neill, *ante*, p. 317.

y que evitó su prision por su fuga; que á Davemport le habia mandado hacer proceso, para que con el se me remitiese á esta Capital: esto es lo que sabia V.E. quando desaprueba mi conducta por haberlos tratado con tanta consideracion.

No siento que V.E. me desapruebe, no obstante que de mi parte no lo merecia hasta la fecha con que V.E. lo hace, por que considero que las grandes ocupaciones de V.E. le hicieron confundir la culpa de los particulares Comandantes de Natchez con la mia; pues ellos fueron los que no tomaron sobre si el obrar contra Davemport, luego que les dieron noticia que hablaba sediciosamente, y yo de mi parte, no pude hacer otra cosa que mandarles apenas lo supe, le hiciesen su causa.

Lo que si siento es, que despues no se hizo la causa á Davemport; no precisé á este ni á sus dos Compañeros á que bajasen á esta á presentar los documentos originales, y los he admitido como tales Comisarios del Estado de Georgia en mi respuesta formal: tres puntos diametricamente opuestos al modo de pensar de V.E. y sobre los quales debo esperar ser enteramente desaprobado; pero daré las razones que ha tenido para obrar asi, por si pudiesen disminuir en algo mi yerro.

Al mismo tiempo que mande á Don Francisco Boulig[n]y que formarse causa á Davemport, le pase otra en oficio separado, para que hiciese lo mismo contra aquellos que hubiesen convenido en unirsele, la que acompaño aunque ya la tiene V.E. bajo el numero 1°.[181] Como conosco el caracter de aquellos habitantes propensos á hacer fuga al menor recelo de ser procesados, le doy facultad para sofocar el asunto en los casos que la orden explica, y una de las expresiones es: "Sin embargo si en la causa formada á Davemport no resultase ninguno culpado" etc[a]. la qual confirma que la causa contra Davemport no deberia haberse excusado, y que mi expresion de poder sofocar el asunto recaia solamente sobre el perteneciente á los habitantes; pero Bouligny lo aplicó tambien á la causa de Davemport, y me responde como V E. vera en su carta, que acompaña bajo el numero 2,[182] lo que le aprobé, aunque contra mi modo de pensar, por no desanimarle al principio de su mando, vista la tranquilidad en que quedaba aquel distrito.[183]

Sobre el haberme separado de la idea en que estube á los principios de precisarlos á bajar á presentarme los Documentos originales que los autorizaban, ó á enviarmelos: no tengo otra razon que dar, sino que me parecio bastante los presentasen á Don Francisco Bouligny con la libertad de cotejar las copias autorizadas que le dejaron, en atencion á que los dos 2°s. Comisarios Don Nicolas Long, y Don Nathaniel Christmas se portaron desde el instante de su llegada con mucha moderacion, contribuyendo con sus conversaciones á la tranquilidad publica, como tengo participado á V.E.[184]

Y por lo que toca á haberles dado mi respuesta formal, lo hecho en terminos que confio aprovará V.E.

Deseo haber satisfecho á V.E. asegurandole mudaré de metodo, como me ordena, lo que he principiado mandando á los referidos Comisarios

[181] The second letter of July 19 (number XXV.), p. 106, *supra*.

[182] Bouligny to Miró, August 10, *ante*, p. 322.

[183] The effort of Miró to shift the blame to his subordinate is tolerably clear. Compare the letters to Bouligny, July 19, pp. 106–107, *supra*, Bouligny's report, August 10, *ante*, p. 322, and Miró to Bouligny, November 10, *post*, p. 346.

[184] The reference is doubtless to the letter of September 5 to the Conde de Galvez, where such a statement is made of Nicholas Long (*ante*, p. 332).

salgan de la Provincia con motivo de la arrogancia, con que han contextado á mi citada respuesta: lo que comunico á V.E. en otro oficio, participandole que se mantienen en la mayor tranquilidad los habitantes de Natchez, sin dar motivo ninguno de desconfianza, que me asegura aquel Comandante prevee no darán, sin salir garante de que no se unan á qualquier tropa americana que se presentase de grado ó por fuerza, á causa de la situacion del Pais.

Dios Nuestro Señor guarde á V.E. muchos años. Nueva orleans 10 de Noviembre de 1785.

Exmo Señor, B.L.M. de V E. su mas atento servidor,

Estevan Miró.

Exmo Señor Conde de Galvez.

LXIX. Miró to Bouligny, November 10, 1785.[185]

Yncluyo á Vm. copia del oficio que acabo de recibir del Exmo Señor Conde de Galvez con fecha de 22 de Septiembre del corriente, en ella vera Vm. que S.E. no quiere se tenga contemplacion ninguna con los Comisionados del Estado de Georgia.

Por mi parte creo haber coincidido con todo quanto relaciona, pues á la primera aparicion de Tomas Green sin admitirlo le mandé bajar á esta Capital, lo que evitó por su fuga.

A la noticia que me dio Don Felipe Treviño de las expreciones vertidas por Don Guillermo Davemport, mandé á Vm. le formase su causa sin ninguna restriccion; pero Vm. aplicó la exprecion de poder sofocar el asunto hasta la causa de Davemport, la que realmente no recaia si no sobre la que debia formarse á los habitantes, en la qual decia, si en la causa formada á Davemport no resultase algun culpado etc[a] esta expresion incluye que la de Davemport, nunca debia escusarse, confieso sin embargo que yo he aprovado que Vm. no lo haya hecho, no por otra razon si no por no desanimar á Vm. á los principios de ese mando; pero ve Vm. ahora por la carta del Señor Conde que hubiera sido mejor que Vm. le hubiera formado su causa, y asi en adelante conformese Vm. al sentido literal de mis ordenes, á menos que haya sucedido algun caso imprevisto, y contradictorio á la que diere del que yo no pudiese tener noticia, quando la escribi.[186]

Acompaño copia del oficio[187] que va adjunto para los referidos Comicionados, en el que les mando salir de ese distrito en los terminos que Vm. vera, si á los 15 dias no huviesen emprendido su marcha los aprenderá Vm. á toda costa formandoles la correspondiente sumaria, que verifique rehusaron salir del distrito, y me los enviará como tambien á los de su comitiva que no hubiesen obedecido, no debe detener á Vm. otra consideracion que la de una grave enfermedad, y solo si le encargo que el numero de tropas que envie aprenderlos sea muy superior á los de su comitiva, á fin de que no teniendo esperanzas de poder resistir, eviten, rindiendose las muertes que resultarian de hacerlo.

Sin embargo de que ya es fuera de tiempo el principiar la causa

[185] Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba. The letter is no. 99.

[186] Compare Miró's second and third letters of July 19, pp. 106–107, *supra*, and see his letter no. 249 of November 10 to the Conde de Galvez (no. LXVIII. of these documents), *ante*, p. 343.

[187] The letter of November 10 to Long, Christmas, and Davenport, *ante*, p. 342.

contra Davemport, por las expresiones con que prorrumpio en el convite de Job Corris segun aviso de Don Felipe Treviño en su carta numero 202:[188] como la cito sin expresarlas en el Oficio adjunto para el,[189] y sus compañeros: tomará Vm. sigilosamente quatro, ó seis declaraciones con asistencia de dos testigos, para averiguarlas, y aunque saliere en ellas culpado no lo aprenderá Vm. si se sale del distrito al tiempo señalado; pero si se mantubiese en el, y fuese preciso arrestarlo conforme lo arriba prevenido, le continuará Vm. entonces la causa hasta ponerla en Estado de sentencia. Dichas declaraciones, en caso de que el asunto no pase adelante, me las enviará Vm. luego que salgan los Comisarios del Distrito para hacer de ellas el uso que convenga.

Dios guarde á Vm. muchos años. Nueva Orleans 10 de Noviembre de 1785.

Estevan Miró.

Señor Don Francisco Bouligny.

LXX. Bouligny to Miró, November 13, 1785.[190]

Mui S^or. mio,

Llegó D^n. Luis Chacheret,[191] á este Fuerte el dia 5. del corriente, haviendo salido de Cumberlan con precipitacion en vista de una carta que se procuró escrita por Tomas Green,[192] á los Gefes de Cumberlan denunciando al dho Chacheret como una persona sospechosa, y que iva encargado de espiar quanto se pasava en la Belle Riviere. Adjunto hallará V.S. la carta que me ha escrito dandome parte de lo que ha obserbado en su viaje, como tambien el orijinal de la carta de Green; Un mapa de la Belle Riviere, y algunas Gazetas de la Carolina del Norte, que podrán hacer ver a V.S. el modo de pensar de aquellas Gentes, y las alteraciones que ay entre ellos.

Su pronto regreso dice no le ha permitido tomar mas amplias noticias, se afirma en que Robertson,[193] á ido á delinear establecim^tos en los Ecores à Margo,[194] 70. leguas mas arriva de Arkanzas, los que deven sér ocupados, una parte por familias de Cumberlan, y otra por familias de Kintochez; Que los establecimientos del oyo, y rios que en el se derraman son ya considerables, y cada dia se aumentan mucho: Que de las Provincias del Norte de la America Subministran mucha Gente por los Lagos Eri, y Ontario, al Establecimiento del Detroit: Que de la Filadelfia y provincias del Sur emigra mucha Gente á los Establecimientos del Fuerte Pit, Olston, Kintoches, Cumberlan y otros pequeños establecimientos; Que en Cumberlan se esperaban como 150. familias: Que no

[188] Treviño's letter to Miró, July 11, p. 101, *supra*. See also the statement of Stephen Minor, p. 100, *supra*.

[189] Miró to Bouligny, July 19 (no. XXVI.), p. 107, *supra*.

[190] In the Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California.

[191] See Miró's letter to the Conde de Galvez, June 14, 1785, p. 78, *supra*, and his instructions to Treviño, June 16, p. 86, *supra*.

[192] Green's letter to Colonel Bledsoe, September 10, *ante*, p. 334.

[193] James Robertson, the leader of the Cumberland settlement.

[194] Bouligny uses the more common French name instead of Barrancas de Margot, the form often employed by Spanish writers. The locality is that of Memphis, Tennessee (the river Margot is now known as Wolf River); but as here used the name designates a wider region than the immediate locality of the bluffs.

ay apariencias que por ahora formen expedicion ninguna, pero q^e^. por poco impulso que se les dé, los animos estan bastante dispuestos á ello. Los documentos adjuntos aclararan á V.S. el concepto que merecen estas noticias, reuniendolas con las que vengan de Filadelfia, y otros parajes.

Dios Guẽ a V.S. las m^s^. a^s^. que deseo. Fuerte Panmur de Natchez 13 de Nov^e^. de 1785.

B.L.M. de V.S. Su mas atento Servidor y obediente subdito

FRAN^co^ BOULIGNY.

S^or^. D^n^. Estevan Miró.

LXXI. THE CONDE DE GALVEZ TO ZESPEDES, NOVEMBER 22, 1785.[195]

Con fecha 26[196] de Julio comuniqué á V. S. las noticias, que havia recivido del Gov^or^. de la Nueba-Orleans, relatibas á la Solicitud del Estado de Georgia por el distrito de Natchéz, previniendo á V. S. vibiesse precavido en el trato con los Americanos p^r^. lo que pudiera acontecer de resultas de aquella novedad; Y aunque el mismo Gefe me participó por el mes de Agosto siguiente hallarse tranquilizados los Havitantes del referido territorio, y al parecer tambien desvanecidos los fundados recelos que habia concebido, acabo de recibir Carta del encargado de los negocios de nr̃a corte en Filadelfia, quien imponiendome de la referida solicitud, me manifiesta tambien, q^e^. segun la disposicion en q^e^. advierte los animos del Congreso, (pero principalm^te^. del Pueblo en general) no crehe desistirán de su pretension los Americanos.[197]

Doy p^r^. consequencia este aviso á V. S. para su Govierno, renobandole el encargo de q^e^. viba con el maior cuidado, y precausion, manejandose de un modo, que el Publico no llegue á alarmarse, discurriendo hay un proximo motibo para ello; Y por de contado procurando V. S. afirmar quanto le sea posible la amistad de las Naciones Yndias, empeñandolas al propio tiempo á q^e^. hagan toda la oposicion de q^e^. son capazes contra las solicitudes de los Estados Unidos, y si p^r^. parte de qualesq^a^. de ellos se hiciere á V. S. alguna sobre el indicado asunto, ú otro de igual naturaleza á ninguna accedera V. S. sin q^e^. preceda R^l^. orden, ó reciba otra mia.

Dios gũe á V. S. m^s^. a^s^. Mexico 22 de Nov^re^. de 1785.

EL^ C^de^. DE GALVEZ

D.[198]

S^or^. D^n^. Vizente Zespedes.

LXXII. ALEXANDER MCGILLIVRAY TO ZESPEDES.[199]

APALACHY 10^th^. December 1785

Sir

I take this Opportunity to make my apology to Your Excellency for having delayed to comply with your desire that I shoud see you at

[195] Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XXXIX., M 3. The letter is no. 30 and is marked "Reservada". Zespedes has indorsed upon it: "Cont^da^. con No. 113".

[196] This is the date of the duplicate. The original was dated July 23 and is number XXIX. of these documents, p. 109, *supra*. See foot-note 174, *ibid.*

[197] See *ante*, p. 298, and foot-notes 6 and 7.

[198] Duplicado.

[199] Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, CXIV., J 9. A Spanish translation is inclosed in a letter of Zespedes to O'Neill, January 18, 1786, *ibid.* There is also a translation in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

St Augustine: tis a Circumstance of much Mortification to me that the Situation of affairs denys me the Liberty to Satisfy so Worthy and Generous a friend to my Nation and myself. Permit me to assure Your Excellency that I can feel no Content till the Kings affairs are in a Condition to permit me to pay you my warmest Acknowledgements in person. I had attempted to do it thrice but have been Called to Pensacola Several Times this past Summer and Fall, owing to the alarming accounts received at Orleans that a Numerous body of American banditts were Meditating an Invasion of the Spanish Territorys on the Misissippi on which I am Instructed to use my greatest exertions in Watching their Motions, and to prevent as much as possible any americans from passing thro the Indian Nations toward the Mississippi, which I have desired my people to be attentive to while in the Woods hunting this being the Season they are all out.

There is Reason for all this Caution as the Commandant of the Natchez has been repeatedly required to Surrender that Fort and District to the American States by persons who have Called themselves Commissioners—delegated upon that business, and Matters had arisen to that height that it was found Necessary by Government to Seize and put into Irons about Seventeen persons of the most seditious Americans, that were Inhabitants about the Natchez, and all others banishd.[200]

. . . . . .

I have the Honor to be with The most respectfull regard
Sir, Your Excellencys Most Obedt. Servant,
ALEX: MCGILLIVRAY.

His Excellency General Zespedes
Governor etc etc. East Florida

LXXIII. JOSEF DE GALVEZ TO THE CONDE DE GALVEZ, DECEMBER 21, 1785.[201]

Enterado el Rey del contenido de las dos Cartas reservadas de V.E. de 2 y 27 de Agosto ultimo num^{os}. 82 y 150, y del testimonio y Copias que incluye la primera se ha servido aprovar los socorras de Artilleria, Armas, Pertrechos, y dinero que V.E. ha remitido al Governador de la Luisiana á consequencia de los avisos que recivió de este relativos á las pretensiones de los Comisarios Americanos al distrito de Natchez y recelos de ser atacado por un Cuerpo de Tropas de los Estados, cuyas primeras noticias habra ya visto V.E. que se exageraron demasiado. Dios gue á V. E. m^{s}. a^{s}. Madrid 21 de Diziembre de 1785.

MARQ^{s}. DE SONORA.

S^{or}. Virrey de Mexico.
Mexico 20 de Abril de 1786.

Agreguesé copia certificada de esta R^{l}. or^{n} á su respectivo Expediente.

Galvez.

[200] Compare letter of Long, Davenport, and Christmas, September 13, *ante*, p. 335, and foot-note 146.

[201] Mexico, Arch. Gen. y Púb., Real. Céd. y Órd., 1785, tomo 132. It is no. 204 and is marked "Reservado".

LXXIV. The Conde de Galvez to Zespedes, December 30, 1785.[202]

Contextando el Encargado de los negocios de nra Corte cerca de los Estados Unidos de la America Septemtrional con fecha 21 de octubre á lo que le representé en el mes de Julio ultimo, relatibo a la novedad ocurrida en la Provincia de la Luisiana con motibo de la solicitud hecha por Thomas Green a nombre del Estado de Georgia para que se le entregase el Fuerte de Natchez, y demas acahecido, que el Gov^or^. de la Nueba orleans me expuso sobre el particular; me manifiesta el referido Ministro haben practicado el oficio que le correspondia con el Congreso, incluiendome copia de él, y de la respuesta satisfactoria, que le ha sido dada, segun reconocerá V. S. de las que acompano vaxo los num^ors^. 1. y 2.[203]

Por ellas quedará tambien V. S. impuesto de las intensiones pacificas con q^e^. se hallan los Miembros de aquel Cuerpo, y que aumque no desiste de sus indicadas pretensiones, solo intentan evacuarlas por medio de los correspond^tes^. Tratados, en que quedan entendiendo los respectibos Ministros a quienes toca ajustarlos.

Ademas me dice D^n^. Diego de Gardoqui que los representantes del referido Estado de Georgia le manifestaron crehian falsas la Patente de Gov^or^. é Yinstrucciones presentadas por Green, y contemplaban q^e^. la ultima, q^e^. podia tener, seria la de uno de los Jueces de Paz, añadiendome, q^e^. lo conocian por un hombre quimerico, é indigno del Empleo con que se supuso.

Tambien me informa que los Estados unidos no mantienen mas tropa viba q^e^. un corto numero, conque guarnecen algunos Puestos fronterizos a los Yndios y Fuertes Yngleses, por lo que considera absolutam^te^. falsa la noticia extendida ahi de que sobre el Rio ohio pudiera haber 2500 hombres, ni que los Emigrantes, q^e^. han hido a establecerse en aquel territorio pueden pensar aora en otra cosa, que en erijir sus chozas, y romper los bosques para cultibarlos.

Esto no obstante V. S. deberá estar siempre prevenido, observando la maior precaucion con los Americanos, aumque sin faltarles en la debida urbanidad en todo lo que no se oponga al mejor servicio del Rey; Y qualesquiera extraordinaria novedad, que pueda ocurrir, y consideré V. S. digna del conocim^to^. del citado Encargado, procurará comunicarsela en derechura con la brebedad posible.

Dios gue. a V. S. m^s^. a^s^. Mexico 30 de Diz^re^. de 1785.

El C^de^. de Galvez.

S^or^. D^n^. Vicente de Zespedes.

LXXV. William Davenport to the Governor of Georgia.[204]

Chickesaw Nation the 27. March 1786

Honour^d^ Sir

A few days past some letters were handed me by Express from some of the Principall Inhabitance of Natchez, Requesting me to send to

[202] Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, XXXIX., M3. The letter is no. 37 and is indorsed by Zespedes: "Contex. da con No. 115". An identical letter of this date was written to Miró. The latter is in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

[203] No. 1 is a copy of Gardoqui's representation to Jay, September 23. No. 2 is a translation of Jay's letter to Gardoqui, October 14, and of the resolutions of Congress, October 13. See *ante*, p. 298.

[204] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Indian Affairs, 1785–1786".

Your Honour, and inform you of their distress[d]. situation, For Tiranecall Govern[t]. Press[d]. harder on them Every day—wishing to know whether they Might still Ground their hopes on Releaff from your Quarter, tho should the situation of things place it out of your Power (Ither by the Country belonging to the Spaniards or Otherwise) Are in hopes they may be informed of it, as they may Get away with part of their Movable property, which must be down Unknown to the Comd[t]. as severall has Apply[d]. and can only obtain liberty to go them Selves and not Return, but must leave their property behind. Orders have been issued for a Twelve Months Credit to be giving to all Spanish Subjects for debts that have been Transacted and if any sutes against them on the dockett to be dismis[d]. But for those who Call themselves Americans to discharge theirs Amediately or their property sold, Thease Unjust Acts (they say) with a number of others, Places them in a situation very disagreable, they do not mention those things to you under an Expectation of Redress, no farther than that your Honour may Inform them in what situation they Stand, so as before Mentioned they may take such steps as they find best, for family and Property, they farther say as living under the Spaniards they pay Every Attention to their Laws and Customs only they will not take the Oath proposed to them, as they have Taken it before to America and Mooved their under an Expectation of its being an American Country. This was the heads of their Petition to me only desired I would Ashore you they should be Ready when Called on to Reimburse such sums as they may Cost the Publick by your indeavering to serve them. I have conformed myself as near as in my Power to the Instructions I Rec[d] from the Honourable Legislative Body, and cannot help thinking hard of not hearing from them for our instructions says in the second ar[e]. you'll Remain on the Premisses for further Orders, but when Compel[d] to leave that quarter I vieued my instructions and found by the 5 Ar[t]. we ware ordered to Cultivate amity with the Indians, where I am yousing my best Indeavers. In the Last Ar[t]. we are ordred to Communicate to your Honour Every thing that may happen Respecting the Country or People which I have neaver Neglected. Therefore flatter my self that your Honour will by the Barrer send me instru[s]. In what manner I am hereafter to act Untill Such time I shall Remain with Impatiance,

I have the Honour to be Sir with Greate Respect

Your Obed[t]. Serv[t].

W. Davenport.

His Honour the Governor[205]

LXXVI. William Davenport to the Governor of Georgia.[206]

Chickesaw Nation the 22 May 1786

Sir

. . . . . .

the Barer came but a few days ago from the Natchez. I Rec. letters Requesting me to hurry them an answer as soon as I could to the

[205] The governor of Georgia in 1786 was Edward Telfair.

[206] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, "Indian Affairs, 1785–1786".

Petition they had before desired me to send to your Honour, as their situation Grew worse and worse, whitch letter I hope now will be handed to you, tho twice before has fallen through. I will Trouble your Honour no farther but Refer you to the Barrer who can answer you any question Respecting this Country I hope by the Barer to Receve some instructions from your Honour in what Manner I in future shall act, untill which time I shall take sutch steps as I think Benafitiall for Goverment and should any thing of consequance happen In this Quarter I shall neaver faile to let you know it

P. S. . . .

I have the Pleasure to
Subscribe my Self your
Honours Obe^{t} Serv^{t}

W. DAVENPORT.[207]

His Honour the Governor
Georgia

LXXVII. THOMAS GREEN TO EDWARD TELFAIR.[208]

NASHVILLE July 10th. 1786.

Hon^{d}. Sir:

Since my last to your Honour I have received some Letters from the Inhabitants of the Natchez who pray that they may be considered as Citizens of this State and that they may not be given up to the Despotic Power of Spain, they have also requested of me to beg of the Legislative Body to be Relieved if it is in their Power If not they wish to be given up to Congress who they are sure will relieve them, and have the Boundary Line run between their State and Spain which is so much their wish as well as of numbers of others who are ready to move with their Families to that Place whenever it shall be done. They Trust and

[207] For more than a year after this letter was written Davenport appears to have continued to act as a secret agent of Georgia among the Indians. McGillivray wrote to O'Neill, October 8, 1786, that Davenport had been going about secretly among the Choctaws and Chickasaws and had written to a trader to obtain a permit for him to pass through the Creek country in order that he might return to his own province, as he had received letters recalling him. On December 24 Zespedes sent to Josef de Galvez a letter which Davenport had written to a person in Mobile disaffected toward the Spanish cause. In the spring of 1787 he was still active among the Indians (see, for instance, a letter of Pedro Juzan to Miró, March 19, inclosed in a letter of Miró to Josef de Galvez, June 1); but in the instructions which Miró gave (September 21, 1787) to Juan de La Villebeure, whom he was sending to remonstrate with the Choctaws for admitting Americans into their country, he mentions that Davenport and his companions had been murdered. Further light is thrown on this statement by two letters of McGillivray, one of October 4 to Miró, the other of October 6 to Zespedes. McGillivray says in these letters that Davenport was intriguing with the Indians and that he found it necessary to dispose of him. Miró appears to have taken him to task severely for this murder. The two letters last mentioned of McGillivray and the letter of Zespedes are in the Library of Congress, East Florida Papers, CXIV., J9, and XLII., C4, respectively. McGillivray's letter of October 8, 1786, and the letter of Juzan are in Seville, Aud. de Santo Dom., Luis., y Flor. The instructions to Villebeure are in Seville, Arch. Gen. de Indias: Pap. proc. de la Isla de Cuba.

[208] Archives of Georgia, Office of Secretary of State, in bundle marked "Georgia and North Carolina Boundary".

Hope that as it is your Honours Place to Defend and Protect us in our Laws and Liberties you will do every thing in your power for them.

Your Honour can not certainly be a Stranger to their Unhappy Situation they are entirely Debarred of that Liberty that has cost us so much Blood and Treasure to acquire by a Cruel and Despotic Goverment whose chief aim is to Enslave their unhappy subjects and load them with Oppression. Our Trade is stopp'd, our Property Confiscated ourselves Confin'd in Irons and even made slaves of for Life add to all this, setting on the Savages by every method they can to Murder our Men and Hepless Women and Children Instance Col: M^{c}-Gilvery and many others of the Spaniards who take every opportunity to Encourage that Inhuman Practice

I am with the Sincerest Esteem
Your Honours mo^{t}. Ob^{t}. Servant
THOMAS GREEN.[209]

His Honour the Gov^{r}. of Georgia
[Addressed:]
His Honor E^{d}. Telfair Esquire Governor of the State of Georgia
Hon'd P M^{r}. Williams
[Indorsed:]
Letter Thomas Green Nashville, July 10th 1786
Ordered to be placed on the immediate file

[209] For further light on Green's project see his letter to the governor of Georgia written from Louisville, December 23, 1786, together with the related documents, in a report of the Secretary for Foreign Affairs, dated April 12, 1787 (*Dip. Corr. of U. S. A., 1783–1789*, III. 233–251; *Secret Journals for Foreign Affairs*, IV. 301–328. The report is in the journals under April 13). Consult Thomas Marshall Green, *The Spanish Conspiracy*, pp. 73 ff., Roosevelt, *The Winning of the West*, III. 119–120, and *cf. Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, IV. 202

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

The Roman Assemblies, from their Origin to the End of the Republic. By GEORGE WILLIS BOTSFORD, Professor of History in Columbia University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. x, 521.)

PROFESSOR BOTSFORD has in past years made important contributions in various learned publications to our knowledge of the social and political organizations of the Roman people. In this book we have a complete study of the whole subject, so far as the popular assemblies are concerned, and many who are familiar with the author's views on certain controverted points in this field of investigation will turn first to the chapters in this book in which these topics are discussed to see how his theories fit into a systematic treatment of Roman legislative institutions. Looking at his work from this point of view the most characteristic features of it are his application of the comparative method of study to the early history, his theory of the *plebs,* his definition of the terms *concilium* and *comitia,* and his theory that there was only one tribal assembly, which in the earlier and later periods contained both plebeians and patricians and met under the presidency of a tribune or a magistrate. In support of these views, as well as of the other conclusions which he reaches, Professor Botsford has made a thorough examination of the ancient and modern literature pertinent to the subject, and a keen critical analysis of the evidence and arguments which it furnishes.

In this brief review we can do little more than touch upon a few of the points of interest. To begin with the comparative method of study, the bearing of which is admirably stated on pp. 38–39, no one will be inclined to question the propriety of its use, but it plays a very secondary rôle by the side of the sources in arriving at the truth for the early period. Thus, for instance, the effective part of Professor Botsford's argument in support of his theory that the *plebs* were the mass of common freemen is based upon the ancient writers, upon etymology, and *a priori* considerations (*cf.* p. 37). Comparisons between the early Romans and other primitive peoples furnish some interesting parallels but are of little further service for the purpose in hand.

His analysis of the sources, however, has furnished the author with some very strong arguments in support of all the controverted points

mentioned above, and the whole forms a consistent and highly probable body of doctrine. His discussion of the terms *comitia* and *concilium* is especially brilliant and convincing. The uses of these two words in the Republic and under Augustus, he concludes in part (p. 137), "may be explained by two simple facts: (1) that whereas concilium is singular, comitia is plural; (2) that concilium suggests deliberation, discussion". "Concilium [is, therefore], the more general term within the political sphere; the assembly it designated may be organized or unorganized, whereas comitia applies only to assemblies organized in voting divisions" (p. 135).

So far as the composition and presidency of the tribal assembly or assemblies is concerned, Botsford holds that there was one tribal gathering only, that the patricians as well as the plebeians were admitted to it at first, were excluded from it as a result of the struggle from 449 to 339, but later were again allowed to attend (*cf.* pp. 300, 302, n. 1, 465). The composition of the body for Cicero's time was the same whether it met under the presidency of the tribune or of a magistrate, but under the former "it was technically the plebs", under the latter the *populus*. In defense of these propositions Botsford offers a very convincing array of arguments, the only weak point in the chain of evidence being the assumption (p. 276) that this patricio-plebeian assembly, when summoned by the tribune, was called the *plebs*.

The several Roman political institutions interacted upon one another to such an extent in their development that it is difficult to present a comprehensive treatment of one without a corresponding discussion of the others. This result, however, has been achieved rather more successfully in this book than it was by Willems in his similarly planned work on the Roman senate. But to the necessity of going outside the narrow range of his subject, we owe two of the most interesting and valuable sections of the book, those on the auspices and on the responsibility of magistrates for their political actions. The reviewer does not know of any such adequate treatment of these topics elsewhere.

On the other hand, the presentation in an uninterrupted form of the history of a single group of institutions has given us a clearer historical view of certain things than we have ever had before. To it we owe, for instance, a sketch of the development of modern theories upon many points in Roman constitutional history. To it we are indebted for an admirable history of comitial legislation. The chapters in which this last-mentioned topic is discussed bring out many important facts and raise some interesting queries. A case in point is the anomalous condition of affairs after 287 B.C., when the popular assemblies, having at last secured independence in legislative matters, failed to exercise it. Another is the failure of the centuriate *comitia* to pass any constitutional measure between 287 B.C. and the time of Sulla (*cf.* p. 236). Another still is the failure of the Romans to define clearly the field

within which each assembly should legislate (p. 239). It is extraordinary that this vagueness in defining functions did not cause trouble when party strife was intense. In such circumstances a question might well have been settled in different ways by the different assemblies.

We should have welcomed a brief appendix from Professor Botsford on the *comitia* in the towns outside Rome. These bodies continued to meet after the Roman assemblies had died out, and some interesting conclusions might have been drawn from a study of the inscriptions and from the ready-made written charters of Salpensa and Malaca with reference to the results of several centuries of practical experience in such matters at Rome. It is only, however, the admirable treatment which Professor Botsford has given to his chosen subject which makes us wish for this addition.

Frank Frost Abbott.

The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire. By T. R. Glover. (London: Methuen. 1909. Pp. vi, 359.)

The demand for a second edition of so solid a book within three months of original publication shows wide interest in the theme and bears witness to the skill of the author in handling it. The ground traversed is the well-trodden territory of the first two centuries, carried over somewhat into the third century in the study of such leaders as Celsus, Clement of Alexandria, and Tertullian. The underlying motive of Doctor Glover's book may be defined as the endeavor to place side by side sharply contrasted pictures of the popular superstitions and philosophical creeds of the pagan empire on the one hand and of developing Christian faith and thought on the other. But the balance is well preserved, and one feels continually the presence of an historical sense singularly free from bias and open to the very divergent phases of the theme. Paganism is portrayed without prejudice, indeed with admirable insight and sympathy. Christianity is interpreted sympathetically but without illusions as to its historic limitations.

The pre-eminent characteristic of the book is its exceptional insight into the lives and thoughts of individual leaders, the power to grasp the whole of a man and to make him real and living. This quality appears first of all in the noble, almost tender, picture of Vergil in his relation to Roman religion, a picture crowded into five pages of the narrative, but filled with rare comprehension, reminding one of Principal Shairp's essay on *Virgil as a Religious Poet* of many years ago. The sketch of Seneca, in the second chapter, makes the Stoic statesman a living personality, and, in spite of his weakness, endears him to us. "He is a man, trained in the world, in touch with its problems of government, with the individual and his questions of character, death and eternity—too great a man to take the purely negative stand of Thrasea, or to practise the virtue of the schools in 'arrogant indolence'. But he has

hardly reached the inner peace which he sought." In the chapter on Plutarch (III.), although the treatment is much more extended, one misses the same firm grasp on the central truths; or it may be fairer to say that the position of Plutarch as the apologist of popular superstitions, the patron and harmonizer of conflicting cults and creeds, does not admit of the same direct and comprehensive definition.

When Doctor Glover comes to Christian leaders, his chapter on Jesus of Nazareth (IV.) claims first attention. Taking it at its own valuation, not as an attempt at a complete representation of the personality of Jesus or a complete interpretation of his historic significance but purely as a characterization, this chapter is one of the most satisfying portions of the book. One will search far in modern literature to find such a thoroughly sane, natural, and illuminating portrayal of Jesus as is here given—his personal life, his thought of himself, his teaching, all are given to the reader freshly, without commonplace, without predisposition, but with such insight as is essential to understanding.

In the remaining portions of the book the quite uncommon catholicity of the writer's mind is shown in his power to understand such widely divergent men as Celsus, Clement, and Tertullian. The chapter on Tertullian is little less than the rehabilitation of a great figure in the early church, possibly too apologetic, too magnanimous, but solid and correct in its attempt to judge the great leader in the light of his own day and his own problems.

These portraits of individual men are the crowning excellence of the book. Accompanying them are many helpful comments on the larger movements of the age, the rise and decay of philosophical doctrines and religious cults, the interplay of pagan and Christian forces, and so on. But the book makes no claim to be a constructive history of the subject it handles, and it is not. One naturally contrasts it with the noble work of Samuel Dill in the same field, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*. Considered as a constructive history, the older work is the better. But they stand as complementary rather than as competing with one another.

The scholarship and literary quality of Doctor Glover's book are fine. At times the massing of quotations and citations almost chokes the progress of the narrative but it emerges strong and steady on the other side. Most of all it is a book which helps one to feel the deep religious problem of the age. In that measure it is in the best way original and constructive.

ARLEY BARTHLOW SHOW.

Vie de Sénèque. Par RENÉ WALTZ. (Paris: Perrin et Cie. 1909. Pp. 462.)

UNFORTUNATELY Seneca found no adequate biographer in antiquity. While his own works exhibit him as writer and philosopher, they furnish

scanty information as to his life and tell us almost nothing directly of his political career. For this we must rely on Suetonius, Dio Cassius, and especially on Tacitus. At most, the amount of information which these writers give is not large; yet on their data M. Waltz has built a stout book dealing with Seneca's political life, to which he avowedly limits himself, so that his title should more properly be, "La Vie Politique de Sénèque". To accomplish his purpose, however, the author has felt it necessary to recount again in detail the history of the period; at times, indeed, so much is included that we run the risk of losing sight of Seneca in the crowded forest of the narration. Certainly here the half would have been more than the whole. The book would also be more effective if it treated Seneca's philosophy somewhat more fully, for it is obviously impossible to judge Seneca's political life without considering his philosophic views, as indeed M. Waltz is frequently obliged to do. Seneca's influence during the happy *quinquennium Neronis* can only be understood by taking into account the Stoic doctrines which he cherished; and furthermore we must believe that he was determined, or at least was justified to himself in many of his acts and compromises by the Stoic doctrine of political expediency: for example, in his opposition and final hostility toward Agrippina, to whom he had owed his recall from exile, and even in his approval of the fiction adopted by the senate after the murder of the empress-mother. Such a view, however, does not force us to see therein an adequate excuse for Seneca's actions, as our author appears to do.

Seneca's life, according to M. Waltz, is naturally divided into two main periods. The first reaches to the year 49 A. D., when, at the instance of Agrippina, he was recalled from exile, made praetor, and installed as tutor of Nero, then in his eleventh year. Hitherto Seneca had been known almost wholly as a learned philosopher; he had taken little part in politics, having held only the quaestorship. But his introduction into the imperial household as director of the young prince, and his position, shared only by the praetorian prefect Burrus, as chief adviser to the emperor after the year 54, gave him a position of extraordinary political influence, which continued for eight years until, deprived of Burrus and overcome by the adverse influence of Poppaea and Figellinus, he was forced to withdraw into a retirement which was destined to end in 65 A.D. with forced suicide. It was circumstances then which forced Seneca into a position of political power to which neither his tastes nor ambitions especially inclined him; faithful, however, to the political teachings of the Porch, once embarked on this career of influence, he raised himself to the position attributed to him by the elder Pliny—*princeps eruditionis ac potentiae*; thus realizing Plato's ideal of the philosophic ruler.

In accordance with this general view of his subject's life, M. Waltz has divided his work into four books, of which the first, *La Première Carrière de Sénèque*, brings us to the end of Seneca's exile in 49 A.D.;

the second, *Acheminement vers le Pouvoir,* closes with the year 55, in which by the murder of Britannicus and the repression of Agrippina Nero sought to secure his imperial position; the third, *Le Ministère de Sénèque,* discusses in much detail the character of the government as directed by Seneca, down to 59 A.D., which year probably marks the high tide of the minister's influence and prosperity; the fourth, *La Retraite de Sénèque,* carries us through Seneca's dismissal to his death in 65.

The work is clearly written in a graceful style. The author shows himself well acquainted with his sources, accurate, and careful; but, as he says in his introduction, he has given little attention to criticism of his authorities, accepting their statements freely, endeavoring to reconcile their contradictions when possible, when not, to present their divergent views impartially, unless confident that one account is to be preferred. M. Waltz's final estimate of Seneca is decidedly more favorable than that generally given; indeed at times he is almost panegyrical. But Seneca's obvious weaknesses will probably continue to determine men's judgment against him. Nevertheless, M. Waltz is largely right in regarding him as the natural successor of Augustus in his endeavors to secure personal liberty, supremacy of law, and the independence of the senate. The example of Augustus, however, was far from being the only or even the main spring of Seneca's efforts; and certainly the kindly rule of the Antonines was not chiefly determined by Seneca's ministry, as M. Waltz implies, but by a multitude of influences, of which Seneca was only one.

Clifford H. Moore.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Development of Hungarian Constitutional Liberty. By Count Julius Andrássy. Translated from the Hungarian by C. Arthur and Ilona Ginever. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Company, Ltd. 1908. Pp. v, 465.)

One cannot help wondering just what public Count Julius Andrássy had in mind when he wrote the above work and still more for whom the translation was designed. Presumably not the general reader, as it takes for granted a very considerable preliminary knowledge of both English and Hungarian constitutional history—an accomplishment which is rather uncommon at least among English-speaking peoples. Without this knowledge it is hard to follow the author, for what he has given us is not a continuous narrative, but a succession of assertions based on facts which he mentions without describing, presupposing our familiarity with men and events. As the style is prolix not to say turgid, the book is wearisome reading; indeed it is one of those where he who forgets to put in his book-mark when he stops is likely to be sorry when he takes the volume up again. On the other hand, it is hardly meant for

the specialist, as the treatment of the subject cannot be called scholarly. The work abounds in loose assumptions and in conclusions based on facts, many of which are either of doubtful exactness or capable of being interpreted in another way. The whole tone is not scientific but popular-patriotic. No people, indeed, are more intensely patriotic than the Hungarians and they seem to find it harder even than the rest of us to discuss without strong bias anything relating to their country. For this we have to make allowances, but even patriotism does not excuse a writer for inflicting on us rhetorical commonplaces of a general nature such as: "A tyrant sees a culprit even in an innocent man and does all in his power to remove from his path anyone who is likely to be dangerous, but he who builds a golden bridge over which the unfaithful may return to him, is evidently guided by other motives than a desire for absolute power. . . . One of the greatest disadvantages of a monarchical or aristocratic régime is that political power is sometimes conferred by inheritance upon unsuitable men. . . . A great man is a rare gift of Providence. Mortals simply do not know what influences create and mould him." And there are dozens of other examples of this sort.

It has often been pointed out, especially by Hungarians, that there is a certain analogy between English and Hungarian constitutional history. A comparative study of the two in English is well worth while, and Count Andrássy's book, the larger part of which is taken up with this comparison, is, if not convincing, at least thoughtful and full of suggestions. Many of his statements are open to challenge but it would take a volume bulkier than his own to discuss them in detail. As might be expected he finds similarities and overlooks differences wherever it is possible. We can see that he strives to be fair as well as philosophic but his love of generalizing is a constant source of irritation to the reader. One country he refers to less than he well might, the one whose constitutional growth was up to a certain point most like that of Hungary, namely Poland. The later history of the two has indeed been different, but especially during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries their development was much the same. In truth if we take them for comparison early in the sixteenth century when they were under the rule of the brothers Wladislaw and Sigismund of the Jagello family we are struck by the similarity of their institutions and of their general conditions. In both by this time the power of the contending factions, that is to say the magnates and the gentry, overshadowed that of the crown and was tending towards aristocratic anarchy. There was little to choose between the two countries in the outlook for the future of their constitutional development. But the destinies of Hungary were violently changed by the battle of Mohács, the conquest of one part of the land by the Turks, and the establishment of the tenacious sovereignty of the Hapsburgs over the rest. Thenceforward no analogies with England, Poland or any other country are particularly fruitful.

After battling bravely for their liberties and losing them more than once the Hungarians have now regained them again, so much so that they are in a position to limit those of others. It is characteristic of the Magyar way of ignoring such questions that Count Andrássy makes only the scantiest possible reference to the other nationalities in Hungary, their history, their complaints, and their aspirations, although this subject is by far the most important one in Hungarian politics at the present day. It is true that his book deals with Hungarian liberty not Croatian or Roumanian or Slovak, and that historically these can be left to the second volume which we are told he intends to write.

In conclusion we wish to protest against the attempt to force Magyar names on the foreign reader in place of those which have been generally accepted by the outside world. It is all very well in the Hungarian original to talk of the "Archbishop of Esztergom" and the defenders of "Köszeg" but an English translation if it wishes people to know what it is talking about should at least add "Gran" and "Güns" in parentheses.

ARCHIBALD CARY COOLIDGE.

La Société Française au Temps de Philippe-Auguste. Par ACHILLE LUCHAIRE, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1909. Pp. iii, 459.)

FROM 1895 to 1900 M. Luchaire gave courses at the Sorbonne on the period of Philip Augustus preparatory to writing a complete history of the reign of that monarch and then, when the results of these studies might have been expected to appear in print, suddenly abandoned his design and devoted his efforts to the well-known series on Innocent III. The reason for this deviation was without doubt the appearance of the first fascicules of Cartellieri's *Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich*; it was a question whether Cartellieri's work would not make another superfluous. Time showed that social history remained outside of the domain of Cartellieri and this gap Luchaire undertook to fill. He had printed several articles of this nature and had prepared the manuscript of others when he was overtaken by death. These printed and unprinted materials have been arranged, given the final touch, and published by Louis Halphen, one of Luchaire's former students, in the volume under review.

The subject-matter of the book is best seen from the chapter-headings: I. *État Matériel et Moral de la Population*; II. *Paroisses et Curés*; III. *L'Étudiant*; IV. *Le Chanoine*; V. *L'Évêque*; VI. *L'Esprit Monastique*; VII. *La Vie Monastique*; VIII. *La Féodalité Pillarde et Sanguinaire*; IX. *Le Noble en Temps de Paix*; X. *Les Budgets Seigneuriaux*; *Le Chevalerie*; XI. *La Chatelaine*; XII. *La Courtoisie et la Noblesse Courtoise*; XIII. *Les Paysans et les Bourgeois.* The volume sticks scrupulously to the field designated by its title: "France under Philip Augustus". If now and then it reaches beyond the limits of the reign of Philip or the

confines of France, it is always because the subject under discussion crosses those limits. The style and the method are those of the author's volumes on Innocent III. A great part of the fluent text consists of interesting and well-chosen quotations translated from the sources. At every point the author convinces the reader that he not only knew but was intimate with the sources; and the sources in this instance are more inclusive than is usual. Not only documents and chronicles, but *chansons des gestes,* sermons, pictures, coins, heraldic devices, inscriptions, and architecture are brought into requisition. *Chansons des gestes* especially are employed, but critically, for invariably these medieval lays are compared with and tested by the statements of documents and chronicles. Indeed no phase of the work gives one such respect for Luchaire's mastery of his field as the way in which he determines what parts of these *chansons* are true history and the use he makes of them to picture the times.

And what an excellent picture! In it one may see all the classes and ranks of society, may observe their habits and deeds, and learn the motives which move them. One may enter into the privacy of their homes, may examine their dress, wonder at their conceptions of morality, and discover the state of their purses. One may find the cleric's opinion of the noble, the noble's opinion of the ecclesiast, and the opinion of both concerning women. In short, one finds life, and the way in which Luchaire has known how to vivify what is commonly called the dead past will do as much as anything to make his memory live. The past dead? Not entirely when one finds in it, as in the present, preachers inveighing against the follies of women (pp. 221, 224, 376), the question of tainted money (p. 232), the rudiments of socialism (p. 294), and, what is not to be wondered at in an age of faith, evidences of our own modern psycho-therapeutics (p. 222). Are not the sentiments of Guyot written six hundred years ago as interesting as though written yesterday? "When I am sick I am glad to have doctors brought in; their presence does me good. But when my malady leaves me, I would have a galley transport them straight to Salonika, them and their drugs, so far that they may never again be seen" (p. 222).

Luchaire's impartiality toward his subjects is noteworthy. It is not likely, indeed, that his picture of the Middle Ages will please those who are champions of that period, but here the age and not Luchaire must take the blame. Sometimes, indeed, he indulges in sly and gentle satire, as, when in writing of capitular banquets he states: "Ces agapes faisaient la joie de nos pères. Il était doux de manger et de boire, dans le lieu saint, sous l'œil de Dieu" (p. 124). But such instances are few and innocent.

This book is Luchaire's most interesting work, and, when *Kulturgeschichte* comes to its own, this volume will be a reference work of the first order, if not a text. In the meantime it will be widely read by that culture-loving public for whom it was designed.

Edward B. Krehbiel.

Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy. Tome Premier. Publié par Jos. Halkin, Professeur à l'Université de Liège, et C.-G. Roland, Chanoine titulaire de la Cathédrale de Namur. [Commission Royale d'Histoire, Académie Royale de Belgique.] (Bruxelles: Librairie Kiessling et Cie., P. Imbreghts, successeur. 1909. Pp. lxxvi, 648.)

The Benedictine abbey of Stavelot-Malmedy, founded in the seventh century, had fortunes which make its charters of much historical worth. For one thing, it acquired many possessions. Before 1200 it held rights in upwards of two hundred and sixty places, most of them in the region south of Liège and east of the Meuse, some as far away as the Rhine, a few still more distant. For another, it encountered many troubles, largely because of its wealth. It had to accept lay abbots and fell prey to Norman invaders and other despoilers. Its double foundation opened the way to schism; Malmedy wished to be autonomous, under an abbot of its own, not linked with Stavelot. Such experiences gave rise to numerous documents. Acquisitions and other transactions relating to property had to be assured by a writing. In time of trouble appeals were sent to bishops and seigniors, even to popes, kings, and emperors; and all made answer of some sort. Sometimes, under special stress, false pieces were constructed. In turn, these documents should be expected to throw much light not only on the history of two monasteries but as well on religious, social, and political conditions in eastern Belgium, from the Merovingian period.

Thus far, however, students have not been able to make use of the Stavelot-Malmedy charters, save a relatively small number of them, and these in more or less untrustworthy form. Martène and Durand published a hundred and six in the second volume of their *Amplissima Collectio,* in 1724; but they gave only a selection of pieces (based it would seem on the rank of their authors), which went beyond the twelfth century in only thirteen cases and depended mostly on a cartulary of the late sixteenth century. Just a hundred years later Wilhelm Ritz brought out in his *Urkunden und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte des Niederrheins und der Niedermaas* forty-eight more of the charters, running from 748 to 1105. He relied on the oldest cartulary of the abbey but left some twenty-five pieces it contained still in obscurity and gave a miserable text of those he set forth. More recently (1872) Pertz included fourteen of the earlier pieces in the first volume of the *Diplomata Imperii* in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*; but his editing has proved faulty. It was clearly desirable, then, to have an edition of the Stavelot material which should be both as complete as possible and trustworthy.

The volume under notice forms the first installment of an edition with such aims. It comes only after long preparation. M. Halkin began by making an *Inventaire des Archives de l'Abbaye de Stavelot-Malmedy conservées à Dusseldorf, Bruxelles, Liège, Londres, Berlin,*

Paris, Hanau, etc., which he published as long ago as 1897. On the basis of the widely dispersed sources there indicated and of some discovered since, he and M. Roland have now brought out near three hundred pieces for the period extending to the end of the twelfth century. Among them are twenty-four from popes, fifty-four from sovereigns, twelve from bishops and archbishops, and ninety-nine from the abbots of Stavelot. Each piece is accompanied by an analysis, definite indications of the manuscripts utilized and of previous editions and analyses, and a list of variants. Where there is reasonable occasion notes are added, either concerning the authenticity, date or object of the act, or explanatory of points in the text. Special attention is given to the identification of place names. Preceding all is an introduction which contains besides other useful matter a carefully determined list of the abbots to 1210. Toward the end are a glossary of least common or obscure terms, a table of the documents according to their origin, an exceptionally convenient index of names, a list of corrections and additions, and a map showing names of places and water-courses and in what localities the abbey had possessions. From beginning to end this first volume exhibits both a clear sense of the use of such work, and unremitting care. It is model editing and promises well for our having in due time a thoroughly satisfactory collection of the Stavelot-Malmedy charters.

EARLE W. DOW.

Les Sources de l'Histoire de France, XVI^e^ Siècle (1494–1610). Par HENRI HAUSER, Professeur à l'Université de Dijon. Volume II. *François I^er^ et Henri II. (1515–1559).* [Manuels de Bibliographie Historique, III.] (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1909. Pp. xv, 201, 6.)

M. HAUSER apologizes for the fact that owing to "raisons indepéndantes de ma volonté" three years have elapsed between the first and second parts of this work. One who knows the difficulties of bibliographical research in the history of France of the sixteenth century will gladly grant him absolution.

The volume and variety of material of an historical or semi-historical nature produced in France in the sixteenth century was very great. The old fashioned chronicle disappeared. The Renaissance had introduced new interests, new standards, new methods, at the same time that the expansion of the French monarchy under Francis I. enormously widened the crown's sphere of activity.

French diplomacy before the time of Francis I. was intermittent and occasional. It was this king who organized the diplomatic corps of the French monarchy. Aside from the accredited ambassadors at Vienna, Madrid, London, Venice, Rome, etc., there was a multitude of special ambassadors, secret agents, etc., spread like a net over the face of Europe, from Scotland to Constantinople.

The dominant foreign politics of France before 1559 not merely enlarged enormously the mass of diplomatic papers, but practically makes it necessary for the bibliographer to include much of the historical materials of other countries in such a survey as this. A glance at the section "Sources Étrangères", in which there are 138 numbers, will show this. Spanish politics, German politics, Levantine politics, are important fields of the historiographer's interest. While Italian sources retain their former importance, the German and Spanish sources acquire an increasing value.

The laicizing of politics is another striking fact of the reign, of interest to the historiographer. Laymen rivalled or supplanted churchmen as diplomats and statesmen, and left memoirs to supplement the huge volume of documents which diplomacy created. No other form of the historical literature of the time requires greater caution on the part of the student. This observation is particularly true of the *mémoires-journaux*, which were partly reminiscences, partly collections of documents, not all of them genuine, and many of them garbled. Most of the memoirs were written late in the lives of their authors and often under difficult conditions, *e. g.*, Montluc. All of them naturally were strongly biassed. Those of De Thou and La Noue are notable exceptions to this statement. Their lack of literary form is often no less remarkable. When doughty fighters like Montluc took up the pen, they often produced strange results.

The difficulties of the bibliographer do not diminish in proportion as he advances. Some material, like Brantôme and Rabelais, hovers on the penumbra between history and literature (see nos. 873–881 *bis*). French prose was struggling to be free from the yoke of the Renaissance. The tyranny of the Latin tongue, in spite of the monumental work of De Thou, was an anachronism, for the French language had risen to the dignity of history.

Again, the activity in French legal history was very great, for the new scholarship gave birth to legists, publicists, political theorists. The redaction of the *Coutumes* created a whole literature of an important historical nature, and the activity of the legists was imitated by canonists, genealogists, and provincial historians. For the first time also tracts, pamphlets, and even books, notably those of Bodin, of an economic nature appear in the field. The printing-press poured forth a stream of historical material unknown earlier. One group of such material is particularly difficult to classify; these are the *plaquettes*. The activity of the political press was prodigious and religious polemic added new fuel. These pamphlets are so numerous and of such infinite variety that they almost elude classification. But no one familiar with M. Hauser's attainments will doubt that he has most competently arranged and classified the complex historical materials of the intricate period of Francis I. and Henry II.

Much and good work has been done upon the history of the religious wars. But the preceding period has been barely touched. Save

the volumes by M. Lemonnier in Lavisse, *Histoire de France,* no authoritative history of the reigns of Francis I. or of Henry II. exists. The path to such a work is now clear. With this admirable monograph to guide his researches, it is to be hoped that some historian soon will undertake such a volume—or volumes.

It may be added that M. Hauser has missed the fact that the history of De Thou (no. 778) was also printed at the Hague in 1740 in eleven volumes, and that an English translation of books I.–XXV. was made by Bernard Wilson (London, 1730, 2 volumes).

James Westfall Thompson.

Iconographie Calvinienne. Ouvrage dédié à l'Université de Genève. Par E. Doumergue, Doyen de la Faculté Libre de Théologie Protestante de Montauban. (Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie. 1909. Pp. vii, 280.)

This album of Calvin's likenesses, which is inscribed to his still living daughter, his university, was the contribution of Professor Doumergue in the double jubilee which Geneva celebrated during the first weeks of July, 1909: the Reformer's fourth centennial and the 350th anniversary of the foundation of his famous school. The book, which contains twenty-six full-sized phototypes and seventy-six engravings, is in every sense worthy of the author and publishers and of the occasion. Special subscriptions made it possible to place it on the market at a price which ought to insure a wide circulation.

Calvin's portraits, which his eminent biographer has collected and studied and now publishes with sagacious comments, will spread knowledge of the real physiognomy of the great Reformer, concerning which many mistaken notions have been and still are current. The Calvin of the tradition has a pale, yellow, emaciated face, taken from an old but bad oil-painting in the Geneva Public Library. That portrait was badly touched up and varnished in 1775 and besides is not an original. It presents the Calvin of the very last years, perhaps the last days, of his life. History has desired to know the man in his middle age, if not in his prime, who began to be known as Geneva's reformer before he was thirty. One may safely say that man is now before us.

Professor Doumergue's inquiries in private as well as public art galleries and libraries in France, Switzerland, Germany, and Holland have enabled him to bring forward a dozen typical likenesses, all of which can be dated as of the sixteenth century, all connected by evident resemblance, and which most likely correspond to the several phases of Calvin's life. In this precious series he emphasizes the value of three oil-portraits. Two of the same, in Rotterdam and in Basle, being probably copies of a lost original, represent the Reformer in the middle of life. The third one is of the latter years but taken direct from the model and of proved authenticity. It was given by Calvin himself to his successor Beza and remained in Beza's family. The excellent woodcut inserted in Beza's *Icones* (1580) is obviously a copy of the same.

Among the contemporaneous engravings, which are of great importance when signed or attributable and dated or datable, one ought to especially mention that of 1559, another of 1562 by René Boyvin, and the one executed in 1566 by Woeiriot for presentation by Beza to Renée de France, duchess of Ferrara, along with an edition of the *Opuscula* of their late friend. The likeness of 1559, a woodcut, was probably engraved at Geneva and has some relation with the founding of Calvin's Academy which was inaugurated that year. Another highly interesting document of the same epoch is the finely penned sketch by a student of 1564 representing his professor when lecturing from the pulpit.[1a]

A copiously illustrated essay on religious caricature and satire during the sixteenth century, along with two very useful catalogues of engraved portraits and medals concerning Calvin and his times, complete the remarkable volume, a presentation copy of which has been sent by the rector and senate of the University of Geneva, in remembrance of the jubilee, to every doctor *honoris causa* on whom a degree was conferred on that occasion.

CHARLES BORGEAUD.

Luther und Lutherthum in der ersten Entwickelung quellenmässig dargestellt von H. DENIFLE, O.P., und A. M. WEISS, O.P. (Mainz: Kirchheim.) I. Hauptband. I. Abt. 2d edition, 1904 (pp. xxx, 422). II. Abt. 2d edition by Weiss, 1906 (pp. xi, 486, xxiv). I. Ergänzungsband. *Die abendländischen Schriftausleger bis Luther über Justitia Dei (Rom. 1,17) und Justificatio* (1905, pp. xx, 380). II. Ergänzungsband. (Weiss.) *Lutherpsychologie als Schlüssel zur Lutherlegende.*--2d edition, 1906 (pp. xiv, 310). II. Hauptband. (Weiss.) 1909 (pp. xvi, 514).

WHEN Father Denifle approached the study of Luther he had long been well known for the profundity of his researches in medieval scholasticism and the history of universities. Evincing the same thoroughness in the new work that had distinguished him in the old, he began his first volume with a severe criticism of the great Weimar edition of Luther's works now coming out,[1] a publication on which the best scholarship has been employed. Denifle was able, however, to point out a number of omissions and mistakes, due chiefly to the editors' comparative ignorance of medieval writers, a field in which his

[1a] The student's sketch or sketches—there are several—and the portrait by the French engraver, René Boyvin, were first identified and published in the *Histoire de l'Université de Genève*, vol. I., *L'Académie de Calvin* (1900). The woodcut of 1559, which I found at the Library of the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français in Paris soon after the appearance of that volume, was given last year in my *1559: Pages d'Histoire Universitaire réunies à l'Occasion du Jubilé* (Genève, Georg et Cie., 1908, pp. 69).

[1] *Luthers Sämmtliche Werke*, Kritische Ausgabe von Knaake und Andern (Weimar, 1883). Denifle's criticism occupies pp. 30–54 of his first volume. The edition now takes Luther's works down to 1532, with some omissions.

own erudition was so extensive that he could say, "the simplest things are beyond these editors."

The Catholic scholar's work is not a biography, but a series of essays on those aspects of the reformer's life and teaching most susceptible to hostile interpretation. Most of his charges are the old familiar ones: Luther's attitude on the Peasants' War, on the bigamy of Philip of Hesse, his coarseness, his supposed drunkenness[2] and sensuality,[3] but they have never been canvassed with such merciless thoroughness. The book is a day of judgment in which Luther is called to account for every idle word and he said many. Nay more, an appeal is made to modern criminology to show that the reformer's face is of the "criminal type".

What is new in Denifle is his study of the sources of Luther's thought in medieval theology. In this department the author is unequalled, and both in his main volumes and in the supplementary one he makes an extremely important contribution to the knowledge of the subject.[4]

On June 10, 1905, the great scholar died, largely through the effect of overwork. "Luther has killed me", he wrote a friend on October 17, 1903. The pen which fell from his hand was taken up, as a pious duty, by his friend and fellow-friar, Father Weiss. After completing the revision of Denifle's work already begun by the latter, and, among other improvements, softening the uncommon acrimony of many expressions, Weiss supplemented it with two volumes of his own. The first of these,

[2] Vol. I., pp. 112–113, especially the latter, note 4. Denifle makes much of a letter from Luther to Müller, March 18, 1535 (Enders, *Luthers Briefwechsel* (1903), vol. X., p. 137), now in the Vatican archives. The unclearness with which the signature is written has caused a lively controversy over its reading. According to Evers, the first editor of the letter (1885), Denifle, and Enders, Luther signed himself "Dr. Plenus"; E. Kroker, *Katharina von Bora* (Leipzig, 1906), p. 278, reads "Dr. Hans", referring it to Luther's son; G. Kawerau, *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, Jahrgang 1908, Heft 4, p. 603, reads "Dr. Pleures", though he can give no sense to the word; K. Löffler in *Historische Jahrbücher*, vol. XXX. (1909), Heft 1, reads "Dr. Parvus", referring it to Luther's son. I have myself seen an excellent photograph of the letter, and consider "Plenus", "Plures" or "Johannes", possibilities, but neither "Hans" nor "Parvus". According to Denifle Luther signed himself "Dr. Full" in reference to the intoxicated state in which he wrote the letter. He also suggests that Luther's numerous illnesses were due to his fondness for liquor. This is possible but does not prove the man a drunkard.

[3] Vol. I., p. 283. His strongest argument is from the letter to Spalatin, April 15, 1525 (Enders, *op. cit.*, vol. V. (1893), p. 157). Denifle tries to show that the damning words "misceri feminis" are always used by Luther elsewhere in a bad sense. Protestant historians take them, in this letter, as a joke.

[4] It might be objected that Denifle assumes Luther to have been mainly a scholastic theologian instead of what he was, a representative of the common German Catholic of his time. (See especially vol. II., p. 582, note 2.) This consideration may indeed lead us to dissent from the strictures of the author who accuses Luther of gross ignorance and wilful perversion of his predecessors, but it hardly affects the value of his researches.

the *Lutherpsychologie,* is an appreciation and a portrait. The writer first proves that in this study a Catholic is much more unprejudiced than a Protestant, who sees not the real Luther, but the hero of the Luther-legend; the author's own impartiality is shown by his statement that he "knows but one Church, expressed in the single word Pope". Whatever is outside this church is neither Christianity nor religion; his unbiassed estimate assumes, therefore, the character of that style of argument known as begging the question. As to the portrait it is Hamlet with the prince left out, a picture in which many a single feature is caught but the animating soul forgotten. Moreover, the whole work of Weiss is superficial and ill written. Of his habitual carelessness, or worse, in the use of sources, a characteristic example may be given. By combining three separate reports in the table-talk[5] he concocts a story proving Luther's gluttony and drunkenness. Among other things the Wittenberg professor tells of some men who have died of hunger and adds: "ich denke mich dabei an meine Altersgenossen von 50 Jahren; o wie dünn sind sie!" The modern writer comments: "es scheint, dass Luther einen Tonnenumfang für eine besondere Zierde oder ein grosses Glück betrachtet habe." Had he examined the context from which these words are taken he would have seen that the clause "wie dünn sind sie" could only mean "how *few* they are now."

The last volume of this Polyphemus-like work is not a detailed study of Luther but an attempt to arrive at a comprehensive view of his environment. The first chapter, on the antecedents of the Reformation, agrees with the Protestant historians in finding a main cause in the prevalent immorality of the time, but differs from them in the part assigned to the movement itself, which is described as the "cloaca maxima" of these evils, the great drain-pipe which carried them out of the Church. The characteristics of Lutheranism from 1517 to 1521 are found to be individualism and anarchy; after the Diet of Worms it underwent a reaction (*Rückbildung*) due to its leader's remorse and fear of consequences (compunctions which he designated as apparitions of the devil). After 1530 Lutheranism as a separate entity was lost in the larger movement of Protestantism which it poisoned with its spirit of hatred to Rome. The fifth and next to the last chapter returns to the sources of Luther's doctrine, which it finds in a mixture of German "atavism" and an importation of foreign heresies, chiefly those of Huss, of Wycliffe, and, worst of all, of Occam. This chapter has behind it some real study of the sources and suggests some of the influences which actually combined to form Luther's character and dogma. But in general the work of Weiss is almost useless to the student, who can learn a vast deal from Denifle.

PRESERVED SMITH.

[5] *Lutherpsychologie,* p. 188. His sources are three sayings, found in Seidemann: *Lauterbach's Tagebuch auf das Jahr 1538* (Dresden, 1872), p. 33, p. 51 and note.

Madame, Mother of the Regent, 1652–1722. By Arvède Barine. Translated by Jeanne Mairet (Madame Charles Bigot). (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909. Pp. xi, 346.)

The lady, who wrote under the name of Arvède Barine, has published several works in reference to the French court in the days of Louis XIV. In the last of them she reviews the career of Madame, Mother of the Regent, who married the brother of Louis XIV., and for more than fifty years was a prominent member of the society, whose centre was Versailles, and the cynosure of whose eyes was Louis XIV.

This book does not profess to be a serious historical work, and we cannot expect in it the strict and accurate scholarship that would be demanded in a history of a different kind. It is just, however, to say that Madame Vincens was thoroughly familiar with the period and had studied most of the memoirs and correspondence which have to do with her heroine.

A heroine, indeed, the Duchess of Orleans never was, not even to a biographer. She was a daughter of Carl Ludwig, Elector Palatine, a prince of by no means an exalted character, and she received the training of a petty German court. Probably, not even in Europe at that period, was it possible to have a worse one. For such a personage the great problem of life was marriage, and Charlotte, Countess Palatine of the Rhine, was fortunate or unfortunate enough, to make what, in those days, was regarded as a great alliance. At the age of nineteen she was married to the Duke of Orleans, the younger brother of Louis XIV., and she occupied a distinguished position in the court, which was then regarded as the political as well as the social centre of Europe. Her husband was a very poor personage, and their long married life was attended by about the amount of unhappiness that was found in most similar alliances.

This work pays little heed to the political history of the time, but it gives a fairly accurate picture of the curious society in which Madame was a great personage. The story is pleasantly told, it is gossipy, and much of the gossip is interesting. Madame was one of the most prolific letter-writers the world has ever known, all her life long she was constantly sending off voluminous epistles to her German relatives; they contain a prodigious amount of gossip and a good deal of interesting information.

The splendor and the discomfort of the life at Versailles, the unwearied pursuit of amusement, the virtues and vices of those who formed the court of Louis XIV., in which it is to be feared the vices predominated, are related in the correspondence which furnishes the most important material for the life of the writer. Madame writes of sitting in her room at Versailles with a fur about her neck and her feet in a bear-skin bag and shaking with the cold. She describes the routine of her own days at the Palais Royal. They got up at half past ten and went to mass at twelve, after which they gossiped. It

is to be feared the gossip sometimes interfered with the service. Another duchess, one of Madame's German kinspeople, complains that she cannot finish her letter in church, because the duke is making such a noise reading aloud a comedy. Even in France, if the manners were better, the devotion was no more sincere. At two the members of the household went to the table and there they were until half past five. It was a time of heavy eating and heavy drinking. Louis XIV. ate amounts that seem to us appalling, and though Madame abused French dishes, she partook profusely of them. After dinner visitors strolled in, sometimes there was an opera, and almost always there was gambling. It could not be called a refined society, but its records are not without interest, and the history of any social life, whether more or less edifying, has its value.

There are inaccuracies in this book and some exaggerations. The condition of the Palatinate was bad in the seventeenth century, but our author is wrong in saying that there could be found there cook-houses exclusively devoted to human flesh, and that cannibalism was prevalent. The errors are not of large importance.

On the whole, this book gives a fair account of the career of a woman who held an important place in the world, and who was an active-minded and not an uninfluential personage.

JAMES BRECK PERKINS.

Mirabeau and the French Revolution. In three volumes. By FRED MORROW FLING, Ph.D., Professor of European History in the University of Nebraska. Volume I. *The Youth of Mirabeau.* (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1908. Pp. xv, 497.)

THIS book is the work of an historian whose standard of scholarship is of the highest and whose critical methods are thoroughly scientific. He has had access to all the material which could assist him in procuring a complete knowledge of his subject, has rigorously criticized his sources, and has formed his own judgments. He has consequently produced a scholarly and conscientious study of great merit.

It is extremely difficult to write the story of Mirabeau's youth. Almost all the evidence we possess in regard to it comes either from himself, from his father, or from his uncle, and therefore it is unreliable. Not only so, but it is inadequate. There are many questions to which this material furnishes no answer. Again, we find a difficulty in the character of all the witnesses. There is only one who is thoroughly trustworthy—the *bailli*. In his judgments drawn from this material, it is not to be expected that Fling will always be right, and he is not. He is at his best when he treats of the relations between father and son. Here, on the whole, his method is certain and his conclusions are sound. His use of sources is well illustrated by his attitude towards Montigny's

Memoirs of Mirabeau. He refuses to quote them as being sufficient authority in themselves. He is quite as sound and deserves equal praise for his method of handling the material furnished by the father and the son. He declines to adopt the view of either as being the whole truth, and his skill in the use of the contradictory material furnished by these two is remarkable. He gives his verdict only when he is able to establish a strong case, and refuses to be drawn into guesses or hasty conclusions. Not only so, but he has proved conclusively that the marquis did not hate his son during Mirabeau's childhood. He gives the first really credible narrative of their relations during the boy's early years, and makes it easier to understand how the dislike of the father for the son took root and grew. Similarly, he has described Mirabeau's character with skill and, it seems to me, with truth.

Fling is anxious to give a full account of the paternal antecedents of Mirabeau in order to the understanding of Mirabeau himself. "To speak of him without speaking of them, would be a useless undertaking." This is true, but is it not equally true that an examination of his mother's antecedents would have been even more to the point? It is certain that Mirabeau resembled his mother, and his maternal grandfather, much more than he did his father. He resembled the maternal stock physically, mentally, and, one might add, morally, were it not that both stocks were equally immoral. Mirabeau's habits of speech, his conversation, his intellectual overexcitement, his slovenliness of dress, his face and figure, his hopeless extravagance in money matters, his lack of reserve and of modesty, his warm heart, are all characteristic of the mother rather than of the father. Hence, the aversion of his father and of his paternal grandmother for him. A study of his mother's qualities and of her family are therefore more important for the understanding of his character than any study of his paternal ancestry.

It would seem advisable, too, to call attention to a strain of something like insanity on both sides of the family. The marquis's mother became insane before her death; the marquis was eccentric, to the say the least, his youngest brother acted like a madman in his earlier youth, Mirabeau's mother and his youngest sister certainly act like maniacs, his eldest sister was entirely out of her senses, the marquis declared that "the visor of the mind of his mother-in-law was not quite straight." At times he considered Mirabeau himself a maniac, and in moments of passion Mirabeau comported himself so as to give ground for the belief. In brief, the family is far from being normal, a fact which probably explains many things which are otherwise dark.

The author's first chapter seems to me quite unnecessary. It is entitled the Struggle against Arbitrary Government. I do not believe the discussion it contains in any way essential to the understanding of Mirabeau's position later. Nor is it an adequate discussion of the

subject. Nor is it sufficient for an understanding of what the struggle against arbitrary government really included. It would have been better to omit it, taking for granted that readers of a really scholarly work like this would be sufficiently informed about the matter.

One can approve heartily Fling's contention that an historian has no business to pose as a critic of human actions. The pity of it is that a writer of a biography such as this cannot help himself. It is easy enough to see that Fling has a bias in spite of his good intensions. He sympathizes with the marquis against his wife, and he sympathizes with Mirabeau against his father. Fling is well aware that our knowledge of the wife is based almost entirely on evidence furnished by her enemies, and that it is not contemporaneous evidence. He warns his reader of this fact, assuring him that as a consequence this evidence is not entirely trustworthy. He then proceeds, however, to use it as if it were so. He describes the character of the marquise in the language of the husband and of the brother-in-law and concludes that she was "truly an impossible creature". He would have been just as thoroughly justified if he had said of the marquis "he was truly an impossible creature." On the marquis's own showing, he never loved his wife, while she did love him; he despised her; he never attempted to make her life easy; he compelled her to live under the same roof with his mother, though, as he admitted, the two women could not live together a week without his presence in the house; after twenty years of married life, and after she had borne him eleven children, he shut his door on her, without deigning to give any reason; moreover, he never made any effort to remain true to his marriage vow, and, long before turning off his wife, had given his whole heart to another woman; he tried to get possession of his wife's property even while he refused to permit her to live in his house, and while he was squandering his means and her means upon her rival; failing to find in her a willing victim, he had her imprisoned by *lettre de cachet,* and finally, to add baseness to baseness, he meanly complained that he had reared five children and had never received as much of her fortune as he felt he should have received. When it is added that the marquis married her when she was but seventeen, it will seem just to apply to the case the judgment of Mirabeau on his sister's marriage: "I have no doubt that a man of honour and judgment, in love with her, would have been able to restrain her mind and set her heart right." That sentence is the condemnation of the marquis in his relations with his wife.

Though one may believe that the marquis in his relations with his son was the greater offender of the two, it is a little difficult to lay the entire responsibility upon the shoulders of the father. Fling, however, seems to think this is just. "From his birth to his death", he says, "Mirabeau was the victim of his father's well-meant, but ill-judged speculations." This sentence illustrates the treatment of father and son all through. The responsibility is the father's. But it should be

evident that this belittles Mirabeau. He could have been nothing but a puppet, if his father was the really responsible person. Even after Mirabeau is married, at the age of twenty-four, Fling seems to think that the father is somehow to blame for what happened. Mirabeau begins married life with an income small enough, but adequate if he had been willing to live on a moderate scale. But this is the last thing he thinks of. He borrows 200,000 francs in a little over fifteen months, he borrows it from usurers, from his friends, from day laborers, parish priests, tradesmen, anyone that will lend, creating a debt twice as great as the sum which he gets into his hands; then he squanders this money in a manner which is little less than insane. Yet, when Loménie holds Mirabeau responsible as a consequence, for his own ruin, for becoming virtually an outcast from the society into which he was born, Fling objects.

In one respect the author seems to have been untrue to his scientific critical method. This is in his use of the marquis's narrative of his father's life. This material seems to me thoroughly unreliable. Loménie points out that it is not to be used without caution, yet neither Loménie nor Fling show any particular caution in using it. The stories about Jean Antoine strain credulity to the utmost, and there does not seem to be the least corroboration for them.

What strikes a reader as remarkable is Fling's belief that the *mariage de convenance* was in some way to blame for the misfortunes of the Mirabeau family. The marquis's "whole life", he declares, "had been wrecked by a *mariage de convenance*". Does he suppose that "the impossible woman" would have been less impossible if it had been a love match? Would "the twenty years of nephritic colic" have disappeared? Would love have been a safer guide to follow in the case of the marquis than his desire for property? Would such a match have transformed the character of the marquis? Would he have been less foolish in his business speculations? What a *mariage de convenance* has to do with the real sins of the marquis and his son it would be hard to say, and Fling has satisfied himself with asserting the connection instead of proving it.

I cannot share Professor Fling's opinion of the importance of the *Essay on Despotism*. It is just such a pamphlet as was common at the time. Marat's *Chains of Slavery* which appeared in 1774 has a family likeness to Mirabeau's production of the same year. There is not much besides declamation in either of them. The *Essay* is feeble, and it is not original. It certainly does not call for so extensive a treatment as is here accorded to it; and certainly does not deserve quotation at such length. The last chapter is almost entirely quotation and is the poorest chapter in the book.

There is a number of minor criticisms. The motive implied for Mirabeau's hatred of despotism, namely that he had suffered from the despotism of his father, does not seem to rest on anything. Mirabeau's

cowardly and brutal attack on a defenseless old man deserves some more fitting comment than that of being "not a very serious matter"; Mirabeau's furious quarrels with his wife, in one of which he struck her, should hardly be set down "as nothing but passing storms, such storms as naturally pass over Provençal households and leave no trace behind them". It is incorrect to say that Mirabeau's light-heartedness in incurring debt was not a marked trait in 1770, when his father asserts in 1769 that "he has, in addition to his other good qualities, that of borrowing from all hands." Fling seems to consider French feet and English feet equivalent, since he always carries the same figures over from the French text. As a consequence, he speaks of Mirabeau as "below the average height". Mirabeau was over five feet eleven inches in height. The translations are not always accurate. Instances will be found on pages 9, 13, 80, 115, and 338. *Prétendu* does not ordinarily mean pretended; *injure* is most frequently insult, *esprit* should usually be translated intellect; Bohemian is gypsy. Fling should be consistent, and say Mont-Dore or Mont d'Or, but not use both forms; he should use English equivalents for *roture, économisme, arrhes, malaise,* and especially for *jauno* and *jaunerie,* which to-day need explanation even for a Frenchman. Finally, his English style is lacking in both clearness and force.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

L'Assistance et l'État en France à la Veille de la Révolution (Généralités de Paris, Rouen, Alençon, Orléans, Chalons, Soissons, Amiens, 1764–1790). Par CAMILLE BLOCH, Inspecteur Général des Bibliothèques et des Archives, Docteur ès-Lettres. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1908. Pp. lxiv, 504.)

To the student of the French Revolution M. Bloch's work will offer a new illustration, drawn from a fresh field of research, of the fact that the characteristic features of Revolutionary policy were not sudden breaks with the ideas of the past, but were the final term in a series the beginnings of which ran back at least to the middle of the century. This is a reflection that M. Bloch's exposition of the subject suggests, rather than a thesis that he seeks to maintain. His book falls into three parts. The first establishes an estimate of the relative amount of poverty in the eighteenth century and explains the organization and equipment of the public and corporate charities before 1764. The second gives the theories of relief current at the time and the reforms in the methods of controlling vagabondage, of providing for foundlings, and of the care of the infirm and the diseased, while the third exhibits the development of the doctrine finally adopted by the Constituent Assembly's committee of *mendicité*.

According to this exposition the significant efforts at reform go back to the reign of Louis XV., not the only claim he has to the title of

"benevolent despot". It was in 1764 that, as a preliminary towards a more intelligent treatment of the question of poverty and its consequences, the controller-general undertook a classification of the poor. This was followed by a declaration on vagabondage intended to facilitate its severe repression. Before the close of the reign appear other elements of the programme of relief in its later form, including *ateliers de charité* and local *bureaux d'aumônes*. M. Bloch adds that Turgot did little more than seek to realize the principles of a legal system of charity so foreshadowed. His special work was a wiser regulation of methods and a clearer development of the theory, to both of which the prestige of his name gave great weight with the members of the provincial assemblies soon to be summoned, and, a decade afterwards, with the committee of the Constituent Assembly. Several excellent examples of effective administrative improvement were due to Necker and to Mme. Necker; among them, a model *atelier de charité*, a model hospital, and the introduction of the *mont de piété*. One is also surprised to discover that provision was made for furnishing to the indigent gratuitous legal assistance. This is not the only fact that leaves upon the reader the impression of modernity. M. Bloch sums up the practical conclusions reached by public opinion before the Revolution as follows: "nécessité d'une organisation publique de la charité, confiée aux représentants électifs de la nation, reposant à la base sur la paroisse et sur les secours à domicile; préférence pour le mode d'assistance par le travail; moindre emploi possible des hôpitaux; ressources régulières tirées soit des aumônes versées entre les mains des représentants autorisés des bureaux locaux de charité, soit des revenus de certains biens ecclésiastiques nationalisés." The Constituent Assembly had little to do beyond registering this general conclusion or working it out in practice.

M. Bloch has restricted his researches to the *généralités* of Paris, Rouen, Alençon, Orléans, Chalons, Soissons, and Amiens, but he believes that the results for this field are substantially what they would be for France as a whole. He has prefaced his work with a bibliography of manuscript sources and of printed books and pamphlets. The manuscript collections are so fully described that the bibliography will serve as a valuable guide for investigators of this subject in the national archives and in the local archives of the region studied. The principal printed material is also briefly characterized. It should be added that only the book of M. Christian Paultre, *De la Répression de la Mendicité et du Vagabondage en France sous l'Ancien Régime*, has given a treatment of the field at all comparable with that by M. Bloch, and M. Paultre's book is written mainly from the juridical standpoint. M. Bloch's index is exceptionally detailed and will facilitate the effective use of his results.

H. E. Bourne.

[Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française, publiés par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique]: *Département de Loir-et-cher, Cahiers de Doléances du Bailliage de Blois et du Bailliage Secondaire de Romorantin, pour les États Généraux de 1789*, I., II., ed. F. Lesueur et A. Cauchie (1907, 1908, pp. xcix, 576; 509); *do.* (Manche) *Cotentin*, II., ed. Émile Bridrey (1908, pp. 806); *do.* (Gard) *Nimes*, I., ed. E. Bligny-Bondurand (1908, pp. lv, 584); *do.* (Bouches-du-Rhône) *Marseille*, ed. J. Fournier (1908, pp. lxi, 557); *do.* (Yonne) *Sens*, ed. Ch. Porée (1908, pp. 846); *do.* (Lot) *Cahors*, ed. V. Fourastié (1908, pp. xiv, 383); (Dép. Rhône), *Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux*, ed. S. Charléty (1906, pp. xviii, 722); *do.* (Bouches-du-Rhône), *id.*, I., ed. P. Moulin (1908, pp. lxxii, 592); *do.* (Orne), *Recueil des Documents d'Ordre Économique, contenus dans les Registres de Délibérations des Municipalités du District d'Alençon, 1788—an IV*, I., II., ed. F. Mourlot (1907, 1908, pp. xxiii, 766; 672); *Procès-Verbaux des Comités d'Agriculture et de Commerce de la Constituante, de la Législative, et de la Convention*, I.–III., ed. F. Gerbaux et Ch. Schmidt (1906–1908, pp. xiv, 763; xxiv, 775; xxxi, 823); *Recueil des Réponses faites par les Communautés de l'Élection de Gap au Questionnaire envoyé par la Commission Intermédiaire des États du Dauphiné*, ed. l'Abbé Guillaume (1908, pp. xvii, 609); *Les Comités des Droits Féodaux et de Législation et l'Abolition du Régime Seigneurial (1789–1793)*, ed. Ph. Sagnac et P. Caron (1907, pp. xliv, 826); *L'Abolition des Droits Seigneuriaux en Savoie (1761–1793)*, ed. M. Bruchet (1909, pp. ciii, 638).

Notices in earlier numbers of this Review (XI. 534–537; XII. 373–376) described the aim and general character of the series of which these volumes form a part. New issues have appeared, meanwhile, which comprise such a variety of material that they may probably be taken to represent fairly the contribution which the series offers to the student interested in economic history.

One general judgment seems warranted at the outset. These documents are not the ordinary material of economic history, nor do they present an ordinary chapter in French economic history, but, in strict conformity to the title of the series, they represent the economic history of the French Revolution. The student who seeks to learn from their pages how the French people were making a living at the close of the eighteenth century, how they tilled their soil and refined its products, how they traded among themselves and with their neighbors, must be gifted with an alert discrimination if he would hear aright the suggestions which are offered to guide him in his search. He has been

used, probably, to a sober reticence, when he has questioned the people of other times and places about their economic life. The day's work has seemed to them so commonplace that they have thought of little to say about it, and have left records which were meagre but were at the same time unconscious and trustworthy. The student will find in the books under review similar unconscious indications of the economic organization, though these are less plentiful than one would expect in volumes of such scope and bulk. But from the consideration of this evidence the reader is distracted by the clamor of many voices, denouncing injustices, demanding rights, asserting in one breath that everything is changed, complaining in another that the old order persists intact. It is not alone what is said in the documents which clouds the reader's judgment; there is always the suspicion in his mind that the noisy part of the nation was writing the history of the period, that it left unsaid much that the quiet part, perhaps a very large part, could have told us about the condition of their affairs. Some of the documents, indeed, are interesting as much because of the ignorance which they betray as for the knowledge which they reveal. "On est surpris, en effet", say the editors of the *cahiers* of Blois, "de constater combien la population était souvent mal renseignée sur les institutions dont elle avait à se plaindre et, en général, sur toute l'administration de l'ancien régime."

These considerations apply with greatest force to the volumes of *cahiers,* a kind of material already familiar to students of the period. The new volumes make no great departure from similar collections previously printed, except as they extend our knowledge of local conditions in the rural communes, and provide, in the volume on Marseilles, a welcome source of information on the position of the corporations of arts and trades at the time. The most noteworthy advance which they mark lies in the contributions of their editors, who have attempted and attained a distinctly higher standard than has hitherto prevailed in publications of the kind. The editors have chosen various ways to reach their ends. All have illustrated their *cahiers* by the use of other manuscript material; some, notably MM. Lesueur and Cauchie, have prefaced their work with elaborate introductions; M. Bridrey elucidates his documents with foot-notes which equal in bulk the text itself, and M. Porée distinguishes his volume by the full information contained in the paragraphs introductory to each *cahier.* Most of the volumes, furthermore, are provided with really excellent indexes, covering subjects as well as persons and places, and adding immensely to the practical value of the work.

Many of the editors have given attention to the question of the authorship of ideas which reappear so often in the *cahiers* that they clearly confess to a common origin. In the volume on Blois, in which the question is admirably treated, and in that on Cahors, the repetition of certain grievances is shown clearly to correspond with the local grouping of the parishes; and various indications betray the influence of

assembly presidents, of officers of justice and of the clergy. We may note in passing that the editor of the volume on Cahors has gone astray (p. 140) in thinking that Gay's poem on "The Degenerate Bees" was in the mind of the author of the *cahier,* who refers as distinctly as possible to Bernard Mandeville's book, *The Fable of the Bees,* and, furthermore, describes one of its leading ideas, that luxury is beneficient.

In interesting contrast with the *cahiers* is the collection offered by the Abbé Guillaume of answers made by the communities of a district in Dauphiné, corresponding to the modern department of Hautes Alpes, to a schedule of questions proposed to them by a provincial commission in 1789. The spirit of the Revolution is less evident in this volume than in any of the others. The people were invited, not to express their views on the world at large and their suggestions for its improvement, but to describe the actual conditions of their village life in answer to specific questions exactly like those asked in a modern census. The questions, twenty-four in number, covered such practical matters of fact as the size of the community, sanitary conditions, agricultural and industrial products and trade, local finances, schools, and poor relief. The answers are, for the most part, curt and definite and inspire in the reader a confidence which the editor believes to be well founded. Seldom, indeed, does the student of economic history find a more satisfactory means of informing himself about the economic organization of the past; and if similar sources covered the remainder of France they would provide an invaluable means of checking the statements, so distinctly subjective, of the *cahiers* and of the petitions and memorials in other volumes. The department of Hautes Alpes is, unfortunately, but a small part of France, characterized then as now by conditions of life so simple that they cannot be taken to illustrate the French organization as a whole.

Even when the clash of opinions is stilled, as in M. Moulin's statistical account of the sale of national property in the department of Bouches-du-Rhône, the facts recorded are generally those of abrupt and sweeping change. M. Moulin's volume resembles in all important characteristics that of M. Charléty on the sale of national property in the department of the Rhone, which has already been described in this Review (XII. 375–376). The chief change to be noted is one of arrangement, the documents being grouped no longer by districts but by communes; and this change in classification will undoubtedly facilitate the study and interpretation of the records. As applied in the present volume the reader must regret that it deprives him of the opportunity to follow the course of land transfers in the rural districts; the general inventories of ecclesiastical property make up the larger part of the volume, and the remaining space is devoted almost entirely to the commune of Aix, an urban centre. The student will find this material on the sale of national property, at best, refractory. The appearance of

accuracy, implied always in statistics, is shown by the editors to be somewhat deceptive; and, on the other hand, the facts are presented in a form so atomic and incoherent that they will require patient study and considerable constructive ability of one who would gather from them their social and economic significance.

The stout volumes in which M. Mourlot prints the municipal documents of the district of Alençon contain over four thousand entries taken from the records of forty-three communes and covering ten years of the Revolutionary period. With rare exceptions the documents are summarized and are presented in the form of a calendar, chronologically arranged by communes. They refer in part to such routine matters of local administration as taxes, roads, and communal property, and in part bear witness to the activities of the Revolutionary government at Paris. In them can be traced, with an abundance of detail, the efforts of the government to gather the resources of the countryside for its wars abroad. The appraisal of resources gives occasionally results of considerable interest, as, for instance, the enumeration of the entire stock in trade of a country store, which is printed on page 536 of the first volume. A topic which invites attention and which might profitably be studied with some care is the policy followed to insure the local food supply. The assize of bread, which was said recently by D'Avenel to persist still in many French towns, was in full vigor in this period and was the object of many regulations. In these times of scarcity, while the government was endeavoring to enforce the law of maximum price, the grain trade was naturally under the closest surveillance, and came near to being absorbed by local authorities and exercised as an ordinary municipal function. Agents were sent out by the communes to buy wheat and flour on the public account, and, in one case noticed, the agent was authorized before his departure to lay in a stock of cider that he might reduce the expenses of his quest by selling it along the road. Even the institution of the market was enforced with medieval strictness. In Courtomer, in 1793, people were forbidden to buy or sell any ware outside the market-place, at least on Sundays, under penalty of a fine of 10 livres and confiscation of the goods; and later reference shows that people dealing in tow outside the market were actually punished. Similar regulations appear to have been in force in other communes.

The volumes which would seem to promise the most useful general indications of the economic conditions of France in this period are the three edited by MM. Gerbaux and Schmidt, containing the records of the committees of agriculture and of commerce of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies. On these committees sat agriculturists, business men, manufacturers, lawyers, officials, and scientists, of whom some were distinguished representatives of their respective callings, and one, at least, Dupont de Nemours, has left a reputation extending far beyond his place and time. The committees were established to receive and

discuss all suggestions relating to the subjects of agriculture and commerce and to prepare appropriate legislation for the consideration of the larger assemblies. An enormous mass of petitions and memorials passed through their hands. The first volume, comprising the records of the Constituent Assembly from its establishment in September, 1789, to January, 1791, contains notices, more or less extended, of 2143 memorials. The second volume, continuing the records of this committee to its dissolution in September, 1791 (p. 441), adds perhaps another thousand; and in addition, in the records of the two separate committees of the Legislative Assembly from October, 1791, to September, 1792, contains 476 memorials on agriculture and 756 on commerce. Some of the documents which reached the committees were dismissed with a bare mention; others were referred to a member to study and report upon them and later were disposed of as he recommended, often by reference to some executive official. Some few gave rise to extended discussions, which are, unfortunately, recorded only in bare summaries, while some were elaborated into projects of law and finally passed the Assembly.

To the student of the legislation of the period these volumes will henceforth be indispensable. To the student of general economic history they offer interesting information on a great variety of topics. The memorials came in from every conceivable source—and from none at all, if we may so designate the origin of the anonymous letters, which were not infrequent. The reactionary demanded a return to the strictest regulations of the old order; the radical proposed the abolition of all restrictions. A man suggested that a *dot* of 100 livres should be provided for all country girls on their marriage; a woman invited others of her sex to cease wearing white clothes. The motley material defies a summary. The editors describe as follows the matters which were brought most often to the attention of the committees in the records of the second volume. First in importance, in agricultural affairs, was the question of the division of common lands among the citizens of the communes. This question, which formed the subject of occasional memorials and petitions in the first volume, grew in importance with the passage of time and was continually agitated in 1792. The committee on agriculture was occupied largely also with projects for canals and with the serious conditions arising from the scarcity of grain. Nearly half of the departments of France applied to the central government for aid in the provision of their food supply, and the committee constantly received complaints and suggestions regarding the grain trade. The committee on commerce joined in the deliberation on this question and had within its own particular field other matters to occupy its attention: points of detail connected with the administration of the customs tariff of 1791 and the position of the free ports. If we scan the pages of the three volumes we get the impression that scarcely a point in the economic field was left untouched. In the matter of

foreign trade, for example, the reader will find not only material illustrating the commercial organization of the time but also many hints helping to an understanding of the slave trade, the colonial system, and the operation of the French commercial policy in Europe.

The editors might well shrink from the task of preparing an index to this heterogeneous mass of material but they promise to provide one for the whole work when they publish the fourth and concluding volume of the records. Meanwhile, the student who would take advantage of the valuable bits of information scattered through some two thousand pages must sift his wheat from an overwhelming amount of chaff. The editors have performed one service of noteworthy importance by indicating the place in the archives where can be found important reports and other documents, of which there is only a mention in the records of the committees. The interest of this material, still unprinted, may be illustrated by an extract (I. 49) from a memorial of the manufacturers of Louviers against the treaty of commerce of 1786 with England. These manufacturers, it appears, had sent their agents to Paris in 1786 to oppose a treaty and to urge the minister to consult with chambers of commerce on the question. They could not get a hearing. "Chaque article du traité", according to the memorial, "a été pesé, discuté, balancé à Londres, par tous ceux qui y avait intérêt; en France, au contraire, la discussion a été secrète, bornée à un petit nombre d'individus; . . . ainsi se sont évanouies les espérances données aux fabriques, ainsi s'est preparée et consommée leur perte sans qu'il leur ait été possible de se faire entendre."

The text of most of the volumes already considered has been provided by the manuscripts of the archives, in a form which, to be sure, required some emendation of spelling and punctuation and sometimes considerable condensation, but which at least imposed on the editors no serious responsibility in the selection and rejection of documents or in the order of arrangement. MM. Sagnac and Caron in their collection of documents illustrating the abolition of the seigniorial régime have had to make a selection from a mass of material in the National Archives estimated by them at twelve-fold the bulk of the work which they present; and further they have provided a scheme, chronological and topical, in which they have grouped the documents to bring out their characteristic features. Beginning with the decree of August 11, 1789, proclaiming the destruction of the feudal system, their first period continues until March, 1790, when the reactionary decree determining the feudal rights which were suppressed without an indemnity, and those which might be commuted, led to a storm of popular indignation. The second period, which occupies the largest part of the volume (pp. 173–765), closes with the sweeping changes effected by the Legislative Assembly in 1792 and the Convention in 1793; the documents of the third period, extending into 1794, are contained in less than fifty pages. Within a period, taking the first for example, documents are grouped

under the following heads: general; personal rights, especially the seigniorial monopolies; rights attaching to land, the most important category, including as it did rents in money and in kind, labor dues, tithes, rights of common, and the many incidents of manorial tenures; finally, disorders and insurrections.

The headings cited suggest the scope of the volume and its importance as a source of information on French agrarian history. The documents, of which the greater number are memorials or petitions, are colored by personal interest and by class prejudices, but they give an extraordinarily vivid picture of conditions as they appeared to contemporaries; and as they seek to represent the seigniorial as well as the popular side in the controversy they do not leave the reader entirely defenseless before the passionate appeals of the advocates of change. One conclusion forces itself on the reader who scans, even cursorily, the pages of the volume. The Revolution made a tremendous breach in the institution of private property as it had been maintained for centuries; and Laveleye's dictum that it was a less violent invasion of property rights than was Gladstone's Irish legislation seems unwarranted. The reader will note in the volume also plenty of evidence explaining the grounds of attack. Among the most interesting documents are those describing the system of agents and middlemen, through whom, in France as in Ireland, the landlords managed to enjoy the benefit of property without accepting its responsibilities.

Similar evidence is furnished by the documents which M. Bruchet has collected to illustrate the extinction of the seigniorial system in Savoy. "Cette vermine" of middlemen, as they are termed in one place, appears to have been one of the plagues of the system. The Congress of Chambéry, in 1774, called particular attention to the way in which crafty and unscrupulous agents amassed large landed properties by the ruin of individuals and even of whole villages. "L'on peut citer dans la vallée de La Rochette un notaire qui, s'étant faire céder pour le prix de 1000 livres les arrérages de la rente de Montmayeur, en a exigé plus de 20,000 en désolant toute la vallée. L'on peut citer le fermier des fiefs de l'évêché de Maurienne et nombre d'autres qui se sont enrichis aux dépens des pauvres laboureurs. L'on peut même dire, en général, qu'il n'y a dans ce pays aucune profession où l'on ait assemblé communément de si gros patrimoine comme dans la commission et la ferme des fiefs."

Without intending any reflection on the work done by the editors of the other volumes it is but fair to accord to M. Bruchet, who is archivist of the department of the Nord, most cordial recognition of the generous way in which he has conceived his editorial duties and of the success with which he has executed them. He has constructed his volume from material scattered in French and foreign archives and extending in time over the period of a generation. He has arranged it so that the student may first follow the general course of the

emancipation movement from the standpoint of the ruling authorities, and then from that of the public, ranged in support or opposition; pages 326 to 454 present a statistical summary of emancipation contracts, arranged by localities; and pages 455 to 586 comprise three monographs summarizing the results of the reforms, first in a typical province of Savoy, second in a commune partitioned among several fiefs, and third in a commune subject to a single lord. He has provided both an index and a good table of contents and has prefaced the documents with an essay of a hundred pages in which he sketches the situation in Savoy before and during the reforms and points out their general significance. In one point only does he seem to have failed of his full duty of editor. He must be acquainted with the studies of Dr. Paul Darmstädter, "Die Hörigen im französischen Jura", in the *Zeitschrift für Social- und Wirthschaftsgeschichte*, 1896, no. 4, pp. 343–375; *Die Befreiung der Leibeigenen in Savoyen* (Strassburg, 1897), based in considerable part on the same manuscript material which he used; and he would certainly have performed a service to students if he had indicated the existence of these studies even if he did not care to express an opinion on his predecessor's views. In this regard, however, he stands with his colleagues, who refer but rarely to monographs dealing with the material which they present.

CLIVE DAY.

Histoire Religieuse de la Révolution Française. Tome I. Troisième édition. Par PIERRE DE LA GORCE, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1909. Pp. vi, 515.)

THE author of this book is already well known for his voluminous writings on the Second French Republic and the Second Empire in France, nine solid volume in all. These have been reviewed from time to time in our pages and the sound method of the writer is well known to our readers. This volume is quite as substantial and thorough as the others. Documentary material has been gathered by the author and used to a greater extent than by any of his predecessors, and the many new publications of local material—accounts of events during the Revolution in various cities and departments—have shed some interesting side-lights on the subject. In the main, however, he has used the standard authorities, with well-known and approved results. At least so far. There may be novelties in the volumes to follow.

M. de la Gorce has reached the conviction that the Concordat was truly a religious conciliation and as such the most solid basis of the First Consul's renown. Of course in this conclusion he differs widely from Ultramontane opinion. But he is writing four volumes to prove his point. This first one covers the period to the close of the Constituent Assembly, which is that of the decline and extinction of ecclesiastical privilege; the second is to describe the persecution and tem-

porary extinction of the Roman Church; the third is to portray the various substitutes proposed for filling the chasm; and the fourth the enforced compromise between the Papacy and the Consulate. If the other volumes are as comprehensive and exhaustive as this one we may expect an encyclopedia of the subject.

The weakness of the privileged church our author finds in its languor, in a general lassitude of all departments of its organization except the nunneries, a languor due to the long continued absence of organized resistance of even the feeblest sort. Opposed to it were the men of thought, many of the best parish priests, all the Jansenists, the entire organization of free-masonry and an immense number of innovators who either groaned under the tyranny of an unhallowed alliance between hierarchy and monarchy or who saw opportunities of economic readjustment by which they might profit immensely. These were not organized, not even homogeneous or ready for organization. The author feels that the hierarchy was neither vicious nor aggressive, and that it did not easily afford a target for the venomous attacks of its foes. This, of course, is a view in startling contrast with that held by such investigators as Robinet and Aulard. But the controversial pages of De la Gorce bristle with quite as many foot-notes as theirs. The evidence on both sides is, of course, not accessible at this distance and cannot be weighed by a reviewer, separated so far from archives and special libraries.

But in the second division the author exhibits his virtuous *ecclesia* in complete disintegration and reaching this condition from internal forces: the bitterness between the prelacy and the lower clergy, and the victory of the latter. If the government had exhibited any directive energy in dealing with the antiquated institution of the Estates time could perhaps have been gained for a moderation of the disputes, but its fatuity was manifest at the outset as throughout the swift course of events and in the cataclysmic ending. With the loss of all its feudal privilege the hierarchy lost control of its revenues; the secularization of its estates was necessarily followed by that of its numerous personnel. On the failure of Necker's reforms the financial problem was, of course, most easily solved by recourse to the new ecclesiastical purse so unexpectedly presented for pillage. Monasteries and nunneries were secularized, monks and nuns released from their vows, and all their real estate announced for sale, some immediately, some later. Contrary to the general impression the sale was a great success and the government would have been established on a sound basis but for the unhappy substitution of paper money for ringing coin. As the value of the assignats fell the worth of successive partial payments diminished, until the patriot purchases of ecclesiastical real estate secured it for an ever-diminishing value, a value which finally disappeared altogether. It is in this falling market that the peasant purchaser enters on the

scene, and for a song becomes a landed proprietor. From that instant the death knell of a privileged church, a privileged crown, and a landed aristocracy begins to sound. To the numerous small burgher proprietors of the towns is added a great class of small landed proprietors and the sovereignty of the bourgeoisie is only a matter of time.

The best and fullest division of the book is that which contains the history and discussion of attempted reform, the effort to rebuild subsequent to the shattering of medieval ecclesiasticism. This must, of course, be read and carefully studied. The author's conclusion regarding the Civil Constitution of the Clergy is condemnatory. It satisfied neither friends nor foes of Romanism, it created neither a primitive church nor a free one, it perpetuated the idea of a state church and was destined to enslave religion or engender civil war. For the behavior of pope, hierarchy, king, and legislature there is no apology and not a very savage denunciation. The schism, too, is described in temperate language, due blame being meted out to the small minority of vile creatures who were chosen bishops in the state church, and equal reprobation for the vacillations and procrastinations of the Papacy. Even the manoeuvres of the radicals, the kings tergiversation and the repercussion on politics of the flight to Varennes are all discussed without heat. The book closes with a clear and comprehensive rehearsal of what resulted far and near from the king's behavior in accepting what he dared not reject, of the clashes between moderates and radicals throughout the provinces, of the despair and cowardice of the classes who should have closed up the ranks of patriotism but who were flying in alarm across the border, and the feeble attempts at amnesty, thwarted by religious intolerance—all this combined exhibits the complete anarchy in politics and society due to the gross mismanagement of the religious question.

The author claims for himself a certain impassive temper—not the impartiality of indifference but that which is seated in profound respect for the truth of history. He alters no fact, mutilates no text, and puts no man in a false light. Such is his claim and we are disposed to grant it. Yet the spirit of the volume is distinctly reverential: it depicts the sufferings of Frenchmen for God and the Church with sympathy. It does not attempt to enforce a magisterial judgment of history regarding the men of the epoch nor to impose one on the reader. Nor is there any evident parallel between present conditions and those of the eighteenth century. The lesson may infiltrate and interpenetrate the public or it may be lost. The author claims that in presenting the lesson his duty is done. We can recommend the volume unreservedly and we await its successors with interested expectation.

L'Exil et la Mort du Général Moreau. Par Ernest Daudet. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1909. Pp. ix, 267.)

This book by the historian of the Revolutionary emigration is an

interesting account not only of the exile and death of General Moreau but also of his trial for complicity in the Cadoudal-Pichegru plot against Napoleon. The writer's attitude is entirely sympathetic with the hero of Hohenlinden, whose downfall he ascribes, in common with other anti-Bonapartist writers, to the jealousy which Napoleon had for Moreau's ability, influence, and popularity. For materials the writer has had access to the archives of France, Sweden, and Russia, and to the inedited papers of Moreau. These papers upon which the account of the trial is based are letters which Moreau managed secretly to send to his wife during the five months between his arrest and his release from the Temple. In them not only is Moreau's sincere devotion to his wife evident but his frankness and ingenuousness import a note of verity which appears conclusive as to Moreau's loyalty in 1804.

According to M. Daudet, Moreau's destruction was decreed by Napoleon and to prove this he cites the irregular nature of the trial and the unusual action of the twelve judges, who, after voting seven for acquittal and five against, sentenced the general to two years in prison. Before the trial Moreau had written to his wife of his desire to leave France. After the judgment he hoped that his sentence might be commuted to exile though he could not "negotiate upon that point". Yet when the sentence of exile was sent him, it was upon the ground that Moreau had solicited it. Moreau left France for Spain, remained there for a year and proceeded to the United States, where he remained from 1805 to 1813. The events of Moreau's stay in America are passed over lightly except for the consideration of the influences and motives which led to his return to Europe for service against Napoleon. M. Daudet disproves the contention that Moreau while in the Temple had planned to offer his services to Russia, and denies that Godoy received similar overtures while Moreau was in Spain. It appears, however, that the Russian government undertook to enlist Moreau's services soon after his exile began. Pahlen, afterwards Russian representative at Washington, was sent to America in 1807 to persuade Moreau "to lend his aid to Russia". Moreau refused upon the ground that he would not enter the service of a country at war with France. What, then, caused Moreau to reverse his decision six years later? M. Daudet finds the motive in Moreau's visionary desire to organize a legion of French prisoners in Russia and to invade France at their head in order to incite a revolution against Napoleon; further, that he worked out the plan while in America, that in it he was encouraged by the Russian chargé at Washington, Dashkov, and that had he believed such a scheme impossible he would never have left the United States. M. Daudet's argument at this point is scarcely convincing. When asked by Dashkov to name his conditions, Moreau replied that his confidence in Alexander was complete. His one idea was that in fighting against Napolean he was fighting for France, with the hope added that after

Napoleon's downfall he might be "mediator between his vanquished country and the victorious foreign powers". That Moreau should have wanted revenge against Napoleon was but human. The Napoleon whom Moreau saw from America was dissociated from France and only a tyrant to be overthrown. M. Daudet believes Moreau to have been "a great patriot always, in whom a distant exile had so obscured the vision of duty that he believed it proper to fight under those foreign flags which Frenchmen, who had never left France, held to be the flags of enemies".

J. S. R.

The Last Days of Papal Rome, 1850–1870. By R. De Cesare. Abridged with the assistance of the author and translated by Helen Zimmern, with an introductory chapter by G. M. Trevelyan. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909. Pp. xxiii, 488.)

Persons who appraise a book's value by its foot-notes will be quite at sea with Dr. De Cesare's volume. For it has no references to sources and no bibliography. However, bibliographies can be made up, and there are historical periods about which printed authorities are very meagre or entirely lacking. The end of papal Rome was such a period. Pius IX. did not believe in newspapers; the machine, of which Cardinal Antonelli was head, which really ran the government, did not care to have published the papers concerning either its home or foreign secret transactions. The official documents which it gave to the press were about as close to reality as is an American campaign platform. In the absence, therefore, of the sort of material that one usually relies upon, we turn gratefully to Dr. De Cesare's memorabilia. There is not an item in his book for which he could not cite authority, but as many of his authorities gave their testimony to him orally, he naturally withholds their names. His own memory covers the second decade (1860–1870) of his chronicle.

Read with insight, this work is very significant. The last twenty years of Pius IX.'s temporal reign form a logical whole. Under Antonelli's lead in politics and that of the Jesuits in ecclesiastical polity, the Papacy adopted its attitude of unyielding antagonism to modern progress. In politics it was on the verge of declaring constitutional government heretical; in theology, it promulgated the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception and of Papal Infallibility and compiled the virulently obscurantist Syllabus; and in the mixed field of theology and politics it pressed the theory of the Temporal Power almost to the point of an article of faith. Dr. De Cesare tells of these matters with open-minded frankness. He is never polemical. His concern throughout is with social and personal facts, rather than with either political or theological theories.

The chapters in which he describes life in Rome in old days—the days of artists, foreigners, beggars, bad drainage, fevers, continual festivals, picturesque if somewhat senescent customs, loose morals—have particular charm. The historian proper will find also trustworthy information on taxes and economic conditions; on the censorship; on the French occupation of the capital and the Austrian occupation of the Legations; on the many efforts made, first by Cavour and afterwards by Ricasoli, to reach a peaceful solution of the Roman Question. Here, too, is an informal narrative of the Ecumenical Council; and among the topics described mention should be made of the account of the kidnapping of the Mortara boy. Nowhere else has that crucial case been treated so exhaustively as by Dr. De Cesare in his original Italian work; the translation, though much condensed, gives the truth in a nutshell.

In general, the translation, which measures less than a half of the original, has been made with an eye to the interests of English-speaking readers. Much that is local, much that is merely curious or antiquarian, has been omittted. The result is a remarkably readable book, and one which no student of papal methods and tendencies since 1850 can afford to pass by. The Italian contains also many reprints of fugitive or surreptitious pieces, with inedited letters, which, for lack of archival documents, may well be regarded as original sources. But the final value of the book as a contribution to history rests upon Dr. De Cesare's talent for collecting, absorbing, digesting, and then of setting forth clearly and honestly the testimony of witnesses of all parties. A reader familiar with the period will not be surprised to learn that Marquis Visconti-Venosta and the late Count Nigra were among his informers.

The translation has been made by Miss Helen Zimmern; and Mr. G. M. Trevelyan contributes in a short preface a statement of the Italian situation between 1850 and 1870.

William Roscoe Thayer.

The Birth of Modern Italy. Posthumous Papers of Jessie White Mario. Edited, with Introduction, Notes, and Epilogue, by the Duke Litta-Visconti-Arese. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1909. Pp. xxvii, 354.)

The late Signora Mario, though an English woman, had the singular fortune to be the chosen biographer of several of the leaders of the Party of Action in the Risorgimento. She wrote lives of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Bertani, and Nicotera, and she edited, with biographical sketches, the writings of Cattaneo and of her husband, Alberto Mario. Although she was in no sense a detached or objective historian, she made her books indispensable to the student of that period, first by interspersing them with many letters and documents otherwise inac-

cessible; next by revealing the inside point of view; and finally by kindling in her pages that enthusiasm which was one of the important psychological factors in the struggle for Italian unification. No reader can be led astray by her subjectivity; but we should lose much if we could not look through it at the men and events she describes. Works like hers, however, are peculiarly hard to review in short compass; because, while it would be possible to contradict many of her statements by an appeal to facts, we should not by so doing destroy the real value of her books—which lies precisely in reproducing the state of mind in which she and her great companions saw or interpreted those facts.

This posthumous volume, which Duke Litta has put together with much skill, consists really of a biography of Mazzini as far as 1854; then Signora Mario's personal reminiscences begin, and they are interwoven with a general account of Italian affairs down to Garibaldi's visit to England in 1864. In the latter part of the book, Garibaldi is the hero, as Mazzini is in the earlier. Especially rich in personal details are the chapters dealing with Mazzini's first political attempts and with his exile in London. His habits, simple and austere as a hermit's, his methods of directing his vast network of secret conspiracy, and his relations with the Carlyles, the Ashursts, and other English friends, have not hitherto been so sympathetically described in English. Signora Mario, as was to be expected, absolves him from the charges of abetting assassination, of sending zealous disciples on doomed expeditions, and of promoting a chimerical propaganda. Her account of the Bandiera affair and of the action of the British Post-Office in opening Mazzini's letters is unusually exhaustive. Naturally enough, she denies that Mazzini brought discord to Milan in 1848, because, from her standpoint, it was always the persons who opposed him who introducted discord.

One of the typical chapters is that devoted to the Sapri Expedition —which so closely resembles in intent and moral effect John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry. She speaks here from her own knowledge, because this was the first Mazzinian enterprise in which she took part; and her testimony must always have due weight; but she fails to appreciate the position of the Piedmontese government, and consequently she unjustly abuses Cavour. So her criticism of Cavour's acts, except his alliance with Garibaldi in 1859, is generally as harsh as that of thorough-going Abolitionists on Lincoln. She is quite wrong, for instance, in asserting that Cavour might with impunity have refused to cede Nice and Savoy, "as England would have awakened in time" (p. 293). But she does him justice after his death; for she declares that "had Cavour lived there would have been no Aspromonte and no Mentana, nor would he have signed that fatal 'Convention of September'" (p. 311).

Garibaldi's Sicilian Expedition of 1860 is passed over briefly; there are some picturesque details of his wounding at Aspromonte and a few

side-lights on his English triumph and sudden departure from London in 1864. Scattered through the volume we find many extracts from letters. Rightly used—as one uses the personal memoirs of actors in great historic affairs, discounting their temperament—this posthumous book must be prized by historians, who have ample means for correcting its misstatements. In no other work in English are the Mazzinians and their Garibaldian allies painted with so much lifelikeness or defended with equal loyalty and charm. It is unnecessary to call attention to the misprints, of which there are many, but mention ought to be made of the illustrations, which include a large number of portraits and such a document as Garibaldi's death sentence. Duke Litta furnishes a sympathetic biographical sketch of Signora Mario.

WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER.

Österreichs innere Geschichte von 1848 bis 1907. Von RICHARD CHARMATZ. Volume II. *Der Kampf der Nationen.* (Leipzig: B. G. Teubner. 1909. Pp. 176.)

IN the April number of this journal (pp. 586–588) we attempted to crystallize the inner-Austrian constitutional history since the revolution of 1848 until 1878 under the leadership of the Germans. The above booklet tries to evolve the successful racial struggle of the Slavs and the Latins against German supremacy. Magyar history, since the compromise (*Ausgleich*) of 1867, which constituted the Dual Monarchy, is touched upon only so far as it affects vitally the very existence of Austria through a severe crisis, involving almost a breaking point, up to the rearrangement of the relations between both states during the ministry of Baron Beck. The inner struggle of the Magyar masters with their contending races, Germans, Serbo-Croats, Roumanians, would require an historical interpretation of its own fully as kaleidoscopic as that of Austria.

Charmatz covers in an extremely succinct way the great work by Gustav Kolmer, *Parliament und Verfassung in Oesterreich* (5 vols., Wien und Leipzig, Carl Fromme), with the difference that while the latter is very pessimistic as to the outcome of the racial *bellum omnium contra omnes,* the former sees no blind raging in the conflagration kindled by a dozen different nationalities, but a painful, toilsome progress influenced by great thoughts. This agrees with Ranke's historical maxim, "dass, von den kleinlich-verwerflichen Absichten zwar berührt, aber nicht beherrscht, zuletzt doch die grossen Motive entscheiden."

Thus Austria is not tottering, Austria is slowly rising. A constitutional conflict of sixty years made it possible to remove the old feudal state, shake off the yoke of absolutism, at least according to the letter of the law, to make the constitutional principles of democracy the recognized, if not always and everywhere enforced, law of the monarchy, and to lead the Austrian nationalities towards autonomy. Unfortu-

nately, the latter process is not yet completed, and the racial conflicts are raging more bitterly than ever. The old German Federal Empire, in its Cisleithan part, was now to be changed into a polyglot federation of kingdoms and crown lands in which the numerical predominance of the Slavic tribes would *ipso facto* prevail. Austria was to lose the very root of her existence through individualized, centrifugal race-consciousness, while only the dynasty common to all would remain a tie between the territorial, racial states tending apart, owing to the foreign speech-islands within them.

The December Constitution of 1867, erected as a dam against the Slavicizing of Austria, could not stand against the constant, virulent onslaughts of the Slavs everywhere, of the Italians in the Tridentino and the Tyrol, Italia Irredenta. Under its débris the foundations of the old central power were buried with the German past of Austria, and the crown was dragged down into the struggle of the parties. Instead of Parliamentary rule there was racial party rule of the majorities. The German opposition became paralyzed through the coalition of the German clericals with the Slavic elements. It was doomed to disintegration in proportion as its defeats became more frequent, as its groups annihilated one another, and as large fractions of the Germans fell prey to demagogues or reactionaries. All the Slavic races are extending their activity to the neighboring German provinces, and are strong enough to demand that even in the ancient German imperial city of Vienna a place should be made for the Czech and Polish languages in school and court.

Nevertheless, the storms in the Reichsrat and the provincial parliaments, with many disgraceful scenes enacted, may be merely outward infection. In spite of bitter conflicts the races develop or deepen their national culture. The political fights do not absorb all the forces. So much is certain, however. While the advancing development brings advantages to the Slavs, there is nothing but resignation for the Germans, who were exclusive masters for so many centuries, the foremost factors of culture that taught the other races to become conscious of themselves.

HERMANN SCHOENFELD.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

Die Karten von Amerika in dem Islario General des Alonso de Santa Cruz, Cosmógrafo Mayor des Kaisers Karl V., mit dem Spanischen Originaltexte und einer Kritischen Einleitung herausgegeben von FRANZ R. VON WIESER. (Innsbruck: Verlag der Wagner'schen Universitäts-Buchhandlung. 1908. Pp. xx, 59.)

COMMISSIONED by the Organizations Committee of the Sixteenth International Congress of Americanists to prepare a suitable "Festschrift" for presentation at the meeting held in Vienna September last,

Professor von Wieser selected for publication that part of the Islario General of Alonso de Santa Cruz which relates to America. In his fifteen pages of introduction the editor states briefly the important facts known concerning Alonso de Santa Cruz as an official cosmographer of Spain, and points out the special significance attaching to the maps of the New World in his Islario, though not entering fully into a critical examination of each map. In the following fifteen short chapters of the original Spanish text, each chapter from one to two pages in length, the several maps are briefly described, which maps are excellently reproduced as a third part of Professor von Wieser's publication.

Though the title of the work implies that only islands are charted, it is interesting to note that practically the entire Atlantic coast line of the New World is sketched, beginning at about latitude forty-seven north with "La Quarta Parte" (Tierra de Labrador) in the first map, and extending to "Tierra o Estrecho de Magallanes" in the last map. In place of the Gulf of Mexico Santa Cruz inserted his well-known and very interesting sketch of the city of Mexico, though on a small scale.

Santa Cruz was in a position to be well informed concerning the progress of discovery in the New World. From 1526 to 1530 he was with Sebastian Cabot in the La Plata region. Shortly after his return he became cosmographer of the Casa de la Contratacion and later royal cosmographer. To what he records in his Islario there appears therefore to attach a particular value for students of the period. This importance has indeed long been recognized, though but one or two of the Islario maps has ever been reproduced, but it has been left for Professor von Wieser to make available for students this entire atlas of sectional maps, the oldest of its kind.

But little of the cartographical work of Santa Cruz is extant. In addition to his world-map of 1542, now preserved in the Royal Library of Stockholm and issued in facsimile in 1892 by Dahlgren, by far the most important is the Islario. Of this work three manuscript copies are known. One of these may now be found in the City Library of Besançon, formerly belonging to the Library of Cardinal Granvella; two copies are in the Imperial Library of Vienna. A fourth copy, said to belong to the National Library of Madrid, is, so Professor von Wieser thinks, the work of Cespedes though perhaps copied from the Islario of Santa Cruz. In but one of the manuscripts do the maps appear, which is designated as no. 5542, or codex B, as von Wieser terms it. It appears, according to Navarrete, that the Islario was undertaken by Santa Cruz in 1560, at the command of King Philip II. Our editor presents good reason for thinking the work was prepared about 1541, among other arguments noting that it was dedicated to the emperor to which title Philip II. could not lay claim. We have here, then, the New World cartographically represented as it was known in the fourth decade of the sixteenth century.

Among the more important maps in the atlas may be mentioned the

third which refers to the expedition of Gomez, the twelfth which refers to Panama—in the text Santa Cruz advises the construction of a canal across the Isthmus—the fourteenth which refers to the La Plata region, and the fifteenth which refers to the Strait of Magellan.

E. L. Stevenson.

Narratives of New Netherland, 1609–1664. Edited by J. Franklin Jameson, Ph.D., LL.D., Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. [Original Narratives of Early American History.] (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1909. Pp. xxi, 478.)

This volume satisfies a long unfilled want. The historian, the historical novelist, even the genealogist interested in early Knickerbocker families, will find it a most satisfactory addition to their library. Those studying the North American Indians of the early colonial period cannot pass by this valuable compilation.

The *Narratives* contain in a handy volume most of New Netherland's history antedating 1638, and much of the later history which, before this publication, could only be got at by ransacking the libraries for various works, not always easily accessible.

The foot-notes are helpful and the introductions to the "pieces" contain interesting criticisms and discussions about the relative value of the piece as an historic document, as well as other matters, and often refer to other original sources of information concerning the history of New Netherland, not in this volume.

The implied allegation that the "Description of the Towne of Mannadens" was the work of a non-English traitor is refuted, not only by much other internal evidence, but especially by the writer's rendering of Fort Orange as Forterain, of Sopus or Esopus as Soppase, of Stuyvesant as Stazan, etc., errors no Dutchman would have been guilty of. Writers of English origin and apologists for English aggression are continually endeavoring to gloss over the English usurpation of New Netherland by disseminating the fiction that the New Netherlanders were so tired of their own government that they welcomed English rule. The New Netherlanders loved to quarrel with their governors and to accuse them of various misdeeds (see the "Representation of New Netherland", pp. 293–354 of these *Narratives*), as all oppositions will do, but this did not imply a predilection for English rule.

The translations are reliable, which is more than can be said of most that have gone before. Two instances only. The clause, correctly translated here on p. 84, "Every one there who fills no public office is busy about his own affairs" is rendered in the *Documentary History of N. Y.*, III. 43 (octavo edition), "There is another there who fills no public office; he is busy about his own affairs." The clause correctly translated here, on p. 233, "and coming here he could not dispose

of his wines here either, because here was a prize laden with wine which the Company had captured", is misleadingly mistranslated on p. 121 of the *Collections of the N. Y. Historical Society* (1857), second series, vol. III., part I., "and coming here he could not expose his wines for sale, because here was a tax upon wines which the Company had established."

The *Narratives* is remarkably free from errors. A close inspection showed but four. Claes Smits on p. 213 (note) should be Claes Swits. The fourteen English on p. 282 should be forty, but this may be a mistake in the original. Kill von Kull on p. 103 (note) should be Kill *van* Kull, as on p. 19, or perhaps more correctly Kill van Coll. Herr Stuyvesant on p. 349 is a misprint for *Heer* Stuyvesant. The clause "who has no interpreter" on p. 374 should read "who needs no interpreter".

We cannot believe all that their opponents averred against Kieft, Stuyvesant, and the West India Company. Does not the editor's arraignment of them on p. 289 seem to be too severe, especially in the light of the correspondence and other documents? The real burden of the charges was that New Netherland, on account of its small population, was in danger of being swallowed up by the English; further that all legislative, executive, and judicial authority centred in the Council of New Netherland, who were Company's officers. Had the "Remonstrants" confined themselves to exposing the absurdity of this condition without bringing in entirely irrelevant matter and unsupported charges they would have received a respectful hearing, and might have succeeded in bringing about a change in the constitution, though it is difficult to see how even this could have much benefited population and averted the dreaded absorption of New Netherland by the English.

DINGMAN VERSTEEG.

The History of Political Parties in the Province of New York, 1760–1776. By CARL LOTUS BECKER, Professor of History, University of Kansas. [Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 286.] (Madison, Wis. 1909. Pp. 319.)

THIS essay was presented at the University of Wisconsin in 1907 as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. The author explains in the preface that he has crystallized materials which were originally collected with an intention to write a history of the nominating convention in the United States. With such an object in view Professor Becker evidently began work by examining the sources of information concerning nominations and elections in the city and colony of New York during the years 1765–1776. The choice of period was wise. It was a time when committees representing various political factions were named and elected in mass-meetings, and gradually evolved an extra-legal system of government. In the heat of this struggle the

radical patriotic wing forced the adoption of a new and wider basis for the suffrage. Nevertheless, the conservative influences were so strong that three provincial congresses were elected under the direction of Revolutionary committees, and yet did not overturn and abolish the authority of the royal governor or interfere with the election of a general assembly of the province under the usual forms.

This story, so far as it reveals the modes of selection and various policies of the delegates and committees and the provincial congresses between 1773 and 1776, Professor Becker unrolls carefully and completely with a wealth of citation and illustration, in chapters here numbered v. and vii. to xi. inclusive. Chapter vi., which seems like an interpolation, presents a brief outline of the deliberations and conclusions of the first Continental Congress. In like manner the first three chapters contain introductory materials which are imperfectly fused with the story of the Revolutionary nominations and elections, and which by no means contain the history of political parties in New York between 1760 and 1773. The first chapter, a hasty review of social and political elements in New York, introduces in chapter ii. a brief account of the Stamp Act agitation. The third chapter reviews concisely the political controversies and disorders incident upon the attempt to maintain non-importation agreements in the years 1768–1770.

The author perhaps fails to realize how fervid the political contentions in New York City were during the thirty years preceding the outbreak of rebellion, or how continuous was the political life of the parties which followed the leadership of the Livingstons and the De Lanceys. He states clearly, in general terms, the causes of dispute between the assembly and the royal governors concerning supplies and salaries, and he describes hastily the social classes in the colony and the political affiliations of the prominent families; but he conveys little idea of the continuous active political life of the city. He barely alludes to the long and bitter contest between Presbyterianism and Episcopacy. This antagonism was in fact the most permanent principle of political difference in New York City for three-quarters of a century. It was at the bottom of the long struggle over the establishment of King's, now Columbia, College. It was the ever-impassable chasm between the two hosts of aristocracy, the Livingstons, Smiths, Schuylers, and Van Rensselaers, on the one hand, and the De Lanceys, Bayards, Coldens, Heathcotes, and Philipses, on the other.

The proposition to make the Established Church supreme by law throughout the colonies, first broached by an Archbishop of Canterbury in 1748 and revived by partizans from time to time especially in the years 1767–1769, nowhere aroused fiercer opposition than in New York where all the Whig leaders were Presbyterian lawyers. Judge Jones, the Long Island Tory historian of the colony, knew the source of the enthusiasm of his chief political opponents: "They were educated", he wrote, "at Yale College in Connecticut, then and still a nursery of

sedition, of faction and of republicanism." To the controversy between the Whig assembly of 1761 and Lieutenant-Governor Colden over the question of judicial tenures the author makes no reference although there is at least a dramatic interest in the experience of Mr. Benjamin Pratt, the Tory chief justice imported from Boston, who sat through two sessions of the supreme court without receiving a penny of salary or a minute's assistance from his associate judges.

To the powerful and interesting personalities of the New York leaders in both parties Professor Becker gives almost no attention. A history of political parties in New York after 1760 needs to turn a strong light upon the ambitious William Livingston, the first of our political leaders to realize the possibilities of the printing-press as an auxiliary, the learned William Smith, the courageous Philip Livingston, the shrewd, affable younger James De Lancey, the stern but statesman-like Cadwalader Colden. The author succeeds in producing a fairly continuous idea of the gradual evolution of the radical patriotic party out of the group known in 1765 as the Sons of Liberty, and of the progress of events which virtually forced the majority of the moderate conservatives to merge with the radicals rather than the loyalists; yet his account of the leaders who secured these results leaves much to be desired. It is surely doubtful whether Isaac Sears, son of a Yankee fish-peddler, by turns a sailor, privateersman, and small shopkeeper, is adequately described as a "vain carpet-knight".

Neither is justice done to the partizan leadership of Alexander McDougall, the author of what Colden termed the "Cut-throat circulars", the "Wilkes of New York", with whom in jail forty-five ladies breakfasted and forty-five gentlemen dined and the members of Hampden Hall cheered.

The book is furnished with a satisfactory index and an excellent bibliography. There are too many traces of hasty proof-reading. The statement on page 11 about the influence of freeholders in the elections of Albany County is repeated on page 14, and such evidences of carelessness as "Curocoa" (p. 66), "goal" (for gaol, pp. 81, 86), and "eminated" (p. 265), are too frequent.

Les États-Unis et le Droit des Gens. Constatations et Notes par Ernest Nys, Conseiller à la Cour d'Appel de Bruxelles, Professeur à l'Université. (Bruxelles. 1909. Pp. 166.)

This is a reprint of a series of articles from the *Revue de Droit International.*

At the outset, Professor Nys states the plan and object of his book. It is not to examine the actions and influence of the United States from the standpoint of public law, but rather to study how the British colonies, become a nation, applied the rules of the law of nations, and shared in its progress. And he specifies the direction which such

progress took toward international arbitration; toward humaner warfare; toward respect for the private property of an enemy and for the rights of non-combatants; toward a proper definition of the rights and duties of neutrals; toward the free navigation of rivers.

This is a rather large programme, albeit in the hands of a writer of the author's distinction an interesting one. It is somewhat disconcerting, therefore, to find more than a third—in fact nearly a half—of a modest volume of 160 pages taken up with an account of the early discoveries in America, of the various attempts at colonization, of the colonies which resulted with their forms of government and differing characteristics, of the trials and troubles which induced confederation and rebellion. To this is added a glimpse of Revolutionary diplomacy, a fairly full history of the failure of the Articles of Confederation, and finally of the formation of the present Constitution.

For the foreign reader, all this is an excellent résumé of early North American history in spite of a few minor inaccuracies. It is not without value to ourselves to see how the familiar details of our origin as a state appear to foreign eyes; only it is not quite what we were led to expect.

Of especial note is the stress which the author lays upon the influence of freemasonry in the conception of our ideals of liberty. He follows Mr. Hannis Taylor in emphasizing Pelatiah Webster's part in shaping the Constitution. He traces the binding force of the law of nations, first in Great Britain, then in its colonies, through them in the United States.

Having duly prepared his readers Professor Nys at length attacks the task proposed. Even here, however, his essay takes the shape of a brief history of our foreign relations, with notes upon various related subjects. The foreign point of view is valuable, and here and there one finds some keen observation illuminating a familiar narrative; as where the author says that whatever else one may think about the Monroe Doctrine, it shows at least a claim to primacy in the affairs of this continent; or when he praises the quality of United States neutrality, 1793–1800, as calculated not only judicially to punish but also administratively to prevent violation of the law. Professor Nys does not lack sympathy for the states as against Great Britain or even France. Provisions as contraband, their pre-emption, the impressment of seamen, the indiscretions of M. Genêt, these and other questions of our early period are discussed in friendly wise. He even ventures to say that the British government itself admitted that from 1600 to 1700 seamen had been wrongfully pressed on American ships. The status resulting from belligerent occupation is fully treated and the movement for the free navigation of rivers still more so, though the fact is noted that the United States in its advocacy of the latter principle acted from the interested standpoint of a riparian owner on upper waters.

Of brief references to minor topics there is no lack. Limited

treaties with automatic renewal unless denounced; limitation of armaments on the great lakes; the proposal to exempt enemy's property at sea from capture; the arbitration tendency first seen in art. x. of the Articles of Confederation; these are commented upon as indicative of humane and enlightened sentiments, and less justly perhaps the attitude towards privateering.

For the Naval War Code of 1900, the author has a good word and a well deserved one. In Lieber's Code, he sees (and rightly) the germ of the 1874 Brussels rules and so the basis of those adopted at the Hague to regulate land warfare. The book closes with brief but appreciative notices of some fifty writers in the United States upon international law.

T. S. Woolsey.

The Works of James Buchanan, comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence. Collected and Edited by John Bassett Moore. Volume IX., 1853–1855. (London and Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company. 1909. Pp. xviii, 489.)

The present installment of Buchanan's writings covers practically the whole period of his ministry to England. He accepted the post finally, after having at first declined it, on June 11, 1853, "solely and exclusively", as he wrote to President Pierce, "to gratify your wishes and to prevent the embarrassment which you think my declination of it would occasion to your administration". Of the diplomatic questions pending between the two countries, those of most importance concerned the fisheries, reciprocity, and the position of Great Britain on the Mosquito Coast. After a month of correspondence, it was finally agreed that further negotiations should be carried on at London, rather than at Washington, but that the questions should, if possible, be considered together. Before sailing, Buchanan interrogated Secretary Marcy as to Pierce's policy in regard to the purchase of Cuba. He had an uncomfortable passage, found London in vacation quiet to dullness, and complained strongly of the high cost of living and the difficulty of finding a house.

The moment was a critical one. Europe was on the eve of the Crimean War, and questions of neutral rights and the protection of aliens might at any time become acute. No copy of the consular instructions of the United States was to be found in the legation, and the lack caused much annoyance. On the first of November, Buchanan sounded Clarendon on the subject of Cuba. Clarendon asserted that "we have not the most remote idea, in any event, of ever attempting to acquire Cuba for ourselves"; adding, that Great Britain had too many colonies already. Buchanan was delighted, and wrote to Marcy that "whether successful or not in my mission, I anticipate a frank and

agreeable intercourse with Lord Clarendon." He was not successful in his mission but his relations with Clarendon were friendly throughout.

For the moment, however, the purchase of Cuba was overshadowed by a protracted controversy, indulged in by Buchanan, as usual, with scarcely a ray of humor, over the proper dress of the American minister: a controversy not settled until February, 1855, when Buchanan, who all along had stoutly refused to adopt court costume, compromised by appearing at the queen's levee "in the simple dress of an American Citizen", re-enforced by "a very plain black handled and black hilted dress sword". "My reception", he wrote to Marcy, "was all that I could have desired." He declined the suggestion of Clarendon that he recommend a treaty between the United States and Great Britain for the abolition of privateering, a position in which he was sustained by the President. For the manner of conducting the Ostend conference, the most striking event of his ministerial career, he emphatically disclaimed responsibility, writing to Marcy on December 22, 1854, "Never did I obey any instruction so reluctantly."

Professor Moore is of the opinion that Buchanan's protestations against the use of his name as a candidate for the presidency, of which this volume like the earlier ones contains a number of instances, were, as on their face they appear to be, sincere. As late as December 28, 1855, he reiterates his position, this time, stating frankly his unwillingness to see the slavery controversy reopened. He had asked to be recalled by the end of September but the letter of recall, though dated September 11, did not reach him until November 5. By that time the excitement aroused in this country by the despatch of a British fleet to American waters convinced him that his departure might well be deferred, as President Pierce had expressed the hope that it might be; and he was still at his post at the date at which the entries in this volume cease.

William MacDonald.

Guillaume d'Orange et les Origines des Antilles Françaises: Étude Historique d'après les Chroniques de l'Époque et de nombreux Documents Inédits, accompagnée d'un Exposé de la Descendance de Guillaume d'Orange et de Pièces Justificatives. Par le Vicomte du Motey. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1908. Pp. xi, 471.)

By joining the expedition of 1628 to St. Christopher, Guillaume d'Orange became a trusted aide of the daring D'Esnambuc and played an heroic part in the early struggles of that colony. Towards 1637 he passed, at the call of Governor L'Olive, his uncle by marriage, to Guadeloupe and became for twelve years a mainstay of the young colony, sometimes as a courageous warrior, sometimes as a thrifty planter, always as a refuge of the poor and depressed. Later he passed to

Martinique, where he spent the last fifteen years of his life, 1649–1674. His life thus concerns the early history of these three most important French Antilles of the seventeenth century. The author has given an interesting account of this history and has rendered a service in rescuing from oblivion the name of one of the courageous French pioneer-colonists whose deeds add much to the glory of France. Scholars, however, will search in vain for any new facts of importance (aside from facts concerning the personal life of Orange) not related by Du Tertre or modern historians like Margry. There is evidence of considerable research in different depots of archives in Brittany and Normandy, and the author publishes (ch. XIII.) some interesting contracts for the transportation of colonists, engagement of indentured servants, etc. But for the most part his researches in these archives concern the more distinctly genealogical phase of his biography. This material and a few manuscripts at the Bibliothèque Nationale and the Colonial Office at Paris, and above all Du Tertre, whom he cites constantly, constitute the sources used by the author. He shows no evidence of having consulted in the Archives Coloniales the series F^2, carton 15, concerning the Compagnie des Isles, or series C^7, C^8, for the correspondence from Guadeloupe and Martinique, or the important "Collection de Moreau de St. Méry".

Neither the author's evaluation of sources used nor his method of utilizing them will bear close analysis. Let us take, for instance, the three sources especially indicated by him (p. 36). "Two principal documents together with the history of Du Tertre permit one to reconstruct his [Orange's] life. The first is an official summary of his services inserted in a concession of privileges granted him by the Compagnie des Indes Occidentales in 1671 (referred to as *Exemption de 1671*). The other document is a very precious family memoir, drawn up in 1727 to gain the title of nobility (*Mémoire de 1727*)." If one accepts the author's evaluation, we have here three sources of first-class importance. As to Du Tertre, there is no denying that, having been a personal friend of Orange, he is a most excellent guide both for a biography and for the early history of the Antilles. One bemoans the fact, however, that the author has not availed himself of the opportunity to make a critical study of that historian. He should not have accepted, for instance, Du Tertre's account of the English attack of 1667 on Fort Royal without consulting easily accessible English sources for the same event found in *Cal. St. P. Col., A. and W. I., 1661–1668*, nos. 1569–1570, 1575. As for the *Exemption de 1671*, published on pp. 418–420, one cannot regard it too seriously as an attempt to state accurately the events of Orange's life, but rather as a general tribute to his services. The author has certainly given an exaggerated value to the *Mémoire de 1727*. Any careful reading of that document will reveal the fact that it is based wholly upon Du Tertre and the *Exemption de 1671*. To the former it refers specifically four times, and in one case

gives a quotation verbatim; as to the latter there will not rest much doubt of the above statement, if one compares the passage in the two documents concerning Orange's forced expedition to Barbuda and then notices the specific reference to this document at folio 100 of the memoir. Space alone forbids an enumeration of several cases which prove the inaccurate character of the memoir. Thus the author's "très précieux mémoire" is not, correctly speaking, a source, and his three sources are reduced to two, one only being of great value. The present writer lays stress on these details because they throw light on the character of the author's work. By following the *Exemption de 1671* and the *Mémoire de 1727*, the one composed thirty-six years after the event and the other ninety-two, in reality only one source, the author gives Orange a prominent place in the initial expedition to colonize Guadeloupe (chs. VIII., IX., and X.). Du Tertre's account of the same expedition (I. 76 ff.) makes no mention of his name and an official document whose existence in the Archives Coloniales is indicated by the author himself (p. 104, note 2) rather implies the contrary. Furthermore a comparison of the passage in question of the *Exemption de 1671* with the corresponding passage in Du Tertre will reveal an inaccuracy of detail on the part of the former. This and many other cases show that the author fails to conform to some of the fundamental principles of modern historical scholarship.

Genealogists will find much to interest them on pp. 332–414, where the author traces in great detail the descendants of Guillaume d'Orange, in which list appear no less personages than the Empress Josephine and the present king of Sweden, to whom the book is dedicated.

STEWART L. MIMS.

MINOR NOTICES

Der Kampf um die Herrschaft im Mittelmeer: Die Geschichtliche Entwickelung des Mittelmeerraums. Von Dr. Paul Herre, Privatdozent an der Universitat Leipzig. (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1909, pp. vii. 172.) As the author states in the preface, the design of this book is not to add new original material or to bring out newly discovered facts, but to emphasize by the skilful marshalling of comparatively well-known facts the geographical, political, and economic unity of the countries of Southern Europe, Asia Minor, and Northern Africa in the Mediterranean world, and to explain the ebb and flow of the currents of various civilizations among the many different peoples upon the shores of that great inland sea. Herr Herre concedes (chapter VII.) that at times this unity of the Mediterranean world becomes less sharply defined and its history tends to become merged in that of all Western Europe. Nevertheless, he is able to keep very close to a continuous narrative of Mediterranean questions affecting exclusively the countries around that sea. He shows originality in interpreting the essential characteristics of their peoples and civilizations.

The book resembles in character and scope the volumes of the *Citizens' Library,* and forms part of the *Bibliothek der Geschichtswissenschaft,* a similar collection. It is a book for the intelligent general reader, anxious to inform himself upon the various phases of the world's history, rather than for the experienced historical student. A bibliography arranged with chapter and page references to the text emphasizes this idea by giving scant place to primary sources while suggesting fairly well-chosen authorities (monographs especially) likely to be accessible to any German wishing to study more fully particular phases of the subject.

The result is a very compactly written book, marred by a few typographical errors, such as "Biblioahek" (p. 36) for "Bibliothek" and "ingenommenen" for "angenommenen", and in the index by the application of German rules of capitalization to English titles, faults due probably to the economy in proof-reading incident to publications at popular prices.

ARTHUR IRVING ANDREWS.

Le Règne de Charles le Chauve (840–877). Première Partie (840–851). Par Ferdinand Lot et Louis Halphen. [Annales de l'Histoire de France à l'Époque Carolingienne.] (Paris, Honoré Champion, 1909, pp. vi, 232.) This volume is one of a collection that proposes to serve the same purpose for French history as the *Jahrbücher* do for German history. As France has no collection of annals comparable to that of Richter, nor of *regesta* of their kings, like the work of Mühlbacher, nor of the *acta* and *diplomata* of the French kings, the authors have thought it necessary to quote from the contemporary sources very extensively. These quotations, however, and all their references are put at the bottom of the page, and consequently their narrative thereby gains in fluency and clarity.

Some ten pages are devoted to a brief description of the reign of Ludwig the Pious and the various divisions of the empire which he attempted. Fifty-seven pages deal with the struggle of the brothers which was ended by the Treaty of Verdun, 843, and about 125 pages tell of the next eight years. In this arrangement the proper proportions are observed. The book is well edited; although it is the work of two men, there are no repetitions and no contradictions.

Although there is much that is new in the book, especially in regard to the itinerary of the king, his charters, and other things of that sort, there are not many new matters of great importance. The authors have quite properly put into high relief the assembly of Coulaines, 843, and have called attention to the fact that it marks an epoch in the development of the ascendancy of the Church. At that assembly the clergy were able to establish the principle that the king owes certain obligations, and his subjects are not bound to obey him unless he fulfills them. Several pages are filled with a discussion of the importance and meaning of this assembly.

The itinerary of the king is traced in the most careful way, his *diplomata* are brought under tribute and compelled to furnish evidence, and every possible detail is ascertained. The book is a model of its kind.

The little work is a plain commentary on the shallow conception which the king had of his office; his one supreme thought was the acquisition of more territory. He never gave a serious thought to the other duties which his office laid upon him. This more than anything else shows how little progress the Germanic kings had made in civilization and how far removed they were from the modern ideas of kingship. In fact, nothing more clearly distinguishes the Middle Ages from the modern times than the conception of kingship which prevailed then.

O. J. THATCHER.

Caen et Bayeux. Par Henri Prentout, Professeur à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Caen. [Les Villes d'Art Célèbres.] (Paris, Librairie Renouard, H. Laurens, Éditeur, 1909, pp. 152.) This volume, like the forty-one others in the useful series to which it belongs, is designed, not so much to serve the purpose of a guide, as to "prepare the intelligent and curious tourist to understand and analyze whatever he may see" in the towns described. The author is by profession an historian, rather than an archaeologist, but these subjects are not so sharply distinguished in France as in most other countries, and in connection with his course on Norman history at the University of Caen M. Prentout has been led to study with some care the principal monuments of this part of Lower Normandy. With the exception of the Bayeux tapestry, the artistic treasures of this region are almost wholly architectural, but the cathedral of Bayeux, the great abbey-churches of William the Conqueror and Matilda at Caen, and a number of lesser churches, timber-built houses, and Renaissance hotels constitute an interesting and significant group of monuments and are here treated clearly and on the whole accurately. The tapestry, which is of course quite unique, the author ascribes to the eleventh century and to Anglo-Saxon craftsmen, working very likely at the order of Bishop Odo, the famous half-brother of the Conqueror.

C. H. H.

Jean de Bretagne, Comte de Richmond: Sa Vie et son Activité en Angleterre, en Écosse et en France (1266–1334). Par Inna Lubimenko. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1908, pp. 160.) The author's statement that Jean de Bretagne is a character almost unknown in historical literature, except for a brief biographical sketch by M. Bémont, makes her work the more acceptable. It shows a scholarly method and a wide range of research, not only in the Rôles Gascons and other French documents, but also in those relating to England and Scotland. The chronicles give little information, but letters and orders of the king,

exchequer accounts, summons to the King's Council, Parliamentary writs, commissions to serve on special embassies, and other bits of evidence are brought together and woven into an interesting and lively narrative in which the personality and services of Jean de Bretagne stand forth in a clear light.

The author sets the reader right at the start by calling attention to the confusion which has existed between "Jean II, duc de Bretagne et comte de Richmond" and his younger son "Jean de Bretagne", who was never duke, and did not bear the title "comte de Richmond" till after the death of his father in 1306. Before this date the subject of this work is referred to as "neveu du roi" by the English chancellery.

Jean de Bretagne's career falls naturally into periods—in Gascony, Scotland, England, and, during his last days, in France. In military affairs he showed incapacity, if not cowardice, as appears at the siege of Rions and the battle of Bonnegarde. In civil affairs he was more efficient. He went on embassies to France, Scotland, and to the pope. He was lieutenant of Gascony under Edward I. and guardian of the realm of Scotland under Edward II. But it is in the struggle between Edward II. and his barons that he figures most prominently—among the "ordainers" in 1310, as negotiator between the two parties after the execution of Gaveston in 1313, in the permanent council of 1318, etc. During his later years he withdrew to France.

An excellent chapter is devoted to the county of Richmond, its geographical position, its economic life and administration. A map shows the location of the large number of *villae* scattered through seven counties of England, which composed the "Honneur de Richmond".

Jean de Bretagne was not a great man. We sometimes feel that he was a "trimmer". But he touched the life of his times at many points, and the story of that life is a welcome addition to the literature of that age.

The second part of Dr. Gisbert Brom's *Archivalia in Italië betreffende zaken der Geschiedenis van Nederland* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1900, pp. 465–1116) continues, upon the plan described in our notice (XIV. 656) of part I., the calendaring of specific documents of importance for Dutch history found in the archives of the Datary, the Consistory, and the Secretary of State, and in special Vatican collections like the Carte Farnesiane. Some 1350 documents are described, and a full index to the two parts is appended.

Guillaume du Breuil: Stilus Curie Parlamenti. Nouvelle Édition Critique, publiée avec une Introduction et des Notes par Félix Aubert, Avocat, Archiviste-Paléographe. [Collection de Textes pour servir à l'Étude et l'Enseignement de l'Histoire.] (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909, pp. lxxx, 259.) Guillaume de Breuil, a native of Figeac in Quercy, was a man of law who enjoyed a lucrative practice before the

Parlement of Paris in the first half of the fourteenth century. With unconcealed preference for the rich and influential, he had charge of litigation for such clients as King Edward II., the bishops of Laon and Pamiers, and the city of Narbonne, and had Pope Clement VI. as his friend; but his advocacy of Robert of Artois turned Philip VI. against him, while his avarice and unscrupulousness seem to have lost him the esteem of his colleagues. Suspended from practice from 1329 to 1332, he gave his leisure to preparing a treatise on the procedure of the Parlement and did his work so well that the popularity of his manual among students and practitioners ceased only when the legislation of the later sixteenth century rendered the book antiquated. Coming at a time when legal procedure was being profoundly modified by the spread of the Roman canonical system, the *Stilus Curie Parlamenti* is a source of capital importance, not only for the practice of the Parlement of Paris, but for the history of law in the later Middle Ages. Its method is concrete and practical, and it cites the *arrêts* of the Parlement quite as much as the Code or the Digest. Like Bracton, Du Breuil found his material mainly in the actual practice of the king's court, and, like its English predecessor, his treatise helps us to measure the range and power of the royal tribunal, while at the same time showing how profoundly its procedure differed from that of the English courts. The absence of any edition more recent than that of Dumoulin in 1558 has hindered the study of the *Stilus Curie*, and the new edition will be most welcome. M. Aubert was fitted for his task by his special familiarity with the history of the Parlement, and he has been particularly successful in disentangling the original text from the mass of corrections and annotations which early grew up about a work of such practical utility. The notes are helpful for their numerous reference to cases in the registers of the Parlement, as well as for the identification of persons and places.

C. H. H.

Les Comptes du Roi René. Publiés d'après les Originaux Inédits Conservés aux Archives des Bouches-du-Rhône. Tome Premier. Par l'Abbé G. Arnaud d'Agnel, Correspondant du Ministère de l'Instruction Publique pour les Travaux Historiques. (Paris, Picard et Fils, 1908, pp. xxviii, 409.) In 1873 M. Lecoy de la Marche published his well-known *Extraits des Comptes et Mémoriaux du Roi René pour servir à l'Histoire des Arts au XV^e^ Siècle.* In this work he passed over many historical sources not germane to his purpose, and the present book is an endeavor to utilize those omitted documents. The originals exist in the archives of the department of the Bouches-du-Rhône and are chiefly composed of the registers of the old Chamber of Accounts at Aix, and the registers of the King of Sicily, of Queen Jeanne de Laval, and the Duke of Calabria. In most cases the document has not been published in detail but a brief summary of its contents has been made instead,

after the manner of the *Calendars of State Papers*. While not omitting the history of art and archaeology, the editor has published a considerable amount of material dealing with the economic and social life of Provence in the fifteenth century.

The volume is divided into three parts, the first dealing with the domain in Anjou; the second with the king's domains in Provence; the third with the great artistic and aesthetic interests of René. The second volume—which in many ways will probably be more interesting—is to deal with the costume, the furniture, and, most interesting of all, the life and manners of the time. The brief introduction of the author, however, is designed to cover also the material to be included in the second volume.

As one reads page upon page of detailed facts respecting these domains, the minutiae of the seigneurial régime are unveiled. There is not space to go into the history of art and literature, which is enriched by a wealth of details contained in part III. One observation may be permitted. The king's library is astonishingly small and shows how pitifully narrow the literary interest of the cultured classes of France was before the influence of the Renaissance had penetrated.

James Westfall Thompson.

Lettres Familières de Jérome Aléandre (1510–1540). Par J. Paquier, Docteur ès-Lettres. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909, pp. iii, 183.) In this work Dr. Paquier brings together one hundred letters by and to Aleander which he had published during the last five years in the *Revue des Études Historiques*. The editor has used manuscripts in the Vatican, Bologna, and Munich with thoroughness and is perfectly familiar with the recent work on Aleander by Brieger, Hausrath, and Kalkoff by which he has profited in making certain corrections on the letters since he first edited them.

The most important part of Aleander's correspondence having already been published by Friedensburg (*Nuntiaturberichte aus Deutschland*, vol. III.), Wrede (*Reichstagsakten*, vol. II.), and Brieger (*Aleander und Luther*), the present collection has somewhat the character of a supplement. Its main value lies in the light it throws on the nuncio's private life, and even so it does not compare in intrinsic interest with his franker private diary recently published by Omont. Aleander was an ordinary person, after all, whose letters seem especially commonplace compared to those of his contemporaries, Erasmus, Luther, Dürer, and others.

The most valuable letters are those written at the time of the nunciature at the Diet of Worms (nos. 34–45). Among the details which these add to what was already known on the subject, perhaps the most suggestive is the nuncio's opinion of the part played by Erasmus in the reform movement, a side of that humanist's character made prominent by Dr. Kalkoff who has attributed to him several anonymous pamphlets

of this period (P. Kalkoff, *Die Vermittelungspolitik des Erasmus*, 1903). To Cardinal Pucci Aleander writes on October 24, 1520, with plain allusion to Erasmus (p. 61): "Quum enim haec omnis inferior Germania sit in Romanam aulam tum suopte ingenio, tum incitatione cujusdam importunissimi hominis (cujus nomen alias aperiam) conturbata adeo ut in dies pejora moliantur . . ."

Several misprints have been noticed, especially in giving German titles.

PRESERVED SMITH.

A Subsidy collected in the Diocese of Lincoln in 1526. Edited by Rev. H. Salter. (London, Henry Frowde, 1909, pp. xvi, 348.) This document of the year 1528, extending to some 300 pages, furnishes an admirable glimpse of the English church at an especially critical period in its history. It is a list of payments of a tax levied upon the clergy of England, arranged according to diocese, archdeaconries, rural deaneries, and parishes. It includes the names of all those who paid the tax, and states the items of expense to be deducted before calculating the net profit of their benefices.

The most striking results that emerge from a study of this document may be enumerated as follows. A clear statement is given of what may be called the ecclesiastical geography of England, at least in its broader outlines. A vivid impression is obtained of the small incomes of the lower clergy, the large incomes of those who held the higher church positions. There is but little gradation; the income of the chaplain, curate, vicar or other occupant of one of the small benefices of England, reduced to modern value, seldom rises above four hundred dollars; that of the archdeacon or the holder of one of the cathedral offices seldom falls below four thousand. The heavily burdened financial condition of the monasteries is abundantly evident. More than half the income of many of them is eaten up by fixed charges. These are of the most varied character—regular payments to the pope, the king, the bishop, the cardinal, neighboring landholders, other monasteries, holders of corrodies, lawyers, and to many other non-religious or only remotely religious uses. To those who administered the finances of many of the monasteries, the confiscation of their possessions so shortly after this time must have seemed a welcome release from financial entanglements.

Much evidence is given, on the one hand, of the great income of Cardinal Wolsey, on the other hand, of his master mind. He receives many dues in many capacities, yet the collection of the whole tax was made according to a new assessment which he had ordered, this being the first reassessment of the church since 1291; and its exemptions, inclusions, and modifications bear the impress of his statesmanlike ability.

The editorial additions to the document are of the slightest, extending only to a preface of ten pages, an index, and an occasional

slight note. It is to be hoped that this valuable document will be widely recognized and studied for the light it throws on the condition of the English church on the eve of the Reformation.

E. P. C.

Barbara Blomberg, die Geliebte Kaiser Karls V. und Mutter Don Juans de Austria: Ein Kulturbild des 16. Jahrhunderts. Von Dr. Paul Herre. (Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer, 1909, pp. v, 160.) Barbara Blomberg, the young daughter of a Regensburg artisan, met the widowed Charles V. during his brief sojourn at the Diet of 1546. Her son, the later hero of Lepanto, was early taken from her to Spain and given an education worthy of his father. For Barbara herself Charles made easy provision by marrying her to one of his officers and by leaving her a small pension in his will. With this husband she removed from Regensburg to the Spanish Netherlands where she led a life which many considered too gay. When he stumbled upon his dagger with fatal results in 1569, she was left with a couple of children and destitute of support. It was just at this time that her other son was becoming famous for his suppression of the Moorish revolt. Neither he nor the world knew who his mother was, but Barbara speedily exploited her relation to him and secured through the Duke of Alva enough money and credit to set up an establishment of sixteen servants. Her gayety of life and recklessness of expenditure were such a cause of disquiet to Philip II. that she was eventually removed to Spain and lived in less freedom till her death in 1597. Hers was an unlovely life, but such a biography has a certain interest and value as illustrating one aspect of the times of Charles V. The author shows the same ingenuity, industry, and sound scholarship as in his earlier studies on this period.

Sidney B. Fay.

The Origin, the Organization, and the Location of the Staple of England. A Thesis presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania. By Adaline L. Jenckes. (Philadelphia, 1908, pp. 83.) "The object of this study is to throw some light on what the English Staple was, to explain the organization and methods of business, and to follow the changes in location to which it was subject from time to time." The first chapter of the little book treats of the origin and organization, the second of the officers, the third of the methods of business, and the fourth and last of the location.

The writer has contributed very little that is new to our knowledge of any of these topics, but she has rendered a useful service in grouping together interesting but scattered bits of information. Unfortunately she does not seem to have had access to the Staple Rolls among the Tower Records in the Public Record Office, a thorough use of which would seem to be indispensable to the study she has undertaken. Except for the Charters of 1561 and 1617 she quotes no manuscript sources

whatever. Indeed her idea of "sources" seems a little vague, for she lists under that head Macpherson's *Annals of Commerce* and Cunningham's *Growth of English Industry and Commerce*. As a result she indulges too frequently in speculation. Thus: "doubtless" all home staples had an organization similar to that of Southampton; it is "probable" that there were home staples during the entire period after 1353; we have no knowledge of qualifications for admission but there was "probably" an entrance fee; and the question, "Was there any connection between the local home staples and the foreign English Staple" is propounded but left unanswered.

The acceptability of the study as a thesis presented to the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Pennsylvania is for that faculty to determine; its usefulness to students of economic history consists in its presentation, in brief space and proper sequence, of facts about the Staple that have already been printed.

T. W. P.

Dr. G. W. Kernkamp's *Baltische Archivalia* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1909, pp. xxii, 364), prepared at the instance of the Commission on National Historical Publications, is a guide to the materials for Dutch history to be found in the archives of Stockholm, Copenhagen, and the German Baltic towns—Kiel, Lübeck, Wismar, Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, Stettin, Danzig, and Königsberg. The data are the result of a governmental mission. Copenhagen and Danzig figure most largely, each occupying about a third of the volume. Stockholm archives were fully dealt with, those of Copenhagen partially, in the author's *Skandinavische Archivalia* of 1903. The later Dutch materials at Copenhagen and those at Danzig and the other South Baltic towns afford copious and most interesting materials for the history of Dutch diplomatic and commercial relations respectively. In the case of Danzig there are also ecclesiastical archives, of the Reformed and Mennonite communities.

Despatches from Paris, 1784–1790. Selected and edited from the Foreign Office Correspondence by Oscar Browning, M.A., V.-P. R. Hist. S. Volume I., 1784–1787. [Camden Third Series, Volume XVI.] (London, The Society, 1909, pp. xi, 278.) Fifteen years ago (1885) the Cambridge University Press published the despatches of Lord Gower, sent from Paris during the period June, 1790, to August, 1792. They were edited by Mr. Browning. The present volume contains the despatches sent from Paris by Lord Dorset and Mr. Hailes in the years 1784–1787 and is to be followed by a second volume filling the gap between 1787 and 1790. Although Mr. Browning is the editor, his serious illness has made it necessary to leave the introduction and index of the whole work for the last volume. Mr. Browning's illness was not the only handicap from which the work suffered. The mighty crop of errata—four solid pages for about forty pages of text—was due to the

virtuosity of the typist, who "occasionally paraphrased the transcripts, known to be reliable". A more careful reading of the text would add to the list of errors.

Dorset was of slight weight as a diplomatist. Some of his despatches would not have been briefer had they been sent by cable and paid for by the word. Hailes was a man of different calibre; his despatches contain more information and show a better grasp of the meaning of events. No. 49, written from Fontainebleau (October 25, 1786), is a full and illuminating description of the condition of the French government and court on the eve of the meeting of the Notables.

On the whole, the letters add little to our knowledge either of diplomatic relations or of the internal condition of France during this period. They are confined very largely to the first kind of information, but treat even that in a most niggardly way. It would have been tantalizing to the ministers in London had they possessed no other source of information. Fortunately they were not wholly dependent on Dorset. The diplomatic questions that engaged the attention of the English government in the years 1784–1787 were the French-Dutch defensive alliance of 1784, the trouble between Austria and Holland over the opening of the Scheldt, the overthrow of the republican party and the ruin of French influence in Holland by England and Prussia, and the activity of France in the eastern Mediterranean and in India. After the work of Colenbrander, containing the transcripts of the bulk of the foreign correspondence concerning the first three questions, the despatches of Dorset and Hailes seem poor indeed. They do, however, supplement, in some minor points, the despatches of the English minister at the Hague. Concerning the activities of France in the Mediterranean, the information is more valuable and throws good side-lights on the work of the Revolution and of Napoleon. For internal affairs, the most significant portion of the despatches concerns the Assembly of the Notables. Even this is scrappy, containing only here and there a nugget for those who are familiar with the French sources and the despatches of the Austrian minister, Count Mercy.

The dates on the back of the volume should read "1784–1787" and not "1784–1786".

Fred Morrow Fling.

The French Revolution: a Short History. By R. M. Johnston, M.A. Cantab., Assistant Professor of History in Harvard University. (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1909, pp. vii, 283.) This little volume is an attempt to "disentangle from the mass of details the shape, the movement, the significance of the great historical cataclysm", to "catch its perspective" and "proportion". The method and style are essentially dramatic; men, parties, and movements are vigorously portrayed and play their parts clearly; too clearly at times, in the light of the complexity of forces and motives underlying the development of the

Revolution. The crisis of Thermidor, for example, is attributed too exclusively to Carnot, as is the freeing of the accused from their temporary arrest to Hanriot. The account (p. 219) of the activity of St. Just is a little obscure. But these, like the "6th of October" (p. 85) instead of the 5th, are minor faults. More serious exception is to be taken to the statement (p. 125) that the constitution of 1791 is prefaced by "a declaration of the rights of man that stamps the whole as a piece of class legislation". Is it not just this declaration that is out of accord with the class legislation of the constitution, the distinction between active and passive citizens, based upon property? In view of this the explanatory foot-note also needs revision.

The treatment of economic and social conditions when this phase of the subject is introduced is excellent. Indeed it might well receive greater emphasis from a writer who avowedly seeks the perspective of the Revolution in "the gradual political education and coming to power of the masses" (p. 9). Space for this could be found by condensing the first chapter, which is taken up with a survey of secondary writers, into an introduction, where it properly belongs. The brief chapter on art and literature is suggestive and, coming at the end, revives the impression of the vigor and freshness of the work as a whole. Some knowledge of the Revolution would seem necessary for a thorough understanding of the work, but even to the uninitiated it will be interesting and thoroughly readable, serving well as a companion volume to the author's *Napoleon.*

William E. Lingelbach.

Histoire de l'Université de Genève, par Charles Borgeaud, Professeur aux Facultés de Droit et des Lettres. *L'Académie de Calvin dans l'Université de Napoléon, 1798–1814* (Genève, Georg et Compagnie, 1909, pp. xiii, 251). On the occasion of the fourth centenary of Calvin, Professor Borgeaud brings out a second volume of his official history of his university. The first of these sumptuous volumes gave in most attractive form the history of the Academy of Calvin, so important to the intellectual history of Europe, from its foundation in 1559 to the annexation of the republic of Geneva by France in 1798; the third will present its history in the nineteenth century, since 1814. The present volume begins with the visit of General Bonaparte in 1796, and then, proceeding to 1798, describes the organization effected under the Directory, and the division of functions between the Société Économique and the Société Académique. Under both the Directory and the Consulate, the chief interest of the story lies in the struggle between certain centralizing officials, especially prefects, endeavoring to introduce large innovations, and the Genevese professors and other conservatives, bent on maintaining a moral autonomy when political independence had departed. Although under the Empire the decree of 1808 establishing the Imperial University was followed by action reorganizing the Genevese

school into one of the academies of that university, the spirit of the old academy of Calvin survived in sufficient measure to ensure continuance of much of what was best in the old régime, including a degree of independence disquieting to Napoleon. The volume describes in detail the development of instruction in the four faculties and has many admirable characterizations of the leading members of the teaching body. It concludes with an index to the first and second volumes.

Les Corsaires: Mémoires et Documents Inédits. Par Henri Malo. (Paris, Société du *Mercure de France,* 1908, pp. 384.) There has been no attempt made in the volume indicated above to write a history of the corsairs. The author indeed gives a short sketch (ch. I.) of that history from the third to the nineteenth century and points out the importance of the rôle played by the daring corsairs of western France during that period, but this sketch serves rather as a background for the rest of the book. The importance of the author's work is to be found rather in the publication which he makes of a relatively large amount of unpublished documents, of family memoirs, and of miscellaneous data concerning the corsairs of Boulogne, papers found for the most part in the departmental archives of Pas-de-Calais, of Boulogne, and in the hands of some of the descendants of certain corsairs. He has published, for instance (chs. II. and III.), some most interesting data concerning the cost of building and equipping the ships of the corsairs, their profits, their tactics, and the rules which governed them; and in the appendix (pp. 323–379) "Le Livre d'Or des Corsaires Boulonnais", a chronological and alphabetical list of the captain-corsairs of Boulogne, with the dates of their activity, names of their vessels, and the tonnage of the same. All of these data will prove of considerable value to all students of commerce, navigation, and filibustering. The author has combined in an unusually interesting way large extracts of such sources, to relate the thrilling episodes in the lives of such daring corsairs as Jacques Broquant, Charles Dunand, and especially of J.-O. Fourmentin, all of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. By the publication (pp. 176–319) of the "Notes" written by the eldest son of this old hero, the author gives a most striking account of that corsair's brilliant record of ninety-nine captures, of many daring attacks upon the English, and of his very interesting interview with Napoleon, when the great emperor appealed to him for advice on the eve of his projected attack upon England.

It is to be hoped that the author will continue his researches and attempt a history of the French corsairs. He gives evidence of possessing the qualities necessary for such an undertaking.

Stewart L. Mims.

Souvenirs et Fragments pour servir aux Mémoires de ma Vie et de mon Temps, par le Marquis de Bouillé (*Louis-Joseph-Amour*), *1769–*

1812. Publiés pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par P.-L. de Kermaingant. Tome II., Mai 1792–Mars 1806. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1908, pp. 598.) This second volume of the *Souvenirs* of the Marquis de Bouillé was written during the years 1830 (p. 43), 1831, and 1832 (pp. 407, 444). The discovery of the fact that the second volume was not begun before 1830 has led the reviewer to the reconsideration of the date of writing of the first. He settled upon 1828 as the date (American Historical Review, XII. 924) because of the date of the introduction, August 8, 1828, and because in the introduction Bouillé stated that he had "written the account of all the military affairs in which he took part from the beginning of the year 1806 to the end of 1812". It is true that there was a foot-note (p. 463) with a reference to a work published in July, 1829, and another foot-note (p. 278) referring to the year 1828 as if it were past; these might, of course, have been added later. A reference in the text to 1828 (p. 295) allowed a double interpretation. Everything considered, the inference that the first volume was written in 1828 and that the whole work was complete in August of that year seemed to be justifiable. The data of the second volume change the conditions of the problem. That volume certainly was not written in 1828. The campaigns from 1806–1812 may have been written before 1828, even before the writing of the second volume, and together with the first volume may have been complete in August, 1828. If the third volume when it appears makes this hypothesis untenable, and the date of the introduction is correct, the conclusion of the whole matter would seem to be that the introduction was written when the work was begun and that the writing of the first volume occupied the last months of 1828 and the whole of 1829.

In this second volume Bouillé gets beyond the published memoirs of his father and himself and supplies us with a large amount of new material. Many letters addressed to himself or to his father, written by Louis XVIII., the Comte d'Artois, the Prince de Condé, the King of Prussia and his ministers, and other well-known individuals are reproduced in full and compose a large part of the text. Other sources of information are notes taken by Bouillé at the time and incorporated in the text in their original form, the memoirs of contemporaries, published previous to 1830, and his own recollections of the events in which he took part. Bouillé served for a time with the emigrants under the Prince de Condé; later he commanded a cavalry regiment, raised by himself and taken into English pay; he served in the Low Countries and took part in one of the expeditions against France which attempted to get a footing on the coast of Brittany. Although his regiment was finally broken up, he remained upon the pay-roll of the English government until his return to France, after the peace of Amiens, and his entrance into the service of the Empire. He had swung around the circle and the volume in which he describes his life during these years

of exile is not only an important source of information upon the emigration but a most fascinating human document.

FRED MORROW FLING.

The Armenian Awakening: a History of the Armenian Church, 1820–1860. By Leon Arpee. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1909, pp. xi, 235.) This is a most valuable contribution to the history of the Armenians. It does not waste time trying to distinguish between the legendary and the historical in the earlier periods, neither does it cater to popular prejudice by enlarging upon the sufferings endured at the hands of the Turkish government. It does take up the very period about which few, even of those who have written most on the subject, seem to be well posted, and which must be understood if the position of these people is to be appreciated. It outlines with clearness and with not too much detail the theological differences between the Armenians and the Greeks and Roman Catholics, and the efforts of the latter to absorb them. It explains the inroads of Paulicianism, that somewhat uncertain element in early and medieval church life which was the despair of historians, until its "Key of Truth" was discovered in the hands of an Armenian priest; traces the connection between the independence of thought, the not unnatural result of the persecutions and the comparative isolation of the communities, and the awakening of the past century in educational and civic as well as religious life, and gives a remarkably clear and impartial view of the relation of American missions and the Protestant Armenian Church to that awakening.

This last will be of particular interest both to those who have hesitated as to the wisdom of an attempt to replace one form of Christianity by another, and to those who are so thoroughly convinced of the essential degeneracy of all non-Protestant bodies that they look with disapproval, even dismay, upon the evident trend of American missions to Armenians to revert to the original plan and emphasize the growth of spiritual life in the Old Church rather than the development of a distinctively Protestant church.

In close connection with this there is a chapter of great value and interest on the Struggle for Democracy, in which the peculiar civil organization of the Turkish Empire is outlined, and its effect upon the non-Moslem communities is presented in a clear and fair-minded manner. There are numerous quotations from the famous Turkish edicts, and a brief but sufficient statement, in an appendix, of the recent political changes in the Turkish Empire.

While by no means exhaustive, the book is informing and, what is still better, stimulating, and an excellent bibliography furnishes to the student the basis for still further investigation if it be desired.

EDWIN MUNSELL BLISS.

La Crise de l'Histoire Révolutionnaire: Taine et M. Aulard. Par Augustin Cochin, Archiviste Paléographe. (Paris, Honoré Champion,

1909, pp. 103.) M. Cochin's monograph is a reply to Aulard's criticism of Taine's history of the Revolution. According to M. Cochin, Aulard's book represents the last despairing effort of the party of the "défense républicaine" in its struggle to escape nemesis in the form of Taine's new and more scientific conception of the Revolution. The sole method to avert disaster was to disprove the foundation of fact upon which the superstructure rested. Hence Aulard's attack on Taine. What, in the opinion of M. Cochin, was the result of M. Aulard's criticism of Taine's methods of work? "The work of Taine", he assures us (p. 17), "has the rare good fortune of receiving from an adversary, as partial as he is learned, the baptism of fire. It receives the sole consecration that it lacks: that of the thirty years of erudition of M. Aulard. Every fact advanced by Taine will have from now on two guarantors: the learning of the author who affirms it, the passion of the critic who contests it." The American scholar, who is in a position to judge independently of Taine and his method, will hardly take the book of M. Cochin seriously. It is interesting, suggestive in some places, but it has too much of the tone of a political pamphlet and bears too clearly the impress of the amateur, who did not understand the real point at issue—scientifically speaking—between Taine and Aulard, to make it a real contribution to the literature of historical method. The charges against Taine are definite enough and it ought to be possible for the specialists on the Revolution to examine their validity without having the personality, politics, or scientific work of M. Aulard dragged into the investigation. It is charged that Taine was unsuited by temperament for patient, detached, scientific work; that he never received the specific training that prepared him for historical research; that he investigated his subject superficially; that he neglected whole categories of important sources; that he treated the sources which he did use uncritically; and that he distorted the synthesis of the Revolution by ignoring the struggle against reaction in France and the war with Europe. To the consideration of these questions Aulard devoted a volume of three hundred and thirty pages of solid matter; M. Cochin disposes of them all in a dozen pages. It is hardly sufficient.

Fred Morrow Fling.

Professor Charles A. Beard has prepared a collection of *Readings in American Government and Politics* (Macmillan, pp. xxiii, 624), designed primarily to be used in connection with his forthcoming work, American Government and Politics. The book is divided into three parts, Historical Foundations, the Federal Government, State Government, and within each part appear groups of selections relating to the principal phases of our political life and government. A source-book is almost necessarily a body of illustrative material, with no aim at completeness. To cover the whole range of politics in a single volume, especially of modern politics in the United States, is impossible. It is

therefore much a matter of individual predilection what particular features the compiler will illustrate and what illustrations he will use. A striking feature of this book is the rather unusual character of many of the illustrations and the unexpected sources from which some of them are drawn. All sorts of official publications are drawn upon and the periodical press is made to furnish its quota of extracts. In point of time the material is brought about as near to the present moment as can well be, as witness the chapter on national resources and some selections relating to municipal problems. Local government other than municipal is rather scantily represented.

State Publications: a Provisional List of the Official Publications of the Several States of the United States from their Organization. Compiled under the editorial direction of R. R. Bowker. (New York, Office of the *Publishers' Weekly*, 1908, pp. xii, 1031.) This large and important bibliographical volume is made up by combining the four parts which have already been issued in 1899, 1902, 1905, and 1908, comprising respectively New England, the North Central, Western, and Southern states. It represents a prodigious labor of love, firstly on the part of Mr. Bowker and his aids, and secondly on the part of public-spirited officials of state libraries. By their aid, a great class of printed matter, having distinct value for purposes of history, economics, and political science, but which was exceedingly hard to employ for want of systematic guidance, has been lifted one stage nearer to the student's hand and placed in the way of recognition and appreciation. Not less than twenty-five thousand distinct publications are catalogued, in lists beginning with the organization of each state and extending in general to 1900, with supplemental lists for the colonial periods. The plan is that of a check-list. The arrangement is, first, by states in geographical order. Under each state the order followed is: constitutions and the publications of constitutional conventions, those of executive and staff officers, those of officers of inspection and regulation, those of state institutions, those of the judiciary and the legislature and its branches and committees. Though it has not been possible, in some states, to present the matter with all the bibliographical completeness desired, the work has been thoroughly well executed, as far as the reviewer's inspection of the book and knowledge enable him to judge where so vast a wilderness of printed matter is concerned; as that which is here listed. Mr. Bowker will deserve the gratitude of many investigators.

Select Orations illustrating American Political History, selected and edited by Samuel Bannister Harding, Ph.D., with an introduction on oratorical style and structure, and notes, by John Mantel Clapp, A.M. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. xxx, 519). The purpose of the compiler of these selections is to gather into the compass of a single volume, suitable for use in schools and elsewhere, the most noteworthy orations which have exerted an important influence on

political action or political opinion in America at the time when they were delivered. Considerations of oratorical excellence, while not disregarded, are secondary. It is the editor's view that in the utterances of our public men will be found a synopsis of our political history. Here are altogether thirty-four speeches, most of them abbreviated and compressed, ranging from James Otis to Booker T. Washington, gathered into five groups. Five of these orations relate to the Revolution, four to the adoption of the Constitution, six to the period between 1796 and 1830, six to the slavery contest, and twelve to the Civil War and Reconstruction. It would scarcely be in place to raise a question with regard to the selection. Judged by the criterion laid down many more might have been included; another editor would no doubt make some substitutions. It is sufficient that the speeches here grouped meet admirably the main purpose of the volume. A feature of the book is the historical introductions which present succinctly the setting of each oration. Professor Clapp's introduction on oratorical style and structure is given specific application to these selections and, together with his notes, which are segregated at the back of the volume, will be helpful in reaching an appreciative attitude, although it may be questioned whether the notes do not deal with the speeches in too positive and summary a fashion. Without doubt the book meets a genuine need.

Henry Hudson in Holland: an Inquiry into the Origin and Objects of the Voyage which led to the Discovery of the Hudson River. With Bibliographical Notes by Hen. C. Murphy. Reprinted, with Notes, Documents, and a Bibliography, by Wouter Nijhoff, Hon. Secretary to the "Linschoten-Vereeniging". (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1909, pp. xii, 150.) After the lapse of half a century Henry C. Murphy's privately printed pamphlet of seventy-two pages still stands as the best treatise on Hudson's third voyage and the circumstances which led to the exploration of the Hudson River. In this pamphlet Mr. Murphy explained the importance of the Hessel Gerritsz. tracts for a knowledge of the navigator's ulterior plans and published certain extracts from the records of the Dutch East India Company which remained unknown to Asher when he compiled his monograph for the Hakluyt Society in 1860. The scarcity of the pamphlet has long been a matter of regret and the present reprint is therefore welcome. Mr. Nijhoff has omitted the frontispiece portrait of Dirck van Os, one of the signers of Hudson's contract, but has improved upon the original publication by giving the vernacular texts of all the documents used and by adding a number of notes and an elaborate bibliographical description of the printed sources. In respect to these last two features the work is not altogether satisfactory, for Mr. Nijhoff has in the notes failed to distinguish his own statements from those of the author and in the bibliography has devoted a disproportionate amount of space to the Hessel Gerritsz. tracts, while mentioning but a single edition of van Meteren,

that of 1611, in which the account of Hudson's third voyage is said to have appeared for the first time. How inadequate this treatment is will be understood when it is stated that the New York State Library has a quarto edition of van Meteren's *Belgische ofte Nederlantsche Oorlogen* (1611), in which the account of Hudson's voyage occurs on another folio than that given by Mr. Nijhoff and differs in more than 150 details from the text reproduced on pp. 119–121 of the reprint, while a third text, with still other variations, is found in a folio edition without date, entitled *Het tweede Deel van de Commentarien,* in the possession of Mrs. J. B. Thacher of Albany, which claims to be the only genuine edition and which may have been printed in 1610. The typographical execution of the reprint is excellent, the translations are satisfactory, and the transcripts, so far as they can be compared, are accurate, though as a rule the capitalization and contractions have not been followed.

A. J. F. VAN LAER.

In commemoration of the three hundredth anniversary of the founding of Quebec, Colonel J. L. Hubert Neilson, the owner of the manuscript, has printed in an edition of three hundred copies intended for private distribution a photographic *Facsimile of Père Marquette's Illinois Prayer Book.* The manuscript, of 176 small pages, is in the handwriting of Father Claude Allouez, who, preceding Marquette in the acquisition of the language, doubtless prepared the volume for the latter's use. Father Cazot, the last of the old French Jesuits, gave it about 1798 to Colonel Neilson's grandfather. Portraits of Marquette and Cazot, the former discovered a few years ago, are reproduced in the book.

The Transition in Illinois from British to American Government. By Robert Livingston Schuyler, Ph.D., Instructor in History in Yale University. (New York, The Columbia University Press, 1909, pp. xi, 145.) This work is a thesis presented to the faculty of the University of Columbia for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, and in accordance with the requirements of the university has been printed immediately. This necessity is regrettable, since the most important material for the history of the period is to be published within a year by the Illinois State Historical Library, and without access to these unpublished sources no definitive treatment of the subject that has been chosen can be written. Although there is an excuse for not having consulted unprinted volumes, the author should have made an effort to obtain transcripts of such important documentary material as is contained in the New York State Library, the library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Draper Manuscripts, the Library of Congress, the Haldimand Collection, and the Public Record Office of London; but there is no evidence in the volume of a use of these collections, except references to the inadequate calendar of the Haldimand Collection, in the *Reports* of the Canadian Archives. It is, there-

fore, not to be expected that the book contains a decided contribution to the knowledge of the West during the period when the dominion over that region passed from Great Britain to the United States. Instead, the value of the book lies in the careful résumé of the knowledge of Illinois history as it is extant at present in book form; but since that knowledge is continually changing, owing to the present activities of Western scholars, Dr. Schuyler's book will not even retain that value long. With this limitation of the scope of the work, it is well done; and the author has shown considerable critical acumen in determining the value of the material to which he had access. The first two chapters and a half give a summary of the British administration of Illinois. Since there has been no attempt to study the ministerial policy from the British viewpoint and the author has not understood the changing Western policy of the successive ministries, there is nothing novel in the treatment. The remaining chapters contain the history of the Illinois country during the Revolutionary War, and are the most satisfactory of the book. The last chapter deals with the Treaty of Paris, 1783; and the discussion of the negotiations concerning the West between the various states is very suggestive.

George Michael Bedinger: a Kentucky Pioneer, by Danske Dandridge (Charlottesville, the Michie Company, 1909, pp. iv, 232), is more a story of pioneer days in Kentucky than a biography. Bedinger was a type of those sturdy characters who conquered the western wilderness, but in the earlier pages of this volume he is little more than a type. The stage is set with elaborate description of pioneer conditions, across which the hero now and then walks. Later, when the material out of which to construct a biography is not so scant, we are enabled to get a better view of the man himself. He was born in York County, Pennsylvania, in 1756, saw considerable service in the Revolutionary army, where we get brief glimpses of him, but between his short enlistments he was drawn for a while into Kentucky, whither he afterward returned, to spend the remainder of his life. Several of his adventures in exploration and in Indian fighting are given in detail, and something of his history after he had settled down. He was commissioned a major in 1791 and was in St. Clair's ill-fated expedition. Later in life he entered politics and was for two terms (1803–1807) a member of Congress. Of his political career not much is said; too little the author concluded upon second thought, and so added a brief account in an appendix. The book is readable, although the student of history might contend that there has been too little sifting of evidence, too much gratuitous conjecture. The point of view of the writer was probably different. Her aim appears to have been to construct from the fragmentary materials to be found, printed accounts, scant official records, letters, pioneer and family traditions, as nearly as possible a portrait of the man, placed in the most favorable light.

The Transitional Period, 1788–1790, in the Government of the United States. By Frank Fletcher Stephens, Ph.M., Ph.D., Instructor in American History. [The University of Missouri Studies, edited by W. G. Brown.] (Columbia, Mo., University of Missouri, 1909, pp. vii, 126.) This monograph hardly meets the expectation aroused by the title, preface, and opening paragraphs of the introduction. One is led to expect a somewhat thoughtful treatment of the period in the history of the United States covering the transition from a confederation to a national government. In reality there is little more than a bare statement of facts regarding the first election of United States senators, representatives, presidential electors, and the effect of the new Constitution upon state laws already in operation.

The bibliography is unsatisfactory but the foot-notes show that a large mass of material must have been examined, and one regrets that the author did not avail himself of the opportunity to put a little flesh and blood upon the dry bones of the skeleton. Yet one ought not to expect too much from a doctoral thesis, and that is what this monograph is. It can hardly be called interesting but it is a useful compilation and contains many facts not readily accessible elsewhere. It annoys one with its omissions but inspires confidence as to its accuracy. It stops so abruptly that the reader finds himself in the index before he is aware of it, and the index is excellent.

The Conflict over Judicial Powers in the United States to 1870. By Charles Grove Haines, Ph.D., Professor of History and Political Science, Ursinus College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law in Columbia University, Volume XXXV., No. 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909, pp. 180.) Dr. Haines has attempted to cover too large a field. The conflicts over judicial power in the United States before 1870 related to three groups of subjects: (1) The power of courts to declare unconstitutional the laws of co-ordinate legislative bodies; that is, the power of state courts to declare state laws unconstitutional and of federal courts to declare federal laws unconstitutional; (2) the power of the Supreme Court of the United States to review state judicial decisions and to declare invalid state laws conflicting with the federal constitution or with federal statutes; this is primarily a question as to state and federal relations; (3) the conflicts of the courts with the state and federal executives and with the people. These three subjects have little in common except that they all involve the courts, and the effort to treat them together has resulted in a lack of clearness and unity. Moreover, the brief space at the author's disposal has made it impossible for him to discuss any one of his subjects in a satisfactory manner.

The subject which suffers most is that of the judicial power to annul legislation, and with respect to this matter the author adds practically nothing to our knowledge. He is ignorant of much of the work which

has been done by others in this field, and this ignorance frequently leads him into positive error, although the principal defect of his discussion is that it is not sufficiently full. In treating the subject of judicial power over legislation in England Dr. Haines might well have made use of Pollock's *First Book of Jurisprudence*, pp. 250–255, where that author effectually disposes of the view that the English courts ever exercised the power of annulling legislation; however, the important question is not what the English courts did, but what the people of the time thought they did, and this fact should have been brought out by Dr. Haines. The discussion of early state cases in which laws were declared unconstitutional does not take account of the case of Josiah Philips (which was discussed by Professor W. P. Trent in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, I. 444–454); nor is the case of United States *v.* Yale Todd mentioned in the treatment of early federal decisions regarding the unconstitutionality of legislation. Professor F. M. Anderson's article on "Contemporary Opinion of the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions" (AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, V. 45–63, 225–252) would have been of assistance to the author in the discussion of these resolutions, and might have caused a modification of his statement that the legislatures of the other states, in their answers to those resolutions, came out "unanimously and unequivocally in favor of the view that the Supreme Court of the United States was vested with the full and ultimate authority to determine the validity of legislative acts of Congress" (p. 58).

W. F. DODD.

A Century of Population Growth, from the First Census of the United States to the Twelfth, 1790–1900. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1909, pp. x, 303.) Six years ago the records relating to the earlier censuses of the United States were transferred by the Department of the Interior to the custody of the Director of the Census. From the data preserved from the First Census, the Census Office has lately been publishing volumes containing lists of the heads of families returned to that census, and these have been properly valued for purposes of local history and genealogy. To these is now added this excellent and handsome volume, prepared by Mr. W. S. Rossiter, summing up the statistical results which can still be derived by a modern expert from the old materials, somewhat as a modern English metallurgical company has derived profitable returns of silver from the slag of the ancient Athenian mines of Laurium.

One cannot in brief space summarize or review a quarto volume of varied statistics, but the historical student interested in the United States of about 1790 will find in it a great deal to interest and instruct him. From the schedules of the First Census and other contemporary materials a "Statistical Abstract" of the United States in 1790 has been obtained, covering area, population white and negro, families, names,

nationality, migration, transportation, slavery, occupations, etc., with many ingenious tables and diagrams, and a number of excellent reproductions of maps of the period in question.

While the attempt to derive statistics of national origin from the surnames of the schedules is interesting, is guarded in expression, and its results must be approximately correct, we do not see that allowance has been made for the fact that foreign immigrants may frequently have assumed English-sounding names which were translations of their original appellations. Why should there have been more Littles in Pennsylvania than anywhere else except because there were vastly more Kleins?

Besides discussions and tabulations relating to 1790, the volume contains many which review subsequent development in various lines of comparison, while forty pages give the results of those provincial and state censuses which were taken before 1790, material everyone will be glad to have in compact and combined form.

Travels of Four Years and a Half in the United States of America during 1798, 1799, 1800, 1801, and 1802, by John Davis, with an introduction and notes by A. J. Morrison (New York, Henry Holt and Company, 1909, pp. xi, 429). This is a reprint of the original edition (London, 1803) of John Davis's *Travels*, an amended edition of which was issued in London in 1817. John Davis was a professional writer, although his literary career had but barely begun when, as a young man, he came to the United States seeking a livelihood. Here he became a sort of itinerant pedagogue, publishing meanwhile some volumes of poems, novels, etc. About one-third of this volume of travels is concerned with the author's life as a tutor in South Carolina and another considerable portion with a similar experience in Virginia. Not a few of the pages embody observations on life in New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, with emphasis usually upon literary activities. From the modern point of view Davis was something of a pedant, and his pages frequently bristle with classical quotations or delusions. These the editor of this edition has endeavored to trace to their sources, usually with success. The editor also helps us to identify many of the lesser personages mentioned in the narrative, and has elucidated many references to customs and events that have become obscured. Perhaps the greatest service which he has performed is in pointing us to the comments of other travellers on similar themes or in quoting these passages *in extenso*. There are times indeed when the reader will wish for help and find none; and there are also times when he may feel curious to know the mental processes which led the editor to write certain footnotes; but the annotator has his prerogatives. The introduction is pleasing and helpful, and includes an autobiographical sketch of the author of these travels. Some sort of index or table of contents might appropriately have been supplied.

Transportation and Industrial Development in the Middle West. By William F. Gephart, Ph.D., Instructor in Economics, Ohio State University. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. Volume XXXIV., Number 1.] (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909, pp. 273.) In this study an attempt is made "to correlate the development in transportation with the industrial development" in Ohio. Twelve chapters are devoted to transportation, from Indian trails to interurbans, and two chapters treat of the industrial development, 1788 to 1900. Of special importance are chapters VIII. and XII., on the development of highways since 1810; chapter IX., on the Constitution of 1851 and the changes effected in the problems of industry and transportation; and chapter X., on the development of the railway system. The fact that Ohio is treated as "the transportation valley between the east and the west and the north and the south" (p. 16) lends interest to the study.

The task assumed by Mr. Gephart may be well worth while but it is to be regretted that he has attempted so much and that he has paid so little attention to the proper presentation of the material. The research has been extensive and much new material has been collected but it is not clear that the results of the study are positive and definite. This is due in part to the vagueness of the subject and to the attempt to cover too much ground, but it is due in no small part to a tendency to overload the text with details not well arranged and of doubtful importance. The reader looks in vain for proper generalizations, while the absence of summaries at the ends of chapters or at the end of the book deprives him of the assistance due from that quarter.

There are some minor evidences of haste in construction. Pittsburg, Cincinnati, Marietta, and Detroit were not "the earliest points settled in the west" (p. 24). The statement that "something was accomplished by the federal government" in the development of highways in Ohio requires explanation (p. 137). The statement (p. 24) that "the Ohio River did not become an extensively used route until after 1800" is novel and in view of assertions to the contrary reasons should be given. The title of the book is broader than the field of investigation, and the title of chapter VI. as given in the table of contents does not agree with the title in the text. The bibliography is not properly classified, is not critical, and is not entirely accurate.

JULIAN P. BRETZ.

Index to Reports of Canadian Archives from 1872 to 1908. [Publications of the Canadian Archives, no. 7.] (Ottawa, King's Printer, 1909, pp. xi, 231.) From the establishment of the Canadian Archives Branch in 1872 until 1882 its reports were merely supplements to the report of the Minister of Agriculture. From 1883 to 1905 they filled separate volumes, composed in a somewhat casual manner, and for the

most part without indexes, though full of details. A general index to the great mass of historical data presented in these twenty-five volumes would be a boon, though its making would be laborious and expensive. The present volume, the first of the series of bulletins in which the Archives will henceforward present their historical data and results, is a much less ambitious affair. It gives, with considerable amplifications, the tables of contents of the successive reports. This makes a useful manual for those consulting that difficult series. But the amplifications are carried out unevenly and with less labor than might have been expected; many small improvements, which might have remedied some of the confusion and corrected some of the defects of the reports, have been neglected; modern changes of nomenclature and classification in foreign archives have not been introduced; not a few old errors have been allowed to remain, and not a few new ones committed, especially in French words; and the index is far from good.

El Sitio de Puebla en 1863, segun los Archivos de D. Ignacio Comonfort, General en Jefe del Ejército del Centro, y de D. Juan Antonio de la Fuente, Ministro de Relaciones Exteriores. [Documentos Inéditos ó Muy Raros para la Historia de México, publicados por Genaro García, Tomo XXIII.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1909, pp. 264.) Señor García has printed in this latest volume of documents on the history of Mexico a selection of one hundred and fifteen letters, telegrams, and reports upon the siege and capture of Puebla by the French in 1863. His material is derived chiefly from the papers of General Comonfort, in command of the Army of the Centre at the time, and of Minister de la Fuente of the Department of Foreign Affairs. Señor García's editorial method leaves his readers quite in the dark as to the number and character of pertinent documents in his hands but not included in the present volume—we are told simply that the book contains those considered most important. And indeed these documents are of great significance in an understanding of the difficulties which beset the organization and maintenance of Mexican national defense against the French invasion. An ineffective administrative system, a chronic failure of public revenues, want of arms and men, besetting sins of personal envy and enmity among leaders, lack of unity among the people of the distracted country—all these points appear in clearer relief in these confidential communications. The publication is a valuable supplement to the well-known formal report, also from the Mexican standpoint, which Ortega, general in command of the defenses of Puebla, made in September, 1863.

C. A. Duniway.

Annaes da Imprensa Periodica Pernambucana de 1821–1908. Dados Historicos e Bibliographicos Colleccionados por Alfredo de Carvalho. (Recife, Typografia do *Jornal do Recife,* 1908, pp. xii, 640). At the

instance of the governor of the state of Pernambuco, this volume has been printed as a contribution to the celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the printing-press in Brazil in 1808. Senhor de Carvalho's work is a model of scholarly and typographical excellence, worthy to be compared with the very best historical bibliographies of periodicals. He lists and describes, with excellent historical annotations, no fewer than 1619 issues of the press of his state, chiefly, of course, printed in the capital. The legend of the existence of a printing-press at Recife in 1647, during the time of the Dutch occupation, has been dissipated. The first press in the province was set up in 1817. The first newspaper, the *Aurora Pernambucana,* a short-lived organ of Governor Luiz do Rego, appeared in 1821. Longer and more important is the history of the *Diario de Pernambuco,* which began to be issued in 1825 and is still in existence. It is the oldest newspaper in Latin America, the next oldest being the *Jornal do Commercio* of Rio de Janeiro (1827), and *El Mercurio* of Valparaiso (1828). Senhor de Carvalho devotes almost thirty pages to the history of this paper and of its political connections. Even a cursory inspection of the volume gives the reader a not inconsiderable insight into the history of culture in Pernambuco and its region.

TEXT-BOOKS

An Outline History of the Roman Empire (44 B. C. to 378 A. D.). By William Stearns Davis, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Minnesota. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. ix, 222.) This is the first text-book of Roman history for college students written in this country in recent times, but it is intended as an aid to instruction, not in Roman but in medieval history. The author is convinced "that to understand the Middle Ages it is necessary to know something of the progress and fall of that great Empire whence feudal Europe issued"—a conviction which, we suppose, everybody shares; but when he states that "no compact and practical sketch, suitable for the study of the average student, has come to hand", we cannot refrain from bringing his book into juxtaposition with the "briefest outline" on the same subject which Mr. H. Stuart Jones published a year earlier in the unhappy *Story of the Nations* series.

The two are alike in centring attention in the personalities and work of the successive rulers, but the English book—besides being in every respect a more substantial performance—describes with much greater fullness the character and growth of the civil and military system by means of which this work was achieved. His shortcoming in this respect Professor Davis condones by remarking that "the average student in a beginner's history class in college does not always understand institutions readily." The real question, however, seems to us to be whether the history of the Roman Empire is worth anything

to him without the institutions—even for the purposes of medieval study. Professor Davis's book makes about three hours' easy reading, while Mr. Jones uses about four times as much space for his irreducible minimum, and it cannot be read with profit in twelve hours. It gives one much more to think about; but, of course, it is written for adults. Mr. Jones did not have to deal with American college conditions, nor with the average student whose lack of capacity for any prolonged mental effort is seemingly taken for granted nowadays. We surmise that the latter will find Professor Davis's concise, graceful exposition, with its clever portraiture and absence of difficulties, more pleasant to read, but that the best students will derive more profit from Mr. Jones's dignified, thoughtful sketch. The English book is written with an ever-present consciousness of the existence and character of the original sources, the American with a good comprehension of the possibilities of the secondary literature. The illustrations in the former furnish a speaking set of documents for the history of Roman art; the maps in the latter are execrable.

"To tell the story of the Roman Empire in its fulness", says Mr. Jones, "is a task for which no man now living is qualified, and it is probable that the historian who is destined to achieve that task with success has yet to be born." We have better hopes of the present generation than has Mr. Jones; but it is a fact ugly and obvious that there is now in existence no large comprehensive treatment of the subject which is even remotely master of the specialized literature, and this is true no less of the Republic than of the Empire. Until such a work is produced the briefest outlines must all be unsatisfactory.

W. S. Ferguson.

A Constitutional History of England. By A. M. Chambers. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. xix, 355.) In the brief compass of this little book Miss Chambers has undertaken to relate the history of the English constitution from the earliest time until the present day. She has omitted only the subject of modern local government, because she could not in so limited a space deal with it adequately, and also because many good books on this subject already exist. The omission is certainly excusable.

The author shows complete familiarity with all the modern writers on English constitutional history and a thorough comprehension of their views. She has selected for treatment the essential matters, and in each case applies a sound judgment and unusual analytical powers to the question under consideration. Add to this that her style, though necessarily a trifle dry, is simple and lucid, and that she has the gift of explaining abstract matters so that they are quickly understood, and it will be evident that her book is one of great merit. She might have spent a little more time in elucidating the process of a "fine of land" and the practice of "uses", but these are the only matters which seem not to be perfectly clear.

A book of this size devoted to so large a subject naturally partakes of the character of a series of summaries. The really remarkable thing is the ability with which the author has managed to make it a great deal more than a book of summaries. A second difficulty, due to the same cause as the first, lies in the inability of anyone to tell the exact truth because of the impossibility of telling the whole truth. Here again, Miss Chambers has succeeded beyond what could fairly be expected. Her expositions are not only clear but usually they are adequate and accurate.

In the first chapter we have an excellent discussion of the nature of the English constitution and also of the historians of the early constitutional period. The author is herself a disciple of the new Teutonic school, whose masters are Maitland and Vinogradoff. It may be that the impression one gets that this chapter and the two immediately succeeding ones are superior to the remainder is due to the method of treatment in the case of the later chapters. Here the topical method is used, the history of each institution being taken up separately for the entire period of its existence. This leads to some repetition. It seems to me that the method of dividing the history up into separate periods and treating fully of all the constitutional elements in one period before going on to the next is a better method.

There should be a selected bibliography appended to a book of this kind, especially as it seems to be intended for use as a text in schools.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

A Child's Guide to American History. By Henry William Elson. (New York, The Baker and Taylor Company, 1909, pp. 364.) In this volume the author has done much the same service (for elementary history) that he performed when he prepared his *Side-Lights on American History.* There is no effort to present the material as connected and organized history. The aim has been to discuss certain great events and characters, to relate incidents and adventures not found in the ordinary text-book.

The scope of the book which is evidently intended to add life to the history lessons in the higher grammar school grades may be seen from the following chapter headings: How Europe found America (II.); Exploring the New World (III.); the First Settlers (IV.); a Long Struggle for a Continent (VI.); the Panama Canal (XXII.). Not all of the chapter introductions are as intelligible, however, and one is a bit surprised to discover under Odds and Ends (XII.), brief sketches of Albert Gallatin, Dolly Madison, the Clay-Randolph duel, and S. F. B. Morse. The descriptions of Jennie Lind, Louis Kossuth, Lewis Cass, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Franklin Pierce, and Salmon P. Chase might also be more appropriately grouped than under the title, a Batch of Biographies (XV.).

While it is probable that no two persons would agree on the selections suitable for such a volume, there seems to be a lack of proper proportion in giving two pages to Ponce de Leon and scarcely honorable mention to Magellan; in giving seven pages to the story of Regina Hartman and only six pages to the remainder of the French and Indian War; and thirty pages to the Revolution with not a word on the march of George Rogers Clark and the contest for the control of the Middle West.

The stories are usually well told. Particularly worthy of commendation are those on the Settlement of the Ohio Valley (x.) and Means of Transportation (xii.). There are sixteen full-page colored illustrations and the make-up of the book is otherwise attractive. It will be a useful supplementary reader but its usableness is greatly lessened through the omission of an index.

J. A. J.

COMMUNICATION

To the Editor of the American Historical Review:

Sir:

In an article in your journal, vol. XII., no. 2, entitled "The Literature of the South African War, 1899–1902, by a British Officer", I find the remark (p. 308), "The Boer is more skilful with the rifle than with the pen . . . With one exception [*Three Years' War,* by General De Wet] no Boer account of the Boer War has yet appeared." This is entirely untrue and must be explained by the little knowledge of Dutch literature and language the average Englishman has. A great deal of information about the war from the Boer side is given in the following books, mostly written in Dutch:

(1) *De Strijd tusschen Boer en Brit: De Herinnering van den Boeren-Generaal Chr. R. de Wet* (Amsterdam-Pretoria, Hüneker and Wormser, 1902). The book has been translated into English under the title *Three Years' War.* As De Wet writes in his preface that he is not responsible for any translation, I cannot tell how closely the original and the translation are identical. Though it is a book indispensable to the military historian, De Wet in his busy life was not able to give to it all the needful time and attention. Often the reader wants a fuller and more detailed account of facts, circumstances, and motives; the book lacks completeness in every direction.

(2) Dr. J. D. Kestell, *Met de Boeren Commando's* (Amsterdam-Pretoria, Hüneker and Wormser). This book, which has not been translated into English, so far as I know, is one of the best. The writer is a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church in the Free State and a man of education and talent. He accompanied De Wet on his first *trek* to the Cape Colony; his heroic conduct as a field preacher was a great factor in keeping up the good spirit and courage of the Boers.

(3) Dr. J. D. Kestell and D. E. van Velden, *De Vredesonderhandelingen tusschen de Regeeringen der twee Zuid-Afrikaansche Republieken en de Vertegenwaardigers der Britsche Regeering* (Pretoria-Amsterdam, J. H. de Bussy). This contains valuable documents concerning the peace negotiations between the Boers and the British, and concerning the treaty of peace; a book indispensable for all who are interested in the history of the war, and entirely trustworthy.

There are a few more books by prominent Boer officers:

(4) C. C. J. Badenhorst, En Assistent Hoofdcommandant der Westelijke Afdeeling van den Oranje Vrijstaat, *Uit den Boeren-Oorlog, 1899–1902* (Amsterdam-Pretoria, Hüneker and Wormser, 1903). The author was the leading general of the western part of the Free State;

several facsimiles and documents are to be found in this book, which is quite trustworthy.

(5) B. J. Viljoen, Assistent Commandant Generaal, *Mijne Herinneringen uit den Anglo-Boeren Oorlog* (Amsterdam, W. Versluys). The author was a member of the Second Volksraad. When the war broke out he was soon made one of the Boer generals, was captured, and wrote his book while a prisoner of war at St. Helena (see also no. 13).

For the first part of the war:

(6) N. Hofmeyr, *Zes Maanden bij de Commando's* (The Hague, W. P. van Stockum en Zoon, 1903). The author was appointed official historian by the "Uitvoerende Raad Z.A.R." (Executive Council of the South African Republic). It covers only the first six months of the war.

Two books of "burgers" (citizens not officers on commando):

(7) D. S. van Warmelo, *Mijn Commando en Guerilla Commando Leven* (Amsterdam, W. Versluys, 1901). A narrative of his personal experiences in the war. The author is an educated and trustworthy man, son of a prominent minister of the Dutch Reformed Church. His book is worth reading.

(8) O. T. de Villiers (Kaapsch Rebel), *Met de Wet en Steyn in het Veld* (Amsterdam, Maatschappij Elsevier, 1903). The author, a Cape Colonial, joined the Boer forces very early in the war; afterwards he tried to promote an uprising in the Cape Colony, in which he failed, and only escaped capture by hiding in the mountains till the invading Boer commandos brought relief. His narrative is full of adventures, and is reliable.

(9) J. F. Naudé, *Vechten en Vluchten van Beyers en Kemp "bôkant" de Wet* (Rotterdam, Nijgh and van Ditmar). This book contains accounts of many fights and of the doings of the commandos operating in the west of the Transvaal, "bôkant" (*i. e.*, to the northward) of the field of operations of General de Wet. The author was one of the respresentatives at the peace negotiations at Vereeniging.

(10) (Dr. jur.) H. ver Loren van Themaat, *Twee Jaren in den Boerenoorlog* (Haarlem, H. D. Tjeenk Willink en Zoon, 1903). The author, a Hollander, entered the Transvaal in December, 1899, and left the region of the war in January, 1902, by crossing the Orange River to German Southwest Africa. The book was written from careful notes made during the whole war, but the account is confined to personal experiences. The writer accompanied De Wet in many of his famous *treks*, in "Theron's Verkenningscorps" (Theron's scouts).

(11) *Een Hollandsch Officier in Zuid Afrika: Nagelaten Papieren van Lieutenant Gerrit Boldingh* (Rotterdam, B. van de Watering, 1903). The author, a lieutenant of artillery in the Dutch army, was killed while invading the Cape Colony with Commandant Kritzinger. He was an intelligent, courageous, and faithful officer, and played a patriotic part when General Prinsloo surrendered in the "Witte Bergen" with 4000

Free Staters. The letters which he sent home, and his notes, are published in this book.

(12) Mevrouw (*i. e.*, Mrs.) de la Rey, *Mijne Omzwervingen en Beproevingen gedurende den Oorlog* (Amsterdam-Pretoria, Hüneker and Wormser). In this little book the wife of General de la Rey tells how she wandered with her children in an ox-wagon over the *veld*, always in danger of being captured by the English troops. The book is most attractive by its simplicity and firm patriotic spirit.

(13) Johanna Brandt-van Warmelo, *Het Concentratie Kamp van Irene* (Amsterdam, Jacques Dusseau and Company, 1905). A prominent Boer woman, the daughter of a famous Transvaal clergyman and wife of a minister of the Dutch Reformed Church, tells in this little book, in a simple way, of the sufferings of the Boer women and children in the concentration-camp of Irene, where she was nursing the sick.

(14) *Steyn, de Wet, und der Orange Freistaat: Tagebuchblätter aus dem südafrikanischen Kriege* (Tübingen, Verlag der Laupp'schen Buchhandlung, 1902). The author is unknown; probably a German officer. He criticizes in an able way, and his account of the few months during which he "trekked" with De Wet is very illuminating.

(15) Adalbert Graf Sternberg, *Meine Erlebnisse und Erfahrungen im Boerenkriege* (Berlin, Georg Reimer, 1901). The author, a member of Parliament in Austria, went to the war to escape the tedium of peaceful surroundings, and looked upon warfare as a sort of sport. His behavior in the war is not very glorious. His book, though containing some interesting details, bears the marks of his lack of earnestness. He surrendered before Kronje was captured.

(16) Dr. W. van Everdingen, *De Oorlog in Zuid Afrika* (Delft, J. Waltman, jr., 1905). A history of the war in two volumes, made up out of Dutch and English documents.

(17) Andries de Wet and H. van Doornik, *Der Kampf in der Kapkolonie* (Munich, S. F. Lehmann). Parts of this book were written by Andries de Wet, a Cape Colonial, other parts by B. C. du Plessis, an Africander from the Republics, others by H. van Doornik, a Hollander. The book bears the signs of having been prepared for a publisher, and lacks simplicity and sobriety, though containing much that is instructive for a right understanding of the Boer fighting in the Cape Colony.

H. ver Loren van Themaat, Baflo, Holland.

NOTES AND NEWS

GENERAL

Henry Charles Lea, the dean of American medievalists, died in Philadelphia on October 24, aged eighty-four years. Born in Philadelphia in 1825, he was educated privately, never attending school or college. The grandson of Matthew Carey and the son of another eminent publisher, he was from 1843 to 1880 actively engaged in the business of publishing. During the Civil War he took a prominent part in the work of the Union League, and he was one of the founders of the Municipal Reform Association of Philadelphia, and for some years chairman of its executive committee. But though he was not neglectful of the duties of a good citizen, his life, outside his business, was passed in studious retirement, devoted to the careful composition of a long series of historical works, which not only gave him the highest position among American medievalists, but won him a greater repute among European scholars than has been obtained by any other American historian of our time. It was perhaps because he had at the beginning been a votary of physical science and came from a family eminent in political economy, that when he entered the field of history he chose, not one of the subjects of narrative conventional among American historians in those days, but themes of the most substantial importance in the history of social institutions and of civilization. His first book, *Superstition and Force, Essays on the Wager of Law, the Wager of Battle, the Ordeal and Torture,* appeared in 1866. He was soon led to the study of the institutions of the medieval Church, and all his later books may be classed as attempts to complete our knowledge of the relations of those institutions to the development of civilization and of modern thought. His *Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy* appeared in 1867, his *Studies in Church History* in 1869, his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages,* in three volumes, in 1888, *Chapters from the Religious History of Spain* in 1890, *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences,* in three volumes, in 1896, *The Moriscoes of Spain* in 1901, *A History of the Inquisition of Spain,* in four volumes, in 1906–1907, and *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies* in 1908. Several of these books have been translated into other languages, and all have been the theme of much discussion and usually of high praise in European historical journals. They are marked by extraordinary learning, by patience and industry and skill in the finding and criticism of original materials, by clearness and sobriety of style, solidity of judgment, breadth of view, and endeavor after impartiality. Much as the books have been used for purposes of controversy, most of the best students,

Catholic or Protestant, have recognized in the author the possession of the qualities named. As to the actual attainment of an impartial view, the opinions of those most competent to judge have varied more widely. To the Catholic, it could not well seem that the picture of medieval Christianity drawn in the first chapter of the *History of the Inquisition,* for instance, was a fair one, or that one who approached the Church primarily as a dispassionate student of its jurisprudence could so well depict its essential nature and influence as one who looked upon it with more sympathy, and with chief regard to its spiritual life. Whatever conclusions a serener age may reach in this particular, there can be no question of the bright illumination which Mr. Lea's researches have cast into many obscure yet important pathways of medieval history, nor of the lustre which his high qualities and great achievements have lent to American historical scholarship. To this journal he was from the first a constant friend, and a valued contributor. In 1902–1903 he was president of the American Historical Association. Personally he was a modest and retiring man, the generous friend of historical scholars. He imparted to them with freedom the privileges of the remarkable library which his wealth and learning had enabled him to collect, and at his death he bequeathed it to the University of Pennsylvania.

We have with sorrow to record the death of another eminent medievalist, Charles Gross, who died in the prime of life on December 3. Born in 1857 of Jewish parents in Troy, New York, he was graduated at Williams College in 1878, and won his doctoral degree at Göttingen in 1883, with a remarkable thesis on the *Gilda Mercatoria,* expanded in 1890 into his standard treatise on *The Gild Merchant.* Meantime he had published in 1887 a lesser book on *The Exchequer of the Jews of England in the Middle Ages.* In 1888 he became an instructor in Harvard University; he proved a most learned, judicious, and devoted teacher. He was promoted to a professorship in 1901. Greatly as he stimulated his students to production, and numerous as were the works in medieval English and municipal history that thus flowed indirectly from his mind, his own productivity, so far as continuous historical writing was concerned, was for a series of years greatly limited by the unusually devoted care which he bestowed upon an invalid wife, now deceased. Nevertheless, after publishing in 1897 a large *Bibliography of English Municipal History,* he carried through the Herculean task of preparing, single-handed and upon a much more laborious plan than those of Monod and Dahlmann-Waitz, his *Sources and Literature of English History to 1485,* published in 1900. Of this standard book he expected to bring out a revised edition in 1910. It is certainly the best of national historical bibliographies. Professor Gross also did extensive and valuable work for the Selden Society, and for the American Jewish Historical Society, of which he was a vice-president, while to this journal his services have been frequent and of high importance. His historical work and teaching were marked by solid learning, exemplary thoroughness of research,

sound judgment, and clear insight into the course of institutional development; his personal character by unselfishness, shy geniality, and extreme kindness.

Colonel Theodore A. Dodge, U. S. A. retired, died in Versailles on October 26 at the age of 67. A graduate of the University of London and educated in military matters in Berlin, he entered the Union army as a private in 1861 and served throughout the war with distinction, losing his right leg at Gettysburg, and was commissioned in 1866 in the regular army, in which he served until 1870. An authority on horsemanship and a distinguished military historian, he wrote a small general book on our Civil War and another on the campaign of Chancellorsville, but was chiefly known by a *History of the Art of War*, in biographical form, in which, in twelve volumes, he dealt with the military careers of the great leaders in that art—Alexander, Hannibal, Caesar, Gustavus Adolphus, and Napoleon. In recent years he lived chiefly in Paris. His contributions to this journal were frequent and valued.

Dr. Joseph Parker Warren, instructor in the University of Chicago, died on December 4, at the age of thirty-five. A singularly clear-headed, practical, and devoted teacher, an energetic worker in university administration, a skilful reviewer of books, a warm and active friend, he found little time for research. If however his book on Shays's Rebellion is sufficiently near completion to be printed, it will be seen that he had the qualities of an excellent historical writer, who had taken pains to go beyond surface indications, had broken new ground, and could depict with insight the sources and operations of social discontent.

It is announced that Professor Frederick J. Turner of the University of Wisconsin will occupy a professorship of history at Harvard University after the present academic year.

Professor Herbert L. Osgood is spending the present academic year in London, occupied with researches in the history of the American colonies.

Dr. Henry A. Sill was last June promoted to the full rank of professor of ancient history in Cornell University.

Dr. Clarence W. Alvord has been promoted to the position of associate professor in the University of Illinois.

The annual meetings of the American Historical Association and the American Economic Association, including the celebration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the former and the twenty-fourth of the latter, have taken place at New York City on December 27–31. The usual account of the meeting of the former society may be expected to appear in our April number. In addition to the matters of programme described in our last issue, attention may well be called to the conference of archivists, in which lessons to be learned from European practice in the administration of archives were to be discussed in a manner certain to profit the development of archive-work in the United

States; and to the sessions held in the new building of the New York Historical Society, in which the work of historical societies in Europe was described by five eminent European scholars, Professor George W. Prothero of London, Professor Eduard Meyer of Berlin, Professor Rafael Altamira of Oviedo, Dr. H. T. Colenbrander of the Hague, and Professor Camille Enlart of Paris, each speaking upon the work of the historical societies of his own country. For the afternoon of Friday, December 31, after the conclusion of the sessions, an interesting excursion by special train to West Point was arranged. The Historical Manuscripts Commission was to present to the Association for inclusion in its next Annual Report a body of some two hundred letters addressed to Alexander H. Stephens in the decade preceding the Civil War. The Public Archives Commission expected to present a preliminary report on the archives of California, by President Duniway and Professor Bowman, a report on the archives of Illinois, by Professor Alvord, and one on the archives of New Mexico, by Professor J. H. Vaughan.

The sixth annual meeting of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association took place at Stanford University on November 19 and 20. The address of the president, Mr. G. H. Himes of Portland, Oregon, was on the Historical Unity of the American States West of the Rocky Mountains. In the "teachers' session" there was a discussion of Ancient History in the First Year of the High School. In the more general sessions four papers of general history and five papers of Pacific Coast history were read. The former were: one by Dr. S. L. Ware, on the Elizabethan Parish; one by Professor E. I. McCormac, on Colonial Opposition to Imperial Authority during the French and Indian War; one by Professor Edward B. Krehbiel, on the Mennonite Immigration of 1874; and one by Mr. R. F. Scholz, on Roman Imperialism. Those on the history of the Pacific Coast were by Dr. P. J. Treat, on Governor Arthur Phillip of New South Wales; by Mr. D. E. Smith, on the Intendant System in New Spain; by Professor Herbert E. Bolton, on the Discovery of the Lost History of Father Kino; by Professor Edmond S. Meany, on the thesis that the towns of the Pacific Northwest were not founded on the fur-trade, and Mr. Frederick J. Teggart, on the Early Missouri Fur-Trade.

Fuller information respecting the International Congress of Archivists and Librarians, which is to be held at Brussels in August, 1910, shows that the proceedings will take place in four sections: one devoted to archives, one to libraries, one to the collections of seals, coins, etc., commonly annexed to archive or library establishments, and one to popular libraries. The various questions proposed for examination in each section are eminently practical ones, having to do, in the case of the archive section, with matters of building, *matériel*, classification, publication, and personnel. The subscription to the Congress is ten francs.

The secretaries of the central committee of organization are MM. J. Cuvelier of the General Archives of Belgium and L. Stainier of the Royal Library.

The thirtieth annual publication of the *Jahresberichte der Geschichtswissenschaft,* edited by Dr. Georg Schuster, consists of two volumes (Berlin, Weidmann, 1909, pp. 410, 574; 468, 322). The part relating to Germany and the German states is especially full, the only large exception being that the chapters for general German history of the period from 1273 to 1740 are postponed. Of the other countries of Europe, those represented in this issue are Italy (except the southern portion), Belgium, medieval France, Scandinavia, Hungary, and the south Slavonic regions. Oriental history and church history are also well covered, and there are chapters on Canada and on general history.

The bibliography of history for schools, published last year in the *Atlantic Educational Quarterly* and already noticed in this REVIEW, will before long be issued by Messrs. Longmans, Green, and Company in enlarged and revised form. No work of exactly this character has been prepared before and the committee in charge hope to meet a need that is known to exist among teachers, especially in secondary schools. The lists, which cover all aspects of history and history teaching, have been selected very carefully and have been annotated justly and impartially.

The Oxford University Press has published an excellent work on *Historical Evidence,* by the Rev. H. B. George (1909, pp. 223).

Mr. Philip Lee Phillips, chief of the division of maps and charts in the Library of Congress, has compiled a remarkable annotated *List of Geographical Atlases in the Library of Congress* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1909, pp. xiii, 1659). In the first volume, of over 1200 pages, the atlases are described and analyzed with unusual wealth of bibliographical detail. Atlases of special subjects, colonial, commercial, ecclesiastical, historical, etc., are included. Maps relating to America, plans of cities throughout the world, and material of specific interest not usually found in atlases, are brought to the special attention of the student. In the second volume an author-list of abridged titles, with dates of birth and death, precedes the index, which contains over 40,000 references. Under "Publishers" is "an alphabetical list of all the atlas publishers referred to in the body of the work". In the case of the atlases of Ptolemy, Ortelius, Mercator, and some others, not only the editions in the Library of Congress but all other known editions are noted. Of much value to the historian are the full analyses of such collections of reproductions of old maps as the works of Santarem, Jomard, Fischer, and others, and of the atlases accompanying boundary disputes.

Dr. Salomon Reinach's *Orpheus: a General History of Religions,* has been published by Heinemann (London, 1909, pp. 454), in a translation by Florence Simmonds.

Professor Augustin Alvárez, the vice-president of the Argentine National University of La Plata, has just published through Juan Roldan, Calle Florida 418, Buenos Aires, his *Historia de las Instituciones Libres* in an attractively printed octavo of some three hundred pages. Dr. Alvárez follows the course of the development of freedom from Plato and Tacitus through Magna Charta and the writ of Habeas Corpus to the development of political and religious liberty in America.

The first fascicle of the *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques,* published under the direction of Mgr. A. Baudrillart, A. Vogt, and U. Rouziès (Paris, Letouzey and Ané, 1909, 320 columns), contains articles under the headings Aachs-Achot. The projected publication of this valuable work of reference has already been noticed in these pages (XIII. 203).

Die Münze in der Kulturgeschichte (Berlin, Weidmann) by Ferdinand Friedensburg "shows the importance of coins as expressions of culture and civilization, business and commerce, religion and thought".

Die Anwendung der Photographie für die Archivalische Praxis is the subject of a monograph by Otto Mente and Adam Warschauer (Leipzig, Hirzel).

In a small volume of *Essays, Literary, Critical and Historical,* by Dr. Thomas O'Hagan (Toronto, William Briggs, pp. 112), the historical matter consists of an essay on "The Italian Renaissance and the Popes of Avignon" and of a paper entitled "Poetry and History Teaching Falsehood", both mainly intended to secure a more just view of the Catholic Church.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: William MacDonald, *Suggestions for an Historical Laboratory* (The Nation, October 7); G. Wolf, *Archivliteratur* (Deutsche Geschichtsblätter, August, September); F. Ohmann, *Postgeschichte* (*ibid.,* July); G. Monod and A. Loisy, *L'Orpheus de M. S. Reinach* (Revue Historique, November-December); M. G. Schybergson, *Heinrich Gabriel Porthan, ein Vertreter der Vergleichenden Geschichtsforschung im 18. Jahrhundert* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, September).

ANCIENT HISTORY

The *Athenaeum* of October 30 (p. 533) publishes part of a letter from Dr. Percy Gardner and Dr. G. A. Macmillan, representing the Council of the Hellenic Society. They propose the formation of a Society for the Promotion of Latin or Roman Studies, with which the Hellenic Society would wish constantly to collaborate. The scope of the new society would be "ancient Roman civilization in all lands of the Roman Empire, together with its survivals in Italy and Western Europe down to the end of the Middle Ages". An annual subscription fee of one guinea is suggested, in return for which members would receive a Journal of Roman or Latin Studies, and facilities for borrowing books and lantern-slides. Persons in sympathy with the project are

asked to communicate with Mr. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre, the Secretary of the Hellenic Society, at 22 Albemarle Street, London, W.

M. F. Thureau-Dangin is issuing through the house of Geuthner, Paris, a volume of *Lettres et Contrats de l'Époque de la Première Dynastie Babylonienne,* containing about 250 unpublished texts from the Louvre, reproduced in facsimile with an index of proper names. Besides the Babylonian documents, there are some Cappadocian texts and two from Khana.

A work which will be of much value not only to the beginner but to the expert Egyptologist is G. Moeller's *Hieratische Paläographie, die Aegyptische Buchschrift in ihrer Entwicklung von der Vten Dynastie bis zur Römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1909, pp. viii, 20, 76, nine plates). The first volume extends to the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty.

An important though brief paper by G. Steindorff, *Die Aegyptischen Gaue und ihre Politische Entwicklung,* read at the Historical Congress in Berlin in 1908 and published in a somewhat extended form in the *Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Klasse der K. Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften,* no. XXV., is issued separately through Teubner (Leipzig, 1909, pp. 38).

By means of a complete critical examination of all Egyptian objects found in Cretan tombs and of all Cretan objects found in Egyptian tombs, Diedrich Fimmen has endeavored to determine the *Zeit und Dauer der Kretisch-Mykenischen Kultur* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1909, pp. vi, 164).

Études sur l'Ancienne Alexandrie, by Alexandre-Max de Zogheb (Paris, Leroux), contains several studies in chronology relating to the Lagidae, the Roman prefects of Egypt, the Mussulman dynasties, and the patriarchs of Alexandria; studies on the tombs of Alexander the Great, of the Ptolemies, and of Cleopatra, and on ancient Alexandria, its church, and councils.

Mr. L. R. Farnell's *The Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford University Press) is completed by the issue of a fifth volume (1909, pp. 495), which includes an index to the whole work.

In the *Revue Historique* of November–December, M. J. Toutain reviews French books published in 1907 and 1908, relating to Roman antiquities.

Das Alte Rom: Sein Werden, Blühen und Vergehen, by Professor E. Diehl, of Jena (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1909, pp. 126), is issued in the collection, *Wissenschaft und Bildung,* an excellent series of small books in which scholars of reputation present in summary but readable form the results of the latest researches.

Mr. G. F. Hill, author of *Historical Greek Coins,* has brought out a book on *Historical Roman Coins* (London, Constable), which extends from the earliest times to the reign of Augustus.

From the Cambridge University Press comes a three-volume history of *The Roman Republic,* by W. E. Heitland, fellow of St. John's College. Literary, military, and economic history are touched upon as bearing upon public life, but the main object has been a political study.

Mr. A. L. Hodges of the Wadleigh High School, New York, has contributed to Macmillan's Latin Series a school edition of *Caesar: The Gallic War,* which is equipped with an attractive apparatus of introductory matter, notes, illustrations, and maps, and aims "to furnish material which may lead the student to appreciate the narrative as a piece of historical literature". Also from the Macmillan Company comes a translation of Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic War* by the distinguished scholar, Dr. T. Rice Holmes. The foot-notes to the text summarize the editor's researches.

Alfred von Domaszewski, professor in the University of Heidelberg, has published a *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiser* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1909, pp. viii, 324; iv, 328), in two handsome volumes. Through the meditations of long years, the emperors have become to the author as living realities, and he has tried to make them such to his readers. There are no foot-notes or other references to authorities.

The remarkable discoveries made in 1908 and 1909 in connection with the excavation of the sanctuary of the Oriental gods on the Janiculum have been the subject of several memoirs, and are popularly described in an article by R. Lanciani in the *Athenaeum* of March 13. In an interesting and fully illustrated monograph, *Le Sanctuaire des Dieux Orientaux au Janicule* (Rome, Cuggiani, 1909, pp. 90), the excavators, MM. G. Nicole and G. Darier, give a detailed account of the the progress of the excavations and offer some new interpretations of the finds.

In a brochure entitled *Later Roman Education in Ausonius, Capella, and the Theodosian Code,* published by Teachers College, Columbia University, as no. 27 in the series of *Contributions to Education* (1909, pp. 39), Dr. P. R. Cole has made accessible in English for the first time some of the more typical and important passages in the sources mentioned, relating to education, and has added brief explanatory and biographical notices.

Otto Seeck has issued the third volume of his valuable *Geschichte des Untergangs der Antiken Welt* (Berlin, Siemenroth, 1909, pp. vii, 444, appendix, 447–583).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. Costanzi, *Osservazioni sull' Etnografia della Sicilia nell'Antichità* (Rivista di Storia Antica, N. S., XII. 4); P. Guiraud, *L'Ager Publicus à Rome* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); F. Reuss, *Der Erste Punische Krieg* (Philologus, LXVIII. 3); T. Montanari, *Appunti Annibalici* (Rivista di Storia Antica, N. S., XII. 4); F. F. Abbott, *Women and Public Affairs under the Roman Republic* (Scribner, September); C. Tropea, *Pompeo e*

Posidonio a Rodi (Rivista di Storia Antica, N. S., XII. 4); H. H. Howorth, *The Germans of Caesar* (English Historical Review, October); G. Costa, *Questioni Pliniane* (Rivista di Storia Antica, N. S., XII. 4); M. Trevissoi, *Diogene Laerzio* (*ibid.*, XII. 4).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

The tenth volume in the series of *Textes et Documents pour l'Étude Historique du Christianisme*, published under the direction of H. Hemmer and P. Lejay (Paris, Picard), is *Les Pères Apostoliques:* II. *Clément de Rome, Épître aux Corinthiens, Homélie du II^e Siècle* (1909, pp. lxxiv, 201). The Greek text and French translation are edited by H. Hemmer, who also contributes the introduction.

Professor Gwatkin, of the University of Cambridge, has published two volumes on *Early Church History to A. D. 313* (Macmillan, 1909, pp. 322, 382).

A history of *Saint Sidoine Apollinaire* (*431–489*), by Paul Allard (Paris, Lecoffre), has been brought out in the series *Les Saints*, published under the direction of M. Joly, of the Institute.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. J. Schaefer, *The Acts of the Martyrs* (The Catholic University Bulletin, October); P. D. Scott-Moncrieff, *Gnosticism and Early Christianity in Egypt* (Church Quarterly Review, October); E. Schwartz, *Die Konzilien des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 1).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The second volume of R. W. and A. J. Carlyle's *A History of Mediaeval Political Theory in the West* (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1909, pp. 294) deals with the political theory of the Roman lawyers and the canonists from the tenth to the thirteenth century.

Of prime importance for the history of cartography and nautics in the Middle Ages is Konrad Kretschmer's *Die Italienischen Portolane des Mittelalters* (Berlin, Mittler, 1909, pp. 688), which forms the thirteenth fascicle in the publications of the Institut für Meereskunde and the Geographisches Institut of the University of Berlin. This large volume includes an introductory account (pp. 232) of the seafaring peoples of south Europe up to the close of the Middle Ages; of the medieval sea-charts; and of the Italian portolans. The text of seven portolans (pp. 235–552) is followed by a "commentary", which serves as an index to the text and follows a geographical arrangement.

In the series of *Heidelberger Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte* (Heidelberg, E. Winter), edited by Karl Hampe and Hermann Oncken, F. Graefe has brought out a work on *Die Publizistik in der letzten Epoche Kaiser Friedrichs II.* (1909, pp. vii, 275), a contribution to the history of the years 1239–1250.

Dr. Ernst Hennig has contributed to the financial history of the later Middle Ages a monograph on *Die Päpstlichen Zehnten aus Deutschland im Zeitalter des Avignonesischen Papsttums und während des Grossen Schismas* (Halle, Niemeyer, 1909, pp. xii, 91).

M. Noël Valois of the Institute whose *Histoire de la Pragmatique Sanction de Bourges sous Charles VII.* has been reviewed in this journal (XII. 619–621) has brought out a two-volume work, *La Crise Religieuse du XV^e Siècle: Le Pape et le Concile,* covering the period from 1418 through 1450.

Documentary publications: A. Fayen, *Lettres de Jean XXII. (1316–1334)*, II. [Analecta Vaticano-Belgica, III. 1, published by the Belgian Historical Institute of Rome] (Paris, Champion, pp. 448); E. Déprez, *Innocent VI. (1352–1362)* [Letters close, patent, and curial relating to France, published or analyzed from the registers of the Vatican] [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, third series, fascicle 1] (Paris, Fontemoing).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: C. R. Beazley, *Marco Polo and the European Expansion of the Middle Ages* (Atlantic Monthly, October); E. von Moeller, *Der Heilige Ivo als Schutzpatron der Juristen und die Ivo-Brüderschaften* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, September).

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

M. René Basset has brought out in the publications of the École des Lettres d'Alger the Arabic text, with French translation and notes, of a *Histoire de la Conquête de l'Abyssinie (XVI^e Siècle)*, by Chihab Eddin Ahmed Ben Abd el Qâder, surnamed Arab-Faqih (Paris, Leroux, 1909, pp. xiv, 72).

The fifth volume of Ludwig von Pastor's *Geschichte der Päpste* (Freiburg im Breisgau, Herder, 1909, pp. xliv, 891) deals with the reign of Paul III. (1534–1549).

Mr. Thomas Willing Balch has brought out a new edition of *Le Nouveau Cynée* (Philadelphia, Allen, 1909, pp. xxxi, 363), a book in which the author, Émeric Crucé, proposed the establishment of an assembly of ambassadors of all nations to maintain international peace, and discussed religion, Gresham's law, the need of a uniform world-system of weights and measures, international commerce, and other matters. The French text is reprinted from the original edition of 1623, and an English translation and an introduction are supplied by the editor.

The sixth volume of the *Cambridge Modern History* treats of *The Eighteenth Century* (Macmillan).

Recent publications in Alcan's excellent Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine are *Histoire Politique et Sociale, 1815–1909: Évolution du Monde Moderne,* by E. Driault and G. Monod; *Napoléon et l'Europe:*

La Politique Extérieure du Premier Consul, 1800–1803, by E. Driault; and *L'Europe et la Politique Britannique,* 1882–1909, by E. Lemonon, with a preface by P. Deschanel of the French Academy.

Recent Christian Progress is a series of articles upon Christian thought and work during the last three-quarters of a century by professors and alumni of Hartford Theological Seminary, in celebration of its seventy-fifth anniversary (May 24–26, 1909). The work is edited by Lewis B. Paton and is published by the Macmillan Company.

The first nineteen volumes of the *History of All Nations,* published by Messrs. Lea Brothers, and of which the earlier volumes were reviewed in volume XI. of this journal, were based on a translation of Flathe's *Allgemeine Weltgeschichte.* For the twentieth volume, however, dealing with the period from 1871 to 1901, a separate narrative was written by Professor Charles M. Andrews. In a later edition this narrative has been brought down to 1905, by Professor W. E. Lingelbach. The volumes of the *History* can now be obtained separately.

Professor L. Oppenheim of the University of Cambridge has prepared a small volume entitled *International Incidents for Discussion in Conversation Classes* (pp. 129), which is published in Cambridge at the University Press and in New York by Messrs. Putnam. The author emphasizes the character of the book as a collection of incidents suitable for discussion rather than a collection of cases. As the incidents are unaccompanied by any explanatory matter, the book is comparable to a collection of original problems in mathematics.

The Hague Peace Conferences and other International Conferences concerning the Laws and Usages of War, by Dr. A. Pearce Higgins (Cambridge University Press, 1909, pp. 646), is chiefly devoted to the Hague conferences. The other conferences included range from the Declaration of Paris to the London Naval Conference of 1909. The text of each of the conventions is given, and to each the author has appended a commentary in which he gives an account of its origin and its relation to the general rules of law on the subject with which it deals.

Documentary publications: L. Graf Voinovich, *Depeschen des Francesco Gondola, Gesandten der Republik Ragusa bei Pius V. und Gregor XIII. (1570–1573)* (Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte, XCVIII. 1); Lieut.-Col. Sir R. Carnac Temple, *The Travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608–1667,* I. *Travels in Europe, 1608–1628* (Hakluyt Society); G. Bourgin, *La France et Rome de 1788 à 1797* [Calendar of the despatches of the Cardinal Secretary of State, from the Vatican archives] [Bibliothèque des Écoles Françaises d'Athènes et de Rome, series I., fascicle 102] (Paris, Fontemoing).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Celier, *L'Idée de Réforme à la Cour Pontificale, du Concile de Bâle au Concile de Latran* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); P. Masson, *Un Type de Règle-*

mentation Commerciale au XVIII^e Siècle: Le Commerce Français du Levant (Vierteljahrscrift für Social und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, VII. 2); L. Raschdau, *Die Botschafterkonferenz in Konstantinopel und der Russische-türkische Krieg (1877–1878)* (Deutsche Rundschau, November); K. Stählin, *Der Diplomatische Kampf in der jüngsten Balkankrisis* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 1).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

In the *Revue Historique* of September–October, M. Ch. Bémont concludes his review of recent books on English history (colonial history, institutions, economic history, law).

The Dictionary of English History, the well-known work of reference by Sidney J. Low and F. S. Pulling, is being brought out in a new and revised edition, with illustrations. The first part has been published.

Professor Vinogradoff is to publish through the Clarendon Press, a series of *Studies in Social and Legal History,* in which will be collected monographs by his pupils or by researchers who have consulted him. As a rule, a volume of some 300–400 pages will be issued yearly, comprising one or two monographs on the social or legal history of England or of other countries. The first volume contains an essay on English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution, by Professor Alexander Savine, and a study of Patronage in the Later Empire, by F. de Zulueta, fellow and lecturer of New College, Oxford.

Mr. Hubert Hall's *Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents* (Cambridge University Press), the first part of which was recently reviewed in this journal (XIV. 560), is concluded in a second part dealing with ministerial and judicial records.

A photographic reproduction of *Queen Matilda's Tapestry (Bayeux): The Conquest of England,* and a translation of the text embroidered in the tapestry, with historical notes, has been published by Low, Marston (London, 1909. In case).

Students of early English history will be interested in a volume of *Domesday Tables* (The St. Catherine Press, 1909, pp. 239), being the statistics of Surrey, Berks, Middlesex, Herts, Bucks, and Bedford, arranged in tabular form, by the Hon. Francis H. Baring, who in brief introductions to the tables for each county summarizes the leading features of the Survey.

The *Policraticus* or "the statesman's book", of John of Salisbury, has been edited with great care and learning by Mr. C. C. I. Webb, and published by the Clarendon Press.

Miss R. M. Clay has contributed to the series, the *Antiquary's Books,* an account of *The Medieval Hospitals of England* (London, Methuen, 1909, pp. xxii, 357).

At the suggestion of and with much help from Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Webb, Miss F. M. Davies, a former student at the London School of Economics, has written a detailed economic and historical study of the parish of Corsley in Wiltshire, under the title, *Life in an English Village* (London, Unwin, pp. xiii, 319).

In *The Buried City of Kenfig,* by Thomas Gray (New York, Appleton, 1909, pp. 348), the author prints in translation or otherwise a number of medieval charters, town ordinances, and other documents.

In preparing a new edition of his *England in the Age of Wycliffe* (Longmans, 1909, pp. xvi, 380), the author, Mr. G. M. Trevelyan, states that he has not done "more than remove one or two positive errors of fact".

Prose and Poetry, Sir Thomas North to Michael Drayton, the fourth volume of *The Cambridge History of English Literature* (Cambridge University Press), contains much matter of interest to the historian. It includes chapters on Sir Walter Raleigh, by Mrs. Creighton; The Literature of the Sea, from the Origins to Hakluyt, and Seafaring and Travel, The Growth of Professional Text Books and Geographical Literature, by Commander Charles N. Robinson, R. N. and John Leyland; The English Pulpit from Fisher to Donne, by Rev. F. E. Hutchinson; Early Writings on Politics and Economics, by Ven. Archdeacon Cunningham; and The Foundation of Libraries, by J. Bass Mullinger.

The Cambridge University Press is bringing out *The Journal of George Fox,* reprinted verbatim for the first time from the original manuscript.

The ninth part of the British Museum publication, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland,* includes plates LXXXI.–XC., with brief descriptive letterpress dealing with the period of William and Mary from July, 1690, to May, 1692.

In writing his two-volume history, *The First George in Hanover and England* (Scribner, pp. xii, 257; vi, 252), Mr. Lewis Melville has had access to fresh sources of information. A great part of the work is devoted to a detailed account of George's life in Hanover. The author says "It is with George Lewis the man rather than George I. the King, that this work is mainly concerned."

Under the title *George I. and the Northern War; a Study of British-Hanoverian Policy in the North of Europe in the Years 1709 to 1721* (London, Smith, Elder, 1909, pp. 534), Mr. James F. Chance brings together several articles contributed by him to the *English Historical Review,* and since recast, and some additional chapters on the events of the years 1720 and 1721.

A number of diaries and other manuscripts of John Wesley, the existence of which had been known but vaguely, have been discovered

and brought together in England. The diaries are written in a curious kind of shorthand, to which no key was possessed, and have been deciphered and translated only after some years of persistent effort on the part of the Rev. Nehemiah Curnock, aided by experts. It is said that these documents throw so much additional light upon Wesley's character and activities that his life will need to be rewritten. Meanwhile a six-volume edition of *The Journal of John Wesley* is to be issued by the Methodist Publishing House, London.

The Clarendon Press has accepted for publication a volume by Mr. Thad W. Riker, instructor in modern European history at Cornell University, entitled, *Henry Fox, First Lord Holland: a Study of the Career of an Eighteenth-Century Politician.*

The Last Journals of Horace Walpole, during the Reign of George III. from 1771 to 1783, two volumes, with notes by Dr. Doran, edited with an introduction by A. Francis Stuart, have been published by Mr. John Lane, London.

The fifth and sixth volumes of Mr. J. W. Fortescue's *History of the British Army* are being published by Macmillan.

A Catalogue of the Publications of Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies, by Professor C. S. Terry (Glasgow, Maclehose, 1909, pp. xii, 253), includes the Scottish publications of His Majesty's Stationery Office, a subject-index to the materials revealed by the catalogue as bearing especially on Scottish history, and explanatory notes on the contents of many volumes. The period covered extends from 1780 through 1908.

The Rev. Frederick Smith's book on *The Stone Ages in North Britain and Ireland* is published by Blackie and Sons.

A *History of Scottish Education,* by Dr. John Kerr, for many years senior inspector of schools for Scotland, is being published by the Cambridge University Press. The book contains a number of appendixes by experts.

Mr. John Strong, rector of the Montrose Academy, has published through the Oxford University Press *A History of Secondary Education in Scotland* (1909, pp. 288), which extends from early times to the Education Act of 1908.

Mr. James Coutts, formerly registrar of the University of Glasgow, and author of a small history of the University, has published the first volume of an extended work, *The University of Glasgow: its History from the Foundation of the University in 1451 to 1909* (Glasgow, Maclehose, pp. 628).

Miss Marion Phillips's University of London thesis, *A Colonial Autocracy: New South Wales under Governor Macquarie, 1810–1821* (London, P. S. King, 1909, pp. xx, 336), is a valuable study of the constitutional, political, administrative, social, and economic aspects of

the history of the colony during an important period in its early development. The last chapter describes the relation of the colony and the Imperial Parliament.

Sir Godfrey Lagden's two volumes on *The Basutos: the Mountaineers and their Country* (London, Hutchinson) is a narrative of events relating to the tribe from its formation early in the nineteenth century to the present day.

British government publications: *Calendar of Treasury Books,* IV., 1672–1675; *Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission,* Index to volumes I. and II. of the Report of Sir John Gilbert on the MSS. of the Marquis of Ormonde at Kilkenny Castle.

Other documentary publications: R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Letter-Books preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guild Hall, Letter-Book I, c. 1400–1422* (London, Francis, 1909, pp. 348); *Tudor and Stuart Proclamations, 1485–1714,* calendared and described by Robert Steele, under the direction of the Earl of Crawford: vol. I., England, vol. II., Scotland and Ireland (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909); *Memoirs of Scottish Catholics during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,* selected from hitherto inedited manuscripts by W. F. Leith, S. J. (Longmans, two volumes).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. M. Powicke, *King John and Arthur of Brittany* (English Historical Review, October); R. G. Marsden, *Early Prize Jurisdiction and Prize Law in England* (*ibid.*); Ellen A. McArthur, *Women Petitioners and the Long Parliament* (*ibid.*); G. B. Hertz, *The English Silk Industry in the Eighteenth Century* (*ibid.*).

FRANCE

The *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* has returned to bi-monthly issues. A general index for the first ten years, 1899–1909, will soon be published.

In the section entitled "Les Régions de la France" in the August number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique,* M. Henri Prentout contributes the first part of a monograph on Normandy, consisting of a geographical sketch of the region and an account of its historians. The same number of this journal contains a review of recent writings on folk-lore in France.

M. Eugène Duprat, who has published other writings preliminary to an elaborate history of Avignon in ancient times and in the early Middle Ages, has recently brought out a critical study of *Les Origines de l'Église d'Avignon: Des Origines à 879* (Paris, G. Ficker, 1909, pp. 148).

A new collection, *Bibliothèque d'Histoire de Paris,* to be published under the auspices of the city of Paris and to contain monographs on special points in the history of the city, has an excellent beginning in

a study in topographical history, *Paris sous les Premiers Capétiens, 987–1223*, by M. Louis Halphen, secretary of the École des Chartes. The volume is accompanied by an album of drawings and maps.

A translation by Winifred Stephens of M. Anatole France's *Life of Joan of Arc* has been published by John Lane in two volumes (1909, pp. 558, 476).

M. Henri Hauser's *Études sur la Réforme Française* treats of Humanism and the Reformation in France; a new text on Aimé Maigret; the Reformation and the popular classes in France in the sixteenth century; a critical study on the "Rebeine" of Lyon; the consulates and the Reformation; the Reformation in Auvergne; "Petits livres" of the sixteenth century; and an important source of the martyrology of Crespin. This book is being published by Picard, Paris, as the third volume in their Bibliothèque d'Histoire Religieuse. The recently published second volume of this series is the second volume of P. Pisani's *L'Église et la Révolution* (1909, pp. 424), which extends from 1792 to 1796.

Les Prétentions de Charles III., Duc de Lorraine, à la Couronne de France, by L. Davillé (Paris, Alcan, 1909, pp. xvi, 320), a University of Paris thesis of great merit, depicts the relations of the Duke of Lorraine with France during the period of the religious wars.

The eighth *tome* of M. E. Lavisse's *Histoire de France* (Paris, Hachette) is completed by the issue of the second part, a volume on *Le Règne de Louis XV.* (*1715–1774*), by M. H. Carré. Only the ninth *tome* of this great history remains to be issued. This will contain the reign of Louis XVI., in one volume, and an analytical index, in one volume.

M. Jean Lorédan has written from unpublished sources a work entitled *La Grande Misère et les Voleurs au XVIII^e Siècle: Marion du Faouët, Chef de Brigands, et ses Associés* (*1740–1770*) (Paris, Perrin, pp. xvi, 402).

The fourth fascicle of M. Pierre Caron's *Bibliographie des Travaux publiés de 1866 à 1897 sur l'Histoire de la France depuis 1789* (Paris, Cornély) contains the end of military history, religious history, and the larger part of economic and social history. The fifth fascicle, which is in press, contains the end of economic and social history, colonial history, local history, and the beginning of the indexes.

Prince Kropotkin's history of *The Great French Revolution, 1789–1793*, which emphasizes the part played by the uneducated classes, is published by Putnam's, London and New York (1909, pp. 622), in a translation by N. F. Dryhurst.

Among Macmillan's announcements is *Lectures on the French Revolution* by the late Lord Acton, edited with an introduction by J. N Figgis and R. V. Laurence.

M. P. Sagnac, co-editor of the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine,* has published a work on *La Révolution du 10 Août 1792: La Chute de la Royauté* (Paris, Hachette, 1909, pp. iv, 338).

Clery's *Memoirs of the Royal Family in the Temple Prison,* in a translation by E. Jules Méras, has been published in the *Court Series of French Memoirs* (New York, Sturgis and Walton, pp. 200).

M. Noël Beaurieux, attaché in the ministry of agriculture, has written an historical and statistical account of *Le Prix du Blé en France au XIX^e^ Siècle* (Paris, Larose).

Commandant H. M. Weil's history of *Joachim Murat, Roi de Naples: La Dernière Année de Règne* (Mai 1814–Mai 1815) contains important new conclusions based on discoveries made by the author in the imperial archives of Vienna. The fourth volume has recently appeared, and the fifth and last volume is in press.

Documentary publications: Comte de Beauchamp, *Comptes de Louis XVI.* [from the autograph manuscript of the king preserved in the Archives Nationales] (Paris, Leclerc, pp. 375); E. Daudet, *Nouvelles Lettres du C^te^ Valentin Esterhazy à sa Femme, 1792–1795* (Paris, Plon, 1909, pp. ii, 343); Prince Murat, *Lettres et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de Joachim Murat, 1767–1815,* III. *Gouvernement de Paris (1804–1805)* [introduction and notes by Paul le Brethon] (Paris, Plon, 1909, pp. 495); Duchesse de Dino, *Chronique de 1831 à 1862,* III., 1841–1850 [published with annotations and a biographical index by the Princess Radziwill, née Castellane; an English translation of the first volume has appeared in London] (Paris, Plon, 1909, pp. 530); Prince F. de Broglie, *Discours du Duc de Broglie: Discours Politiques, 1876–1891* (Paris, Lecoffre).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: É. Schuré, *Jeanne d'Arc et l'Inspiration dans l'Histoire,* I. (Revue Bleue, November 13); A. Renaudet, *Les Origines de la Réforme Française d'après un Ouvrage Récent* [Imbart de la Tour] (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, June–July); G. Monod, *La Place de la Société de Jésus dans l'Histoire de la Réforme* (Revue Bleue, October 9); L. Cahen, *La Question de l'État Civil à Paris au XVIII^e^ Siècle* (La Révolution Française, September); H. Froidevaux, *Les Préludes de l'Intervention Française à Madagascar au XVIII^e^ Siècle: Navigateurs, Geographes, et Commerçants Français de 1504 à 1640* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October); Louis Batiffol, *Louis XIII. et le Duc de Luynes,* I. (Revue Historique, November–December); M. Rouff, *Le Personnel des Premières Émeutes de 1789* (La Révolution Française, September); J. Carcopino, *L'Enseignement de l'Histoire dans les Écoles Centrales de la Révolution* (Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement, September); E. Tarlé, *La Classe Ouvrière et le Parti Contre-Révolutionnaire sous la Constituante* (La Révolution Française, October); C. Richard, *L'Application de la Constitution Civile du Clergé dans le Département du Nord (Juin 1791–Septem-*

bre 1792) (Revue d' Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, June–July); Ch. Benoist, *La Crise de l'État Moderne: La Corporation et l'Ancien Régime; Formation de la Classe Ouvrière* (Revue des Deux Mondes, November); M. Marion, *Les Partages de Présuccession* (Revue des Questions Historiques, October).

ITALY AND SPAIN

Signor Guido Biagi has brought together under the title *Men and Manners of Old Florence* (London, Fisher Unwin, 1909, pp. 322) five sketches of the Florentines from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century.

Mr. W. H. Woodward, lately of the University of Liverpool, is writing a life of Caesar Borgia based on documents in the Vatican archives, and in less known archives and libraries of the Romagna, and on published material.

The first volume of the *Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Italia,* by Father Pietro Tacchi Venturi (Rome, Milan, Albrighi, Segati, 1910, pp. xi, 720), which is based on manuscript and printed material in many libraries and archives in addition to the archives of the Society of Jesus, gives a comprehensive picture of the religious life of Italy in the sixteenth century. Many texts are printed in an appendix.

The first part of M. G. Bourgin's review of recent books on the contemporary history of Italy is published in the *Revue Historique* of November–December.

Among the anniversaries of last year, that of the Italian war of 1859 has stimulated an interest in historical events. Accounts of the diplomacy which led to the French alliance, and of the campaign, are given in *Il 1859, da Plombières a Villafranca* (Milan, Treves), by Signor Alfredo Panzini. It is announced that the Italian War Department is to publish in full the official report of the war, and that an aide-de-camp's diary, hitherto printed anonymously and incompletely, by Chiala, is to be issued in an uncensored form. A work of the highest interest, referring to the events of the following year, is *Garibaldi and the Thousand* (Longmans) by G. M. Trevelyan.

The ninth fascicle in the Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi is G. Cirot's *Études sur l'Historiographie Espagnole,* a book on the general histories of Spain between Alfonso X. and Philip II. (1284–1556).

The Cambridge University Press has published *Saint Theresa: the History of her Foundations,* a sequel to her *Life,* translated by Sister Agnes Mason from the 1881 edition. Sir E. M. Satow contributes a preface.

Émile Bourgeois, University of Paris, has brought out the second volume of his work *La Diplomatie Secrète au XVIII^e Siècle: Ses Débuts*; it is entitled *Le Secret des Farnèse: Philippe V. et la Politique d'Albéroni* (Paris, Colin).

Don Carlos: Histoire d'un Prince et d'un Peuple, 1848–1909, by Count William de Bourgade (Paris, Librairie Nationale, pp. 400), is said to throw much new light on the prince and his entourage, and on the important events of the Carlist war. The book contains some hitherto unpublished documents.

General Kirkpatrick de Closeburn, who was charged by Don Carlos with important missions to foreign countries during the last Carlist war, has published a volume of *Souvenirs de la Dernière Guerre Carliste (1872–1876)* (Paris, Picard, 1909, pp. 422), which was written immediately after the conclusion of the struggle. The introduction contains a brief relation of the principal facts of the first Carlist war.

Documentary publications: P. F. Kehr, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum: Italia Pontificia,* IV., *Umbria, Picenum, Marsia* (Berlin, Weidmann, 1909, pp. xxxiv, 336); L. Schiaparelli and F. Baldasseroni, *Regesto di Camaldoli,* II. [Regesta Chartarum Italiae] (Rome, Loescher, 1909, pp. vii, 337) [Published by the Prussian Historical Institute].

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: G. Smets, *La Chronique de Dino Compagni* (Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, April–July); P. Silva, *Pisa sotto Firenze dal 1416 al 1433* (Studi Storici, XVIII. 2); A. Luzio, *Isabella d'Este e Leone X. dal Congresso di Bologna alla Presa di Milano* (1515–1521), II. (Archivio Storico Italiano, 1909, 3); J. A. Freiherr von Helfert, *Zur Geschichte des Lombardo-Venezianischen Königreichs* (Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte, XCVIII. 2); D. Marzi, *Altre Notizie intorno alla Campagna Toscana del 1848 in Lombardia* (Archivo Storico Italiano, 1909, 3); Marqués de Lema, *Antecedentes Politicos y Diplomáticos de los Sucesos de 1808,* con. (Nuestro Tiempo, October); J. Pérez de Guzmán, *El Primer Conato de Rebelión, Precursor de la Revolución en España,* concl. (La España Moderna, November).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

A brief account of the eleventh *Historikertag,* held at Strassburg last September, is given in the *Historische Zeitschrift,* CIV. 1, where some of the papers are printed. A fuller account is in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* for October 23 and 30.

Publications, mostly of the years 1906–1908, relative to the history of the Reformation in Germany are reviewed by A. Stern in the *Revue Historique* of November–December. Recent books on German history from 1648 to the present time are similarly noticed in the September–October issue of the same journal.

The second volume of Professor F. Thudichum's history of *Die Deutsche Reformation,* 1517–1537 (Leipzig, Sängewald, 1909, pp. xv, 663), extends from 1525 to 1537.

Dr. H. Regelmeier's study of *Die Politischen Beziehungen der Fürsten Nordwestdeutschlands zu Frankreich und den Nordischen Seemächten*

in den Jahren 1674–1676 (Hildesheim, Lax, 1909, pp. xi, 152) forms the seventeenth *Heft* in the series, *Beiträge für die Geschichte Niedersachsens und Westfalens,* edited by Professor Erber.

In the series of publications from the Prussian state archives issued through Hirzel, Leipzig, Max Bär is bringing out two volumes on *Westpreussen unter Friedrich dem Grossen.*

A critical edition by F. K. Wittichen of the correspondence, mostly unprinted, of the publicist and diplomatist Friedrich von Gentz (1764–1832), is being published through Oldenbourg, Munich. Of the volumes already completed the first contains letters to Elisabeth Graun, Christian Garve, Karl August Böttiger, and others; the second consists principally of correspondence with the Swedish diplomat, Karl Gustav von Brinckmann.

Professor Hermann Oncken is publishing a two-volume work on *Rudolf von Bennigsen: Ein Deutscher Liberaler Politiker* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlagsanstalt).

In Dr. Hans Maehl's *Die Überleitung Preussens in das Konstitutionelle System durch den Zweiten Vereinigten Landtag* (Oldenbourg, Munich, 1909, pp. xii, 268), all the available source material has been used to construct a connected account of the position and significance of the Combined Prussian Diet in the revolution of 1848, and, in general, its historical mission.

The emigration from the Palatinate to America and to various European countries, which began two hundred years ago, is studied by Dr. Daniel Häberle of Heidelberg in his valuable book, *Auswanderung und Koloniegründung der Pfälzer im 18. Jahrhundert.* The author has secured much new material from local archives.

M. André Tardieu, whose work, *France and the Alliances,* was reviewed in a recent number of this journal (XIV. 825), has recently brought out an important book on the German chancellor, *Le Prince de Bülow* (Paris, Calmann-Levy).

An *Inventar des Allgemeinen Archivs des Ministeriums des Innern* (Vienna, Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1909, pp. 95) is published in the series of *Inventare Österreichischer Staatlicher Archive.*

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Wibel, *Die Siegel der Deutschen Kaiser und Könige* (Neues Archiv, XXXV. 1); H. Bloch, *Die Kaiserwahlen der Stauferzeit,* II. (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, November); J. Sommer, *Westfälisches Gildenwesen mit Ausschluss der Geistlichen Brüderschaften und Gewerbsgilden* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, VII. 4); H. Spangenberg, *Landesherrliche Verwaltung, Feudalismus und Ständetum in den Deutschen Territorien des 13. bis 15. Jahrhunderts* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIII. 3); E. Stahamer, *Beiträge zur Kritik der Deutschen Reichstagsakten im Anfange des 15. Jahrhunderts* (Neues Archiv, XXXV. 1); R. Fr. Kaindl, *Studien zur*

Geschichte des Deutschen Rechtes in Ungarn und dessen Nebenländern (Archiv für Österreichische Geschichte, XCVIII. 2); E. Pelissier, *Der Gegenwärtige Stand der Landwehrforschung* (Deutsche Geschichtsblätter, October); H. von Schubert, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Evangelischen Bekenntnis- und Bündnisbildung 1529–1530*, concl. (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXX. 3); H. Oncken, *Bennigsen und die Epochen des Parlamentarischen Liberalismus in Deutschland und Preussen* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The *Revue Historique* of September–October includes notices by Th. Bussemaker of recent books on the history of the Netherlands.

M. G. des Marez, archivist of Brussels, and author of several valuable works on the industrial history of that city, has published a monograph entitled *Pages d'Histoire Syndicale: Le Compagnonnage des Chapeliers Bruxellois, 1576–1909* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1909, pp. 112), which is designed as a partial illustration of the conflict between labor and capital.

De Suikerhandel van Amsterdam van het Begin der 17de Eeuw tot 1813, by J. J. Reese (The Hague, Nijhoff, 1908, pp. 460), a contribution to Dutch commercial history, contains numerous documents concerning the prices of sugar, tariffs, consignments of sugar by the East India Company to Holland from 1622 to 1794, list of the same from Brazil and the West Indian islands, list of the sugar refineries in Amsterdam, their names, situation, owners, etc.

A recent supplement to the thirteenth part of De Jonge's *Opkomst van het Nederlandsch Gezag in Oost-Indië* (The Hague, Nijhoff), contains 252 pieces, now first published, relating to the administration of Governor-General Daendels, 1808–1811, and throwing new light on the so-called "American contracts", concluded in behalf of the eastern counting-houses, and on other matters.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

A life of *Christina of Sweden*, by Miss I. A. Taylor, has been issued by Hutchinson, London.

A museum is being formed at Moscow to contain objects connected with the events of the year 1812. There will be a special department for documents.

Prince and Princess Lazarovich-Hrebelianovich's book on *The Servian People: their Past Glory and their Destiny* (Scribner) treats of the Servian Race, the Servian Lands To-day, their Civilization and Culture from Early Times up to the Present, an Historical Survey of the Servian Race, and the Servian People's Situation To-day.

Greece in Evolution, studies prepared under the auspices of the French League for the Defence of the Rights of Hellenism, edited by

G. F. Abbott, and translated from the French with a preface by Sir Charles W. Dilke, comprises contributions by Th. Homolle, H. Houssaye, Th. Reinach, Ed. Théry, G. Deschamps, Ch. Diehl, G. Fougères, J. Psichari, A. Berl, and M. Paillarès.

La Question Crétoise, by M. A.-J. Reinach (Paris, Geuthner, 1910, pp. 160), treats of the material and social conditions of the Cretans, the history of events from the insurrection of 1897 to the revolution of 1908, the powers and Crete, and the solution of the Cretan question. Diplomatic documents are included.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: O. Büchner, *Die Norwegische Agrarverfassung von der Kalmarer Union (1397) bis zur Verfassungsänderung (1660) unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Pachtwesens* (Vierteljahrschrift für Social- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, VII. 2); K. Wobley, *Beitrag zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte Polens* (Zeitschrift für Volkswirtschaft, Sozialpolitik und Verwaltung, XVIII. 3 and 4); Comte de Forbin, *Les Débuts d'une Mission en Pologne au Dix-Septième Siècle: Toussaint de Forbin et l'Élection de Jean Sobieski* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIII. 4).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

The fourth volume of the Marquis de la Mazelière's important work, *Le Japon: Histoire et Civilisation* (Paris, Plon) is entitled *Le Japon Moderne* and relates to the period of the revolution and the restoration, 1854–1869.

Fifty Years of New Japan, a two-volume work of encyclopedic character, compiled with the assistance of foremost authorities by Count Okuma, formerly prime minister and minister for foreign affairs, and edited in English by Mr. Marcus B. Huish, has been published by Smith, Elder (London, 1909, pp. 658, 624).

The Bureau of Science under the government of the Philippine Islands has published in an interesting pamphlet a group of *Studies in Moro History, Law and Religion,* by Najeeb M. Saleeby, containing texts of historical and genealogical manuscripts of Mindanao, of the principal codes of laws of Mindanao and Sulu, and of two Sulu orations.

A History of Sarawak under its Two White Rajahs, 1839–1908, by S. Baring-Gould and C. A. Bampfylde, late resident of Sarawak (London, Sotheran, pp. xxiii, 464), contains a preface by the present Rajah, who put at the service of the authors the correspondence and all records that relate to Sarawak and its government.

The Oxford University Press has published the second volume of *The Court Minutes of the East India Company,* edited by Miss E. B. Sainsbury, with an introduction and notes by W. Foster. The period covered is 1640–1642.

A volume of Viscount Morley's *Indian Speeches, 1907–1909,* has been issued by Macmillan. Three appendixes contain an Extract from

the Despatch of the Board of Directors of the East India Company to the Government of India, December 10, 1834, accompanying the Government of India Act, 1833; the Proclamation of Queen Victoria, November 1, 1858; and Lord Morley's Despatch to the Governor-General, November 27, 1908.

A *History of Ceylon, from the Earliest Times to 1600 A. D.*, made up from João de Barros and Diogo do Couto, has been translated and edited by Donald Ferguson, and reprinted from the *Journal* of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch.

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has removed to ampler rooms (still on the same floor of the Bond Building). Dr. James A. Robertson's *List of Documents in Spanish Archives relating to the History of the United States, which have been Printed or of which Transcripts are Preserved in American Libraries* is passing through the press. Dr. Burnett has been completing his search for letters of delegates to the Continental Congress in Boston, Hartford, and Albany. Appropriations have been made for the year 1910 which permit the examination of the London archives for materials for the history of the United States since 1783. Professor Frederic L. Paxson of the University of Michigan and Dr. Charles O. Paullin of Washington will enter jointly upon this task in June, with the expectation of preparing a volume continuing those compiled by Professor Andrews and Miss Davenport for the period anterior to 1783. Appropriations have also been made for a preliminary canvass of the material in Canadian archives for the history of the United States, and for the preparation of a tentative plan for an atlas of American historical geography. No step beyond the presentation of this plan to the Trustees next autumn is at present contemplated. But it is hoped that a scheme for an atlas which shall be at once practicable and of scientific quality may be elaborated in a form which will be deemed to merit adoption.

The third issue of the annual bibliography of books and articles on American history, *Writings on American History, 1908*, compiled under the general supervision of the managing editor of this journal by Miss Grace G. Griffin, has just gone to the printer, and may be expected to be published in March. The series now covers 1906, 1907, and 1908, while its predecessors provide similarly for 1902 and 1903; it is published by the Macmillan Company.

It is announced from the Government Printing Office that beginning with July, 1909, the index to the *Monthly Catalogue* will be issued separately each quarter, and will cumulate for half-yearly periods. The

lists, which are appearing in the *Monthly Catalogue,* of notable reports and addresses that have been made to Congress, showing where they may be found in the "sheep set", will often be found useful by historical students.

Precedents, Decisions on Points of Order, with Phraseology, in the United States Senate, from the First Congress to the Sixtieth Congress, 1789–1909, compiled by Henry H. Gilfry, chief clerk of the Senate, has been issued as Senate document 129 of the 61st Congress, 1st session. The Government Printing Office has also issued the *Index* to reports and documents of the 60th Congress, 1st session, and a complete list of volumes of the *Annals of Congress, Register of Debates, Congressional Globe,* and *Congressional Record.*

The United States Bureau of Education has issued an *Index to the Reports of the Commissioner of Education, 1867–1907.* A subject-index of all publications of the bureau for the years 1867–1890 was published in the *Report* for 1888–1889; the present index includes both authors and subjects, together with an analysis of the more important articles contained in the annual reports.

Messrs. Henry Holt and Company have planned to publish a series of comprehensive and authoritative historical text-books, which they name "American Historical Series". The history of the United States in this series is to be written by Professor Frederick J. Turner.

In the series *Original Narratives of Early American History,* Captain Edward Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence of Sion's Saviour in New England,* edited by J. F. Jameson, is in the hands of the printer.

Professors H. W. Caldwell and C. E. Persinger of the University of Nebraska have prepared a *Source History of the United States* for use in high schools, normal schools, and colleges, which has been published by Messrs. Ainsworth and Company.

Professor G. S. Callender's *Selections from the Economic History of the United States from 1765 to 1860* has come from the press of Ginn and Company.

Professor George Elliott Howard has prepared a *Biography of American Statesmanship: an Analytical Reference Syllabus,* which has been issued by the University of Nebraska (pp. 75). Professor Howard believes that "in no more effective, certainly in no more interesting, way can one study social causation, the historical process, than through the evolution of personality." There are analyses of the careers of seventeen statesmen, beginning with Roger Williams and ending with Abraham Lincoln. In addition there is a supplementary list of thirteen to whom no special analyses are devoted. There are abundant references prepared with some care.

Decisive Battles of America, published by Harpers, contains chapters by Professor A. B. Hart, Colonel T. W. Higginson, Professor C. H. Van Tyne, and others. The book is edited by Ripley Hitchcock.

M. Alexandre Alvarez, counsellor to the ministry of foreign affairs of Chili, member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration of the Hague, has brought out through the house of Pedone, Paris, a volume on *Le Droit International Américain: Son Fondement, Sa Nature, d'après l'Histoire Diplomatique des États du Nouveau Monde et leur Vie Politique et Économique.*

Messrs. D. Appleton and Company have brought out a book entitled *Women in Industry,* by Miss Edith Abbott of the University of Chicago. The work is an historical and statistical study of the industrial changes brought about by the employment of women.

Women in the Making of America, by H. A. Bruce, is announced by Moffat, Yard, and Company.

Part II. of the first volume of Documents in Father Thomas Hughes's *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* is announced for publication in the present month.

The Macmillan Company have added to their series of "Stories of American History" *Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road,* by H. Addington Bruce, and *The Last American Frontier,* by Frederic L. Paxson.

The Speakers of the House, by H. B. Fuller, while treating in part of the development of the speaker's office and power, is largely reminiscent and anecdotal in character (Little, Brown, and Company).

Charles Scribner's Sons are about to bring out the first volume of a work by Rear Admiral F. E. Chadwick on the relations of the United States with Spain. It is understood that Admiral Chadwick traces in this volume the history of diplomatic relations with Spain to the outbreak of the Spanish-American War, and that a subsequent volume will treat of that episode.

Mr. C. K. Bolton has prepared a work on *Scotch Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America,* which will shortly be issued from the press of Bacon and Brown. It is said that the book is a systematic history of the coming of emigrants from Ireland to the British colonies in America before the time of the Revolution and is based largely on unpublished material in public archives. It includes in particular a descriptive account of the settlers at Londonderry, New Hampshire, and new material relating to the southern colonies.

A History of Norwegian Immigration from the Earliest Times to 1848, by Professor George T. Flom of the University of Illinois, has been published by the Torch Press.

Bibliography of the Chinese Question in the United States, by Robert E. Cowan and Boutwell Dunlap, is from the press of A. M. Roberts, San Francisco. Government documents and periodical literature are not included in the bibliography.

The new *History Teacher's Magazine,* the inception of which was mentioned in the preceding number of this journal, presents in its October and November numbers several short articles of interest and value for teachers of history. We call attention to three of these in particular: "Gain, Loss and Problem in Recent History Teaching", by Professor William MacDonald (October); "Training the History Teacher in the Organization of his Field of Study", by Professor N. M. Trenholme (October); and "The Use of Sources in Instruction in Government and Politics", by Professor Charles A. Beard (November).

The *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* at its meeting of April, 1909 (vol. XIX., part 3) contains an excellent account of the Ohio valley press before the War of 1812, by Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, a valuable article on the early Spanish cartography of the New World, with especial reference to the "Spanish-Wolfenbüttel" map and the work of Diego Ribeiro, by Professor Edward L. Stevenson, and one by Mr. William B. Weeden on Early Commercial Providence. At the end are given three letters, relating to the battle of Bunker Hill and to Arnold's march on Quebec. The society has lately put forth a *Handbook of Information,* in 32 pages, compiled by the librarian, Mr. Clarence S. Brigham, giving an admirable account of the society's history, collections, publications, and present status, and concluding with a list of the officers and members.

The September–October number of the *German American Annals* contains the first part of a paper by Dr. W. G. Bek on "The Community at Bethel, Missouri, and its Offspring at Aurora, Oregon", a minor communistic society existing from 1844 to 1879. Dr. G. G. Benjamin's papers on the Germans in Texas are continued.

The *Magazine of History* is printing in installments (July and August) Mr. Forrest Morgan's investigation of the Warwick patent for Connecticut entitled "The Solution of an old Historic Mystery". Mr. Charles W. Smith contributes (July and August) a paper on the naming of counties in the state of Washington; and beginning with the August number Mr. Paul T. Arnold contributes a series of papers entitled "Negro Soldiers in the United States Army". In the section of the magazine devoted to documents appears (July number) a letter dated New York, September 17, 1781, signed by Beverly Robinson and George Beckwith, British officers, relating to an effort of General Clinton to establish a line of communication with Lord Cornwallis.

The September issue of *Americana,* the successor of the *American Historical Magazine,* contains a number of readable articles. Mr. A. M. Sherman, writing of "The Old Morris Court House" (Morristown, New Jersey), brings together several interesting facts of Revolutionary times; in an article entitled "A Notable Neighborhood" Mr. William J. Roe calls attention to the historic region about Newburgh Bay; the beginnings of journalism in Philadelphia are told briefly by Mr. W. J.

Price; and "American Freedom's First Test", by L. E. Swartz, is, in spite of its title, an article upon Shays's Rebellion. The "History of the Mormon Church", by Brigham H. Roberts, is continued.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

In the *Proceedings* of the Spencer Hill Monument Association for 1909 is a contribution by Mr. A. McF. Davis entitled "Early Experiments in Paper Money in America".

The University of Pennsylvania has issued as no. 3 in its "Series in History" a *Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania.* This calendar, which now appears in separate form, is the appendix to the *Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the American Philosophical Society,* edited by Dr. I. Minis Hays and recently published by the society. The only considerable body of Franklin papers which remain uncalendared is the collection, ten volumes in extent, possessed by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Inasmuch as the papers in this collection are of the same character as those in the calendared collections, often indeed portions of the same correspondence, it is much to be desired that a similar calendar of them might be made.

Mr. Gaillard Hunt's *History of the Seal of the United States* has appeared from the Government Printing Office. The present work is more complete than that prepared by Mr. Hunt in 1892 and published by the Department of State.

Professor Max Farrand's *Records of the Federal Convention,* in which the endeavor is made to present all original texts, contemporary or nearly contemporary, casting light upon the proceedings of the Philadelphia Convention of 1787, is to be published, in four or five volumes, by the Yale University Press.

The inventory of Washington's personal effects, drawn up soon after his death, has ever since the Civil War been missing from the files of Fairfax County, Virginia. In a handsome volume, the edition of which is limited to 350 copies, *Inventory of the Contents of Mount Vernon, 1810* (pp. xviii, 63), Mr. W. K. Bixby has privately printed this interesting document, now printed entire for the first time, with an introduction by Mr. Worthington C. Ford.

A biography of Timothy Flint, pioneer, missionary, author, 1780–1840, will be issued shortly by the Arthur H. Clark Company of Cleveland. It is the work of Professor J. E. Kirkpatrick of Washburn College, Topeka, Kansas, and will be the first published life of one who was an important factor in the early history of the central, southern, and western parts of the United States.

The Autobiography of Captain Zachary G. Lamson, 1797 to 1814, for which O. T. Howe has written an introduction and supplied his-

torical notes (W. B. Clarke Company), besides being an interesting narrative of a captain in the merchant service who had many adventures, is of value for the history of the merchant marine in a period of extraordinary interest.

It is announced that Messrs. Putnam will publish the diary of General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, edited by Dr. William A. Croffut. The diary is said to be particularly valuable for its account of the Mexican War.

The *Memoirs of Gustave Koerner*, 1809–1896, the friend of Lincoln and one of the most notable of the German American leaders, has been published by the Torch Press. The volume is composed of life-sketches written at the suggestion of Koerner's children and is edited by T. J. McCormack.

Besides Dr. R. G. Thwaites's little volume, *Cyrus Hall McCormick and the Reaper*, mentioned in this department of the REVIEW in July, the centenary of the birth of the inventor is commemorated also by Mr. Herbert N. Casson in a volume entitled *Cyrus Hall McCormick, his Life and Work*, which A. C. McClurg and Company have published.

A. C. McClurg and Company have published *Stephen A. Douglas: his Life, Public Services, Patriotism, and Speeches*, by Clark E. Carr.

Mr. George Haven Putnam has expanded the address delivered by him on the occasion of the Lincoln centennial commemoration into a monograph, which he has entitled *Abraham Lincoln: the People's Leader in the Struggle for National Existence*. The volume has been published by G. P. Putnam's Sons and includes a reprint of Lincoln's speech at Cooper Institute in February, 1860, with historical annotations by Cephas Brainerd and an introduction by Judge C. C. Nott.

Mr. Richard Watson Gilder's *Lincoln the Leader, and Lincoln's Genius for Expression* has been brought out by the Houghton Mifflin Company.

Butler and his Cavalry in the War of Secession, by U. R. Brooks, has been published at Columbia, South Carolina, by the State Company.

The Macmillan Company have published this autumn *My Day: Reminiscences of a Long Life*, by Mrs. Roger A. Pryor. The book is in a way supplementary to Mrs. Pryor's *Reminiscences of Peace and War*.

Army Letters from an Officer's Wife, 1871–1888, by Mrs. Frances M. A. Roe, comes from the press of D. Appleton and Company.

Mr. George F. Parker's *Recollections of Grover Cleveland* has been issued by the Century Company. Mr. Parker's articles upon phases of Cleveland's career which have appeared in *McClure's Magazine* have already shown of what materials this biography is constructed. The author's long and intimate relations with President Cleveland have enabled him to appreciate and to reveal much of the inner history of his career.

It is understood that Rear-Admiral Robley D. Evans is preparing

a second volume of his memoirs, beginning with 1899, where *A Sailor's Log* left off, and that the title of the book will be "An Admiral's Log".

The Government Printing Office has issued *Acts of Congress, Treaties, Proclamations, Decisions of the Supreme Court and Opinions of the Attorney-General relating to Noncontiguous Territory, Cuba, and Santo Domingo, March 4, 1905–June 1, 1909.* The publication emanates from the War Department.

Index of Legislation, 1908 (October 1, 1907, to October 1, 1908), edited by Clarence B. Lester, legislative reference librarian of the New York State Library, and issued by the University of the State of New York as *Education Department Bulletin, No. 454,* lists or briefly digests considerably more than 2000 acts. The usual arrangement, primarily analytical, secondarily by states, is followed. It is worth noting that items relating to constitutional amendments occupy eleven pages.

The September issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* is devoted to the subject of Chinese and Japanese in America. The papers in parts I. and II. relate to the arguments for and against exclusion. Part III. includes a number of papers upon the national and international aspects of the exclusion movement, among them one by Mr. Chester Lloyd Jones on "The Legislative History of Exclusive Legislation". Part IV. is devoted to the problem of Oriental immigration outside of America and includes "Sources and Causes of Japanese Emigration", by Yosaburo Yoshida, and "Oriental Immigration into the Philippines", by Russell M. Story.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

Houghton Mifflin Company have issued *The Expansion of New England: the Spread of New England Settlements and Institutions to the Mississippi River, 1629–1865,* by Mrs. Lois Kimball Mathews.

Mr. Herbert M. Sylvester, whose work *Maine Pioneer Settlements, 1605–1690,* in five volumes, was issued but a short time ago from the press of W. B. Clarke Company, has in preparation a work to be entitled "Indian Wars of New England". The work will be in two volumes and is expected to appear early in the spring.

The Maine Historical Society has just issued volume XIII. of its *Documentary Series* (pp. 523), being volume VIII. of the Baxter Manuscripts.

A Genealogical and Family History of the State of Maine, in four volumes, edited by G. T. Little, librarian of Bowdoin College, has been brought out by the Lewis Historical Publishing Company, New York.

Rev. Henry S. Burrage, D.D., state historian of Maine, is arranging, mounting, and cataloguing the Civil War correspondence of the governor and adjutant-general of the state, a correspondence of much historical value and so voluminous that that of 1861 and 1862 alone makes eighty volumes.

In the *Proceedings* of the Vermont Historical Society for 1908–1909 appear "Samuel Champlain and the Lake Champlain Tercentenary", by H. W. Hill; "Immigration to Vermont", by J. E. Goodrich; and "Life, Character, and Times of Ira Allen", by D. P. Thompson.

The *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, volume XLII. (Boston, 1909, pp. xxii, 535), covers the meetings of October, 1908, to June, 1909. It contains the interesting and appropriate exercises by which the society commemorated the tercentenary of John Milton, and papers of interest respecting Lincoln's first appearance at Boston and his first inauguration. The most important documents embraced in the volume are three sets contributed by the new editor of the society's volumes, Mr. Worthington C. Ford. The first is a body of letters relating to the English churches in Holland from 1624 to 1636, in which occur many names famous in early New England history; the second, a series of letters of James Monroe, 1790 to 1827; the third, correspondence of George Bancroft with Martin Van Buren, of high interest for Massachusetts, and to some extent for national, politics in the period from 1830 to 1845.

The first portion of volume XLIII., which has appeared in the serial form, contains an article by Mr. Horace Davis on the Oregon Trail, a reprint of two rare pamphlets of 1634 and 1635, in the controversy in Amsterdam between Rev. John Davenport and Rev. John Pagett, an important political letter of Isaac Hill, 1828, correspondence of Bancroft and Polk on the Mecklenburg Declaration and on the annexation of Texas, a body of letters of Noah Webster, 1776–1840, and the original draught of the opinion which Hamilton rendered to Washington on the constitutionality of the first United States bank act.

An elaborate *Index to the Second Series of the Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 1884–1907* (pp. xvii, 490), compiled by Mr. David M. Matteson, has been issued by the society. It covers the years from 1884 to 1907.

The Rev. Dr. Henry M. King's *Sir Henry Vane, Jr., Governor of Massachusetts and Friend of Roger Williams and Rhode Island* has come from the press (Preston and Rounds Company).

The Loyalists of Massachusetts and the other Side of the American Revolution, a volume of about 500 pages, is by James H. Stark of Boston and is published by W. B. Clarke Company. The work is in two parts. The first part is devoted primarily to revealing "the other side" of the Revolution; the second contains biographies of the Loyalists of Massachusetts, to the list of whom some new names have been added.

The Federalist Party in Massachusetts to the Year 1800, by Anson E. Morse, has been issued by the University Library, Princeton.

The author of *The Romance of an Old-Time Shipmaster,* Mr. Ralph D. Paine, has written another work in the same field, *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem,* which A. C. McClurg and Company have just

brought out. In the preparation of this volume Mr. Paine has made use of log-books, sea-journals, and other unpublished manuscripts, mainly of the period of the Revolution and the War of 1812.

The *History of the Harvard Law School and of Early Legal Conditions in America,* by Mr. Charles Warren, has been published, in three volumes, by the Lewis Publishing Company of New York. Carefully composed, and dealing with several episodes and personalities important in American legal history, the book has a value extending much beyond local bounds.

Among the recent publications of Little, Brown, and Company is *Old Boston Days and Ways,* by Mary Caroline Crawford. The volume describes the social, political, and artistic life of the town from the beginning of the Revolution through the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

Mr. G. F. Dow contributes to the *Essex Institute Historical Collections* for October a paper on "The French Acadians in Essex County and their Life in Exile". The documentary articles, "Records of the Vice Admiralty Court at Halifax, Nova Scotia", "Essex County Notarial Records", and "Newspaper Items relating to Essex County, Massachusetts", are continued.

W. B. Clarke Company have issued *Lynn in the Revolution,* compiled from notes gathered by Howard K. Sanderson, edited and arranged by Mrs. Carrie M. Sanderson. The work is in two volumes, is illustrated, and includes, besides a detailed account of the part taken by the town and its people in the Revolution, biographical sketches of many of its soldiers and a journal by one of them.

Mr. William C. Smith has prepared a *History of Chatham, Massachusetts,* part I., which contains much material upon the early history of the town not hitherto published. The book includes an account of the French and Indian encounters at State Harbor in 1606 and two maps drawn by Champlain in 1609 (Franklin, Massachusetts, published by the author).

The Connecticut Historical Society is preparing to issue a second volume of the papers of Governor Jonathan Law, covering the period from August, 1745, to December, 1746.

The eleventh annual meeting of the New York State Historical Association was held in Mount Vernon, New York, on October 19 and 20. Among the papers and addresses presented at the sessions may be mentioned: "The Governors of New York", by Hon. Charles Z. Lincoln; "The Executive Relation of New York State to Historical Scholarship", by Victor H. Paltsits; and "The Historical Significance of the Hudson and Champlain Valleys", by Francis W. Halsey. There was a symposium on "Westchester in Colonial Times", and a discussion of the establishment of closer relations between the historical societies of the state.

The *Calendar of the Sir William Johnson Manuscripts in the New York State Library,* upon which Mr. Richard E. Day has for some time been engaged, has been brought out by the New York State Library. The calendar makes available an important and interesting body of historical material.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for September contains "Letters and Documents by or relating to Robert Fulton" (pp. 567–584) and "List of Works relating to Henry Hudson, Hudson River, Robert Fulton, Early Steam Navigation," etc.

Volume III. (1861–1882) of Mr. D. S. Alexander's *Political History of the State of New York* has come from the press (Henry Holt and Company).

The Scientific American Publishing Company have issued *The History of New York Ship Yards,* by J. H. Morrison.

A history of the beginnings of Presbyterianism in Albany, by Mr. Victor H. Paltsits, will be found in a pamphlet of *Commemorative Discourses* delivered at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the dedication of the present edifice of the First Presbyterian Church in Albany.

One of the noteworthy books brought out in connection with the Hudson-Fulton celebration is *Robert Fulton and the "Clermont",* an authoritative story prepared from unpublished manuscripts by Alice Crary Sutcliffe, great-granddaughter of the inventor, and published by the Century Company.

Sail and Steam, an Historical Sketch showing New Jersey's Connection with the Events commemorated by the Hudson-Fulton Celebration, an illustrated pamphlet issued by the Free Public Library of Jersey City, contains many interesting and little known facts relating to Fulton and the steamboat, and includes some account of the inventions of Colonel John Stevens of Hoboken.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has recently acquired 109 commissions and letters of Hon. William Henry of Northampton County, Pennsylvania.

In the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for October Major William H. Lambert presents a valuable investigation of President Lincoln's Gettysburg address. The title of the article is "The Gettysburg Address: when written, how received, its true Form". The writer carefully sifts the evidence in various accounts which have been given of the preparation of the address and its reception, and compares in tabulated form the principal revisions of it. The manuscript copies, the final revision, and the copy possessed by the late John Hay are given in photographic facsimile. The several documentary articles hitherto mentioned are continued. Among the documents in the department of "Notes and Queries" are two letters of Lincoln (1863, 1864), one of Dr. John Morgan (1756), and one of Arthur St. Clair (1791).

Messrs. J. T. Mitchell and Henry Flanders, who edit for the commonwealth the *Statutes at Large of Pennsylvania from 1682 to 1801,* have now brought out their thirteenth volume, covering the period from 1787 to 1790 (Harrisburg, 1908, pp. 604).

Catholicity in Philadelphia from the earliest Missionaries down to the present Time, by J. L. J. Kirlin, has been published in Philadelphia by J. J. McVey.

The *Report and Proceedings of the Wyoming Commemorative Association* for 1909 contains an address by Professor C. H. Van Tyne entitled "The Wyoming Valley and Union Sentiment in the American Revolution".

The Swedish Colonial Society, founded at Philadelphia in April, has already obtained a membership of 150. While somewhat more than half of the members are descendants of the early Swedish settlers, the society is intended to belong to the historical and not to the "hereditary" class. Its object is the collection, preservation, and publication of materials relating to New Sweden, and the erection of monuments and tablets commemorative of its history. King Gustav V. has accepted the relation of patron to the society, the minister of Sweden, Mr. de Lagercrantz, that of honorary president. The president is Mr. Marcel A. Viti, vice-consul of Sweden at Philadelphia, the treasurer Dr. Gregory B. Keen, the secretary Dr. Amandus Johnson, whose history of New Sweden, based on much new material from Swedish archives, will probably be published by the society early in 1910.

The paper of Mr. Charles W. Sommerville on "The Early Career of Governor Francis Nicholson" is concluded in the September issue of the *Maryland Historical Magazine.* "New Light on Maryland History", by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner, contains gleanings from the transcripts recently obtained by the Library of Congress and relates to the voyage of the *Ark* and the *Dove* and to some correspondence of Governor Horatio Sharpe. "Construction of the Public Buildings in Washington" is a paper read before the society in 1865, by John H. B. Latrobe. This issue of the magazine reprints the rare pamphlet *Hammond vs. Heamans,* relating to the Claiborne incident of 1654, and prints several other documents of interest, among them "Baltimore's Declaration to the Lords Commissioners".

Volume XII. of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (Washington, D. C., 1909, pp. 196) contains a paper by Mr. Glenn Brown on the plan of L'Enfant for the city of Washington and its effect on the development of the capital, an account of the early days of Georgetown College, by Professor Edward I. Devitt, S. J., an article on Francis Scott Key, by Mr. F. S. Key Smith, one on the history of St. John's Church, by Judge Alexander B. Hagner, and one on the portion of the District of Columbia ceded by Virginia and the movements to recover it since its retrocession, by Mr. Amos B. Casselman.

The October issue of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* contains numerous items of interest and value. From the Randolph Manuscript are printed a part of the journals of the House of Burgesses (September and October, 1667), commissions to Sir Henry Chicheley (1674), and a commission to Governor Berkeley and council, November 16, 1676. In the section "Virginia in 1652–1653" appear several items of minutes of a committee of foreign affairs, numerous orders of the council of state, two petitions from British merchants relative to tobacco planting in Virginia, and a document entitled "The Lord Protector and Council of State to the Governor and General Assembly of the English Plantation of Virginia" (January 4, 1653/4) promising a "speedy resolution of those questions betwixt Lord Baltimore and the inhabitants of Virginia . . . and other concernments of that Plantation". Among the "Virginia Legislative Papers" is one relating to the matter of obtaining supplies for the state military forces in 1776, and others of the same year relating to the war. In the section of "Miscellaneous Colonial Documents" are two letters of James Abercromby (1755 and 1759) relating to the same subject as his memorial published in the preceding issue of the magazine, and a proclamation, presumably by Lord Dunmore, declaring Virginia's jurisdiction over Pittsburg.

The memoranda kept by Sir John Randolph and Edward Barradall of the law cases in which they were engaged between the years 1728 and 1743 have been edited by R. T. Barton and published, in two volumes, by the Boston Book Company under the title *Virginia Colonial Decisions*. The first volume includes an introduction in ten chapters by the editor and the reports of Randolph, the second contains the reports of Barradall. The first seven chapters of the introduction deal mainly with the social environment historically treated; chapter VIII. treats of the Law and the Lawyers, including personal sketches of practitioners, chapter IX. describes the Courts, and chapter X. is devoted to biographical accounts of Barradall and Randolph.

Manors of Virginia in Colonial Times, by Edith Tunis Sale, has been published by Lippincott. The term "manors" in the title is evidently used in some popular sense.

Mr. Archibald Henderson of Chapel Hill, North Carolina, is engaged in writing a life of his grandfather, Colonel Richard Henderson, president of the Transylvania Company. Mr. Henderson is desirous of learning the whereabouts of papers of Richard Henderson or of any member of the Transylvania Company.

It is announced that A. B. Caldwell, Atlanta, Georgia, will shortly issue a reprint of McCall's *History of Georgia,* a work that has been long out of print and rare.

The government of Georgia has now brought out the first volume of the *Confederate Records of the State of Georgia,* compiled and pub-

lished, under authority of the legislature, by Allen D. Candler (Atlanta, 1909, pp. 773). It contains the message of Governor Joseph E. Brown on federal relations, November 7, 1860, resolutions of the various counties sent to the legislature, the addresses delivered before it by T. R. R. Cobb and Alexander H. Stephens, arguing secession pro and contra, the act and proclamation calling the secession convention, its journal (which makes the greater part of the volume), and the acts of the legislature of 1860 relating to public defense. The editor's preface is mainly occupied with a warm defense of secession.

The Mississippi Historical Society has issued volume X. of its *Publications* edited by Professor Franklin L. Riley. The volume includes an author index, a general index, and a topically arranged guide to the contents of the entire ten volumes of the society's publications. One considerable document is printed, the "Diary of a Mississippi Planter". The writer of the diary was Dr. M. W. Philips, and the period covered is from 1840 to 1863. The document contains much information upon methods and procedure on an ante-bellum plantation. Several of the papers printed in this volume relate to the Civil War and Reconstruction. One of these, "The War in Mississippi after the Fall of Vicksburg", is by the late General Stephen D. Lee. A sketch of General Lee is furnished by Professor Dabney Lipscomb. "Jefferson Davis at West Point" is by Professor Walter L. Fleming. The editor of the volume presents a résumé of the work of the society in the decade 1898–1909.

The *Alumnus,* a publication of the Louisiana State University, contains in its issue for October a body of interesting reminiscences relating to the early days of the university's predecessor, the Louisiana State Seminary, and especially to William T. Sherman, its first superintendent.

The state of Texas has purchased from Mrs. Loretta Lamar Calder of Beaumont, Texas, the papers left by her father, Mirabeau B. Lamar, president of Texas from 1838 to 1841. Beside the personal papers of Lamar the collection includes materials gathered by him with a view to writing a history of the Republic of Texas. The collection numbers between 2500 and 3000 pieces.

Mr. Alexander Dienst's valuable studies of "The Navy of the Republic of Texas", begun in the January number of the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association,* are continued through the April and July numbers of that journal. Mr. C. F. Neu gives in the April number an account of "The Case of the Brig *Pocket",* a vessel sailing under American colors which was captured by the Texan armed schooner *Invincible* in March, 1836. The July number prints the journal of J. C. Clopper, relating to a trip from Cincinnati to Texas in 1828.

A union of eleven historical organizations in the Mississippi valley, effected through the Committee on Co-operation appointed by the Con-

ference of State and Local Historical Societies two years ago, on the occasion of the Madison meeting of the American Historical Association, has perfected the necessary financial arrangements for making in Paris a detailed calendar of all the papers in the French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi valley or any portion thereof. The organizations subscribing are: the Mississippi, Indiana, and Alabama departments of archives and history, the Illinois Historical Library, the Chicago, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Michigan, and Wisconsin historical societies, and the Howard Memorial Library. Dr. Dunbar Rowland is chairman of the committee having the matter in charge, and the work in Paris will be carried on under the general supervision of Mr. Waldo G. Leland. Great gratification must be expressed at the successful organization of this undertaking, which is the rational and indispensable first step of all serious endeavor to exploit the French archives for any purposes of Western history.

The *Proceedings* of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association for the year 1907–1908, the first of the Association's volumes, printed by the Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, can now be obtained. It contains an historical sketch of the founding of the Association, the transactions of the year named, and various papers and addresses delivered at the regular meeting at Lake Minnetonka, such as Mr. Warren Upham's paper on the Explorations of the Vérendryes, Professor Libby's on the Mandans, Mr. Pelzer's on the Diplomatic Correspondence of Augustus Caesar Dodge, and that of Professor L. M. Larson on the Sectional Elements in the Early History of Milwaukee. Volume II., containing the proceedings for the year 1908–1909, is now in press. It will contain papers by Professor Harlow Lindley on William Clark as Indian Agent, by Professor E. C. Griffith on Early Banking in Kentucky, by Professor J. A. James on the Significance of the British Attack on St. Louis in 1780, by Professor Roland G. Usher on the Western Sanitary Commission, and various papers on the ethnology of the Mississippi valley.

The Ohio Valley Historical Association met at Frankfort, Kentucky, on October 14–16, 1909. Conferences were held on the relation between the work of local history and that of historical instruction in colleges, and on subjects connected with the collection of historical manuscripts in the Ohio valley. The principal address, on the Ohio Valley in the History of the Nation, was delivered by Professor Frederick J. Turner. The *Proceedings* of the second annual meeting (November, 1908) have been published in a pamphlet of 133 pages.

Dr. C. E. Carter's *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763–1774*, the second issue of the American Historical Association's series of prize essays, is now in press.

The principal article in the September number of the *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* is a sketch of James Hughes, a member of Congress from Indiana, 1857–1859, and judge of the court of claims,

1861–1865. There is also an "Index of Historical Articles in Indianapolis Newspapers", prepared by Miss Florence Venn, reference librarian of the Indiana State Library.

In the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society,* July issue, appear several letters from Senator Lyman Trumbull of Illinois to Senator James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin. The majority of them were written in 1861 and relate to politics and military affairs. There are also two letters of Governor Ninian Edwards; one of December 2, 1829, has a warm political color. The *Journal* reprints from Pownall's *Topographical Description of North America* extracts from the journal of Captain Harry Gordon, who made an expedition from Fort Pitt down the Ohio River to Illinois in 1766. The number concludes with part III. of Dr. J. F. Synder's "Prehistoric Illinois".

The Illinois State Historical Library has recently purchased some three thousand dollars' worth of rare Americana, bearing particularly upon the West, and including some rare pamphlets not to be found in other libraries west of the Alleghanies.

The *Kaskaskia Records,* the fifth volume of the *Illinois Historical Collections,* edited by Professor Clarence W. Alvord, will appear in February.

The trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library have authorized a second volume of the Executive Series of the *Illinois Historical Collections.* The volume will be edited by Professor Evarts B. Greene of the University of Illinois.

The Torch Press of Cedar Rapids, Iowa, has issued a facsimile reprint of the second edition (1780) of the *Narrative of Mr. John Dodge during his Captivity at Detroit,* for which Mr. Clarence M. Burton has furnished an introduction.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin held its fifty-seventh annual meeting in Madison on October 21. The report of the superintendent, Dr. R. G. Thwaites, showed that the growth of the library had produced such congestion that there was pressing need for additional storage room. Among the acquisitions of the year is considerable documentary material relating to South America. The reprinting of the first ten volumes of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections* is practically completed. Noteworthy among the papers read at the meeting was one by Professor J. A. James on "Indian Diplomacy and the Opening of the Revolution in the West", a paper based largely on a study of the Draper Manuscripts. Mr. Duane Mowry presented an appreciation of Senator James R. Doolittle of Wisconsin, and Mr. P. V. Lawson gave an account of paper-making in the state.

Moffat, Yard, and Company announce a volume by Professor P. N. McElroy entitled *Kentucky in the Nation's Making.*

The Minnesota Historical Society has lately received about five hundred letters written to Martin McLeod, who was a member of the

territorial council in 1849–1853 and died in 1860. They relate to the fur-trade and to the public affairs of the territory. A large collection of pamphlets and miscellaneous manuscripts from the library of the late Dr. Edward D. Neill has also been received.

The October number of the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* contains an elaborate paper by Mr. J. W. Rich on the battle of Shiloh. The material is drawn mainly from the official records but in part also from personal memoirs. In the same issue of the *Journal* is a paper by Ethyl E. Martin entitled "A Bribery Episode in the First Election of United States Senators in Iowa".

In the July number of the *Missouri Historical Review,* published by the State Historical Society of Missouri, Mr. J. L. Thomas presents his second paper on "Some Historic Lines in Missouri", a paper treating in the main of the line between Missouri and Iowa. Mr. Joab Spencer gives some account of "Missouri's Aboriginal Inhabitants", and Mr. W. S. Bryan continues his papers relating to Daniel Boone in Missouri.

The Struggle for Missouri, by John McElroy, has been published in Washington by the National Tribune Company.

The Conquest of the Missouri, by J. M. Hanson, is in large measure the biography of Captain Grant Marsh, who has been plying on the Missouri River since 1854 and some of whose exploits have had more than a local significance.

The State Historical Society of North Dakota carried through last summer a careful survey of the Mandan, Arikara, and Hidatsa sites on the west bank of the Missouri River, identifying the villages reached by the Vérendryes in 1738–1739, and making other discoveries, which will be described in detail later. It is hoped to extend this survey in 1910 to the regions once occupied by the Cheyennes along the Shyenne River, in the southeastern part of the state.

A new library and museum building is being erected for the Nebraska State Historical Society. Mr. Albert Watkins has lately been added to the society's regular staff, as historian, his time to be given entirely to the work of editing and of research.

In *Quantrill and the Border Wars* (Cedar Rapids, The Torch Press) Mr. W. E. Connelley has an opportunity to win an audience beyond the narrow confines of mere local interest.

The Academy of Pacific Coast History has made a beginning, in excellent typographical form, of a series of *Publications,* printed at the press of the University of California. The first number of the series presents a full account of the San Francisco Clearing-house Certificates of 1907–1908, by Professor Carl C. Plehn; the second, the Official Account of the Portolá Expedition of 1769–1770, edited by Mr. Frederick J. Teggart from the contemporary pamphlet issued by the government of New Spain; and the third, the Diary of Portolá from May 11, 1769,

to January 24, 1770, now for the first time printed. Both the last two are presented in Spanish text and English translation. They are to be followed by Miguel Costansó's and other diaries of the expedition, by papers on the United States consulate in California, on the bibliography of the Spanish press in that department, on the viceroy of New Spain in the eighteenth century, etc., and by volumes containing the papers of the Vigilance Committee of San Francisco, the early archives of California, and the letters of Father Junípero Serra.

The pages of the March (1909) number of the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* are devoted entirely to a group of documents relative to Warre and Vavasour's military reconnoissance in Oregon, 1845–1846, edited by Joseph Schafer. The mission of Warre and Vavasour has remained in some obscurity until the discovery recently, mainly in the British Public Record Office, of a documentary history of the whole affair. Warre and Vavasour were lieutenants of the British forces in Canada, detailed to make an expedition into the Oregon country and report upon the conditions existing. These documents throw an interesting side-light on the history of the Oregon question.

Bulletin 41 of the Bureau of American Ethnology is *Antiquities of the Mesa Verde National Park Spruce-tree House,* by Dr. J. W. Fewkes. The ruins of the spruce-tree house, the largest in Mesa Verde Park with the exception of the Cliff Palace, are fully described and illustrated.

It is understood that Miss Agnes C. Laut is engaged in the preparation of a volume in continuation of her *Conquest of the Great Northwest.*

The Champlain Society has issued *The Logs of the Conquest of Canada,* based on materials hitherto unpublished, illustrative of the naval aspects of the conquest, and edited by Colonel William Wood. It expects before long to bring out the second volume of Lescarbot, Samuel Hearne's *Journey from Prince of Wales Fort in Hudson Bay to the Northern Ocean, 1769–1772,* edited by J. B. Tyrrell, and Captain John Knox's *Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America, 1757–1760,* edited by Dr. Arthur G. Doughty. Out of the funds supplied for the celebration in 1908 of the tercentenary of the landing of Champlain, the National Battlefields Commission, which had charge of that celebration, has made a grant of $5000 to the society to assist in publishing a complete edition of the works of Champlain, together with translations. An edition of six volumes, edited by Mr. H. P. Biggar and other scholars, is contemplated. The society expects later to issue Chrestien le Clercq's *Nouvelle Relation de la Gaspésie,* English translation and French text, edited by Professor W. F. Ganong; *The Journals of La Vérendrye,* in French and English, edited by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee; a volume of Cartwright papers, edited by Professor Adam Shortt; one of papers on Louisbourg, by Mr. J. S. McLennan; and one of documents relating to the rebellion of 1837, edited

by Mr. J. Edmond Roy. Ultimately there will probably be volumes relating to the history of the Hudson's Bay Company, the régimes of General Murray, Lord Dorchester, Lord Durham, etc.

A life of Sir Isaac Brock, the victor over Hull at Detroit, has been added to the *Canadian Heroes* series with the title, *The Story of Isaac Brock* (Chicago, McClurg). The writer is Mr. Walter R. Nursey.

The library of Harvard University has received as a gift from Professor A. C. Coolidge and Mr. C. L. Hay a collection of 4000 books, principally in Spanish-American history, from the library of Señor Luis Montt of Santiago de Chile.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for October contains the beginning of a list of works in the library relating to Mexico, to which additional value is lent by careful annotations.

Mr. F. A. MacNutt, whose two-volume collection of *Letters of Cortes* appeared in 1908, has written for Messrs. Putnam's *Heroes of the Nations* series *Fernando Cortes and the Conquest of Mexico.*

A History of Jamaica, by W. D. Gardner, a record of economic, social, and religious progress rather than of political history, has been published in a new edition (New York, Appleton).

From the prolific workshop of one who may well be called the greatest living bibliographer in America, Señor Don José Toribio Medina, comes the first volume of a sumptuous edition of the famous historical poem, *La Araucana,* by Ercilla. A large folio of 607 pages, it contains the text of the poem, illustrated with many interesting engravings and illustrations that throw new light on the story of the Araucanian wars. A second volume, to contain documents, historical notes, a bibliography, and a biography of the author, is promised shortly.

In *Documentos Historicos, referentes al Paso de los Andes, efectuado en 1817, por el General San Martin,* the editor, H. Bertling, the German-Chilean authority on military history, has brought together an extremely interesting and valuable set of papers. It will be remembered that six years ago, Mr. Bertling published his *Estudios sobre el Paso de los Andes.* The evidence contained in this last volume of 180 pages, published in Concepcion in 1908, will be welcomed by all students of the heroic epoch of South American history.

An important contribution to the material for the history of the dispute between Bolivia and Brazil known as the "Acre Question" has been made by Dr. Elias Sagárnaga, who has just published his recollections of the Acre Campaign of 1903 under the title *Mis Notas de Viaje* (La Paz, 1909, pp. 194).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: P. Mantoux, *Le Comité de Salut Public et la Mission de Genêt aux États-Unis* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, November–December); George A. Chisholm, *A Hundred Years of Commerce between England and America* (The Scottish

Geographical Magazine, November); C. M. Harvey, *The Story of the Santa Fé Trail* (Atlantic, December); Major-General A. S. Webb, *Campaigning in Florida in 1855* (Journal of the Military Service Institution, November–December); Brigadier-General H. L. Abbot, *Reminiscences of the Oregon War of 1855* (*ibid.*); John D. Wolcott, *The Southern Educational Convention of 1863* (South Atlantic Quarterly, October); Wayne MacVeagh, *Lincoln at Gettysburg* (Century, November); *The Diary of Gideon Welles,* IX. *The End of the War,* X. *The Death of Lincoln* (Atlantic, October, November); Morris Schaff, *The Battle of the Wilderness,* V., VI., VII. (*ibid.,* October, November, December); Major J. C. White, *A Review of the Services of the Regular Army during the Civil War,* II. (Journal of the Military Service Institution, November–December); Count C. d'Eschevannès, ed., *Une Excursion au Pays des Chactas* [1867]—*Lettres inédites du T. R. P. Chocarne, O. P.* (Études, November 5); J. K. Towles, *Early Railroad Monopoly and Discrimination in Rhode Island, 1835–1855* (Yale Review, November); R. W. Gilder, *Grover Cleveland: a Group of Letters: a Record of Friendship,* IV. (Century, November); Gaillard Hunt, *The History of the Department of State,* IV. (American Journal of International Law, October); H. B. Learned, *The Attorney-General and the Cabinet* (Political Science Quarterly, August); R. B. Scott, *The Increased Control of State Activities by the Federal Courts* (*ibid.*); Stephen Leacock, *Canada and the Monroe Doctrine* (The University Magazine, October).

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The

American Historical Review

THE MEETING OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION AT NEW YORK

THE American Historical Association, whose history was recounted in our last October number, was founded in September, 1884, the American Economic Association in September, 1885. At Christmas, 1909, the one society would count a few months more than twenty-five years of prosperous existence, the other some months less. It was accordingly arranged that a joint anniversary celebration should take place in New York in the closing days of December, the usual time of the annual meetings. This gave beforehand an unusual character to the preparations. It was determined, by joint resolution, to be festive. The resolve to celebrate was well warranted by the abundant and intelligent work which the two societies have in twenty-five years accomplished, and by the significance of that work for the development of their respective sciences in recent times. In ordinary meetings they devote themselves with quite sufficient seriousness to grave historical problems, to currency and the trusts, "And what the Swede intend, and what the French". We have it on the highest Puritan authority that

> For other things mild Heav'n a time ordains,
> And disapproves that care, though wise in show,
> That with superfluous burden loads the day,
> And when God sends a cheerful hour, refrains.

Cheerful hours the committee of arrangements provided in abundance, and if at times the tickets of admission to them seemed relatively less abundant, it was because the attractions proved so much more potent in drawing members to New York than the modesty of a New York committee could permit them to anticipate. Where 330 had been the highest number of members in attendance at any previous meeting, no fewer than 565 were registered on the

present occasion. With the added hosts of the American Economic Association, the American Political Science Association, the American Social Science Association, the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, the American Association for Labor Legislation, the American Society of Church History, and the Bibliographical Society of America, it made a formidable body, the entertaining of which must have taxed heavily the resources, and especially the organizing ability, of the New York members. Hospitality was however shown in extraordinary measure. There were luncheons, for some or all of the associations, provided by Columbia University, Teachers College, the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, the Merchants' Association, and the Chamber of Commerce, receptions offered by the Academy of Political Science, Mrs. Clarence W. Bowen, and Mr. and Mrs. William K. Vanderbilt, and a "smoker" by the City Club of New York. At noon of the middle day there was a special breakfast at the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria (which had been made the headquarters of the associations), at which brief speeches were made, congratulatory or commemorative of the work of the two elder societies. Special honors were paid on this occasion to the distinguished foreign guests whose presence the committee of arrangements had brought about. For the Historical Association, these were Professors George W. Prothero of London, Eduard Meyer of Berlin, Camille Enlart of Paris, and Rafael Altamira of Oviedo, Mr. H. A. L. Fisher of Oxford, and Dr. H. T. Colenbrander of the Hague. On the evening of the same day, the Ladies' Reception Committee provided a brilliant reception and entertainment in the hotel, with an exhibition of the work of the City History Clubs and a series of pleasing historical tableaux arranged by Mr. John W. Alexander. Finally, on the afternoon after the conclusion of formal exercises, there was an excursion by special train to West Point, where such members as made the journey enjoyed the hospitality of the Commandant and Mrs. Scott, and of other officers and ladies of the post.

All this made a formidable sum total of social events. Doubtless it was too formidable for ordinary physiques. Doubtless the more austere of the members of the historical profession would wish that in its annual meetings, in ordinary years, there should be less effort to mingle mundane attractions with its serious deliberations. But even these "budge doctors of the Stoic fur" appreciated that this occasion was special; that a meeting which was held in such a city as New York and at such a time as a twenty-fifth anniversary must needs be marked by special traits, and by special endeavors to bring home to the minds of the "world's

people" the meaning and value of twenty-five years' progress in history and political economy and of great national organizations for promoting that progress. If this required festivity, they could nerve themselves to be festive,

> An' kerry a hollerday, ef we set out,
> Ez stiddily ez though 't wuz a redoubt.

A drawback which always attends scientific meetings in large cities is the need of holding sessions in various places, widely separated in space. In the present instance, though the Hotel Waldorf-Astoria was the official headquarters, most of the meetings were held at Columbia University, one at the new building of the New York Historical Society, and one, the opening meeting, in Carnegie Hall. Another source of mental confusion was the inevitable multiplicity of the programme—nine societies, with subdivisions in some cases, continuing through more or less of five days, Monday noon to Friday noon, December 27 to 31, 1909. But this difficulty is always present, now that the Historical Association customarily meets with two or more of its allied organizations; and it is balanced by the advantage which one who masters the complexities of the programme, instead of permitting himself to be mastered by them, can derive from exercises in fields adjoining his own. Since each of these societies has its own means of public report,[1] the present article cannot undertake to deal with any but the historical programme. With this it deals perforce in somewhat annalistic fashion. When a meeting consists principally of simultaneous sessions of especial sections, that one-sixth of the membership which attended the meeting, as well as the five-sixths who were absent, may find use for a chronicle of what was brought forward in each subdivision or on each occasion. Before passing from general considerations, however, mention should be made of the interesting and valuable exhibition of aids to the visualization of history—objects and models, pictures and maps—prepared by Professors Henry Johnson and James T. Shotwell, and shown at Teachers College, and of the remarkable exhibit of historical manuscripts and rare printed books, from the collections of Columbia University, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, and others, which had been gathered together for the occasion by the university librarian, Mr. W. Dawson Johnston. The former of these two exhibitions is instructively described in the February number of the *History Teacher's Magazine*. It should also be recorded, with every expression of gratitude,

[1] The best general summary of the whole group of meetings may be found in *The Survey* for January 15, 1910.

that Professor William M. Sloane and Dr. Clarence W. Bowen, Professors Edwin R. A. Seligman and Samuel McCune Lindsay, constituted the Joint Anniversary Committee, and that Professor James T. Shotwell was the chairman of the Committee on Programme.

At the opening session ("Citizens' Meeting and Official Welcome" to the two celebrating societies), presided over by Mr. Joseph H. Choate, it had been arranged that the President of the United States, the governor of New York, the mayor of the city, and the president of Columbia University should speak, but a heavy storm prevented President Taft from coming. If much of what was said was marked by hardly more than postprandial felicity, Governor Hughes struck a higher note in his remarks on the value of historical and economic studies to the practical administrator and to the general public life.

Next morning's session at Columbia University was devoted to two presidential addresses, that of Professor Albert Bushnell Hart as president of the American Historical Association and that of Professor Davis R. Dewey as president of the American Economic Association. The former, on Imagination in History, was printed in the last issue of this journal. The latter was on Observation in Economics, a clear and thoughtful paper, containing much that it was profitable for historians to ponder.[2]

The session of Tuesday evening, at the building of the New York Historical Society, was appropriately devoted to addresses on the work of historical societies in Europe, each of the foreign guests speaking of their work in his own particular country—Professor Prothero of those of England, Professor Meyer of those of Germany, Professor Enlart of the French, Dr. Colenbrander of the Dutch, Professor Altamira of the Spanish. Their papers dwelt too much upon details and lists of individual societies to make it possible to summarize them here. The most instructive impression that disengaged itself from the mass was that of the wide variety of ways in which the work of historical societies, and historical work in general, stands related in different European countries to the respective governments. When the full reports are published, in the *Annual Report,* those who are interested in the growing problem of the relations of the state to history in America will find in them many useful suggestions. Four of the addresses of these distinguished foreign associates were given in excellent English, the fifth in French.

[2] Printed in the *American Economic Association Quarterly,* vol. XI., no. 1, April, 1910.

On Wednesday morning occurred a joint session of the historical body and the American Political Science Association. By general agreement, it was one of the most interesting sessions which either society had ever had. The day (December 29) being the one-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Gladstone, the general topic chosen was British Constitutional and Political Development in the nineteenth century, with especial reference to that anniversary. An excellent introduction was furnished by Professor A. L. P. Dennis's comprehensive paper on Tendencies in British Foreign Policy since Disraeli, in which he surveyed the advances which thirty years have marked in the solution of the three regional problems most troublesome to the British government in 1880, those of Egypt, South Africa, and Afghanistan, and in the general progress of Anglo-French, Anglo-Russian, and Anglo-German relations. Professor George M. Wrong of Toronto followed with a brilliant and most able paper on Canadian Nationalism and the Imperial Tie.[3] Defining his conception of the future of the British empire as the evolution of a league of free states acting together for their common interests, he showed by a wide variety of observations that Canada, preferring to remain as it is because natural growth is better than revolution, is now practically a free state preserving the whole range of British traditions. Mr. Edward Porritt's paper on the Paradoxes of Gladstone's Popularity was, he said, written from the standpoint of a former Parliamentary reporter. He dwelt first upon the aloofness which marked Gladstone's relations with the rank and file of his party, and explained why it existed and why it was not more prejudicial to his hold upon the Liberals and the country. The second paradox he set forth was that of the steady support of Gladstone by the Nonconformist electors, in spite of his imperfect sympathy with struggles for religious freedom and equality. He showed especially the part which that defect of sympathy had played in shaping the Education Act of 1870, retarding injuriously the achieving of a settlement satisfactory to the free churches.

Next, Mr. Herbert Fisher of New College, Oxford, who had been in South Africa when its new constitution was in process of formation, spoke of the Political Union of South Africa. He described the difficulties of federation, growing out of recent war, differences of language, previous separateness in government, and the presence and mutual relations of a white minority and a greatly superior number of black men. He described interestingly the pro-

[3] The full text, both of Professor Dennis's paper and of Professor Wrong's, is to be printed in the *Proceedings* of the American Political Science Association, volume VI.

cesses by which the three chief compromises of the constitution of the Union had been brought about: that relating to the dual seat of government, Cape Town and Pretoria, that relating to the suffrage for members of the native races, and that relating to the use of two official languages. The British ambassador, Mr. James Bryce, spoke of Gladstone's relations to modern English constitutional development, showing how his efforts to extend the electoral franchise were grounded in trust of the people and in the belief that power would bring with it a sense of responsibility, and explaining that, though reluctant to draw tighter the political bonds of union between Great Britain and her colonies, he was always fully alive to the greatness and value of Britain's colonial empire.

The last whole day of the meeting (Thursday) had, it must be confessed, too full a programme. Four sectional meetings, or historical conferences, took place in the morning, devoted respectively to Ancient History, Medieval History, American History, and Archives; four in the afternoon, devoted respectively to Modern European History, American History, the work of State and Local Historical Societies, and that of History and Civics Clubs; while the annual business meeting was also scheduled for the afternoon, and a general session on Southern History occupied the evening. Of the nine sessions for paper-reading no single human being could, it is true, attend more than three; but it is better that one should have no chance to attend more than two in any one day.

The Ancient History section opened with a study of Western Asia in the Days of Sennacherib of Assyria, by Dr. A. T. Olmstead of the University of Missouri, a continuation of his book on Sargon after the same method, that of the *Jahrbücher des Deutschen Reiches*. The sources—Assyrian royal inscriptions, letters from the archives, business documents, the Babylonian Chronicle, and the Biblical records—were discussed with respect to their trustworthiness. This discussion was followed by a close study of the political history of the reign, the importance of which indeed is more exclusively political than that of most reigns in Assyrian history. The leading place was given to the wars relating to Babylon. Next followed a paper by Professor W. S. Ferguson of Harvard on Athens and Hellenism, which we hope to be able later to present to our readers. In the first part of the essay the attitude of the Hellenistic powers toward Athens was sketched; in the second, the reaction of Athens to the innovations of Hellenism in politics, government, and social and religious life. A third paper, by Professor Nathaniel Schmidt of Cornell, related to the Hellenistic Influence on the Origin of Christianity.

The conference had the great advantage of the presence of Professor Eduard Meyer of Berlin, who made some remarks on the Papyri of the Jewish Colony at Elephantine. A large number of these papyri still exist, mostly written in Aramaic and dating from the fifth century B. C. An important class is that of applications for personal safety. Some of them contain illustrations of a pre-Deuteronomic form of Jewish cult. An especially interesting document is the Story of the Wise Ahikar, a sort of Persian chronicle-romance, with Assyrian kings as conventional heroes. The book was read by the Jews from the fifth century; traces of its influence may be seen in the Hebrew and Hellenistic writings, in the latter case especially in the form of legends of Democritus.

The conference on Medieval History was held as a joint session with the American Society of Church History. In its first paper, Professor E. B. Krehbiel, of Leland Stanford University, dealt with the question of the degree to which the great Interdict, laid upon England by Innocent III. in the reign of King John, was observed. The paper, which was based on an examination of chronicles, pipe rolls, close rolls, plea rolls, and other records, showed that while, as the chroniclers unanimously assert, the Interdict was generally observed throughout England, yet the rewards that King John bestowed upon those who violated it, and the punishments that he meted out to those that regarded it, caused a considerable amount of disobedience among the clergy who were mercenary and who were subject to the immediate personal influence of the king. In the second paper, Rev. Edward W. Miller, of Auburn Theological Seminary, after sketching the origin and historical importance of the medieval trade-guilds, dwelt upon the religious character and fraternal spirit of the craft-guilds. These had their patron saints and usually one or more chaplains, and performed various religious or philanthropic acts, undertaking important charities even outside the circles of their members, and participating in the worship and support of the Church. The genuine spirit of brotherhood existing in these guilds, and their attempts to minister to the various moral and religious needs of their members, were contrasted with the temper and aims of the modern trade-union.

Treating of the Roman Law and the German Peasant, in a paper which we hope to print hereafter, Professor Sidney B. Fay of Dartmouth argued that there is no contemporary evidence for the commonly accepted views (1) that the introduction of the Roman Law tended to depress the German peasant of Luther's time into the condition of a Roman slave; (2) that there was a "popular opposition" to the Roman Law; and (3) that the introduction of the

Roman Law was a cause of the Peasants' Revolt of 1525. These ideas, he held, are in the nature of a legend, due partly to a confusion of peasant conditions in East and West Germany, partly to nationalistic prejudice, and partly to unwarranted generalizations.

M. Camille Enlart, professor of the history of architecture in Paris, made a plea for the study in America of the history of European medieval art. He showed how in France medieval art had been rehabilitated by the efforts of M. Viollet le Duc; gave a survey of present instruction in this subject in France, and showed why America should not be behind in this new movement. After sketching the successive stages of European art from the sixth to the sixteenth centuries, he outlined a programme of study suitable for American universities, describing in detail the requisite equipment of books, photographs, and casts.

Professor A. C. Howland, of the University of Pennsylvania, illustrated the special tendencies of the reform movement of the eleventh century in southern Germany—the fostering of an active intellectual life and the inculcation of practical morality—from the life of Othloh, a monk of St. Emmeram in Regensburg, whose writings contain much autobiographical material.

The first of the two conferences on American history was devoted specifically to Western history. Professor F. H. Hodder of Kansas read a paper, entitled Side-Lights on the Second Missouri Compromise, based chiefly on Missouri materials. He showed first that the new Missouri constitution was modelled on that of Kentucky, that there was no evidence that it was the work of David Barton, nor that Benton was justified in claiming to have secured the adoption of the clause respecting slavery. The author accounted for the change of votes in the national House of Representatives which permitted the admission of Missouri, and for the erroneous designation in the act of Congress of the objectionable clause in the state's constitution, and then showed how, in spite of the act, Missouri effected her purpose of excluding free negroes and mulattoes from the state. A paper on the Erie Canal and the Settlement of the West, by Mrs. Lois K. Mathews of Vassar College, was illustrated by maps of settlement in 1820, 1830, and 1840. Although New York and Pennsylvania were affected directly and at once, the greatest changes were wrought in those tracts bordering upon the Great Lakes, namely, northern Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, southern Michigan and Wisconsin. Not only was the population greatly increased as the result of the new means of westward migration, but its character underwent a great change due to the large influx of New Englanders and New Yorkers. The sys-

tems of local government became more like those of New England, while schools and Congregational churches sprang up at once under the same influences. By figures of prices and rates, the nature and bulk of the traffic over the Erie Canal in its earlier years was also brought out.

Under the title Some Aspects of Postal Extension into the West, Professor J. P. Bretz of Cornell set forth the political services rendered by the Western posts in the early period under the Constitution. The desire to cultivate a better understanding of the measures of the national government and to promote the circulation of useful information concerning the great interests of the Union led Congress to make early provision, at some sacrifice of the interests of revenue, for the extension of postal routes and service west of the Alleghanies. The same motives led to the legislation of 1792 admitting newspapers to the mails on favorable terms, with provision for the free carriage of editorial exchanges. The development of the Western post-routes was followed closely by the development of a Western press. The large increase of Western newspapers from 1800 to 1812 was described, and the political effects of this development in those early years and down to 1836. The last paper, by Professor E. S. Meany of the University of Washington, was on Morton Matthew McCarver (1807–1875), a typical pioneer, founder of Burlington, Iowa, in 1833, of Linnton, Oregon, in 1843, of Sacramento in 1848, and of Tacoma in 1868.

The Conference of Archivists, organized by the Public Archives Commission, should mark an important point in the development of archival science in America. In opening the conference the chairman, Professor H. V. Ames, spoke of the work of the Public Archives Commission during the first decade of its existence, and pointed out the progress in legislation for the better care and administration of the public records, twenty-four states having passed measures of importance. It was hoped, he said, that the present conference would be the first of a series which should afford an opportunity for those having charge of public records to discuss problems of common interest. The first paper on the programme was by Mr. W. G. Leland of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington, who outlined the various problems confronting American archivists. He distinguished between external regulation, mainly determined by legislation, and internal economy, mainly determined by the archivists themselves. As to external regulation, he pointed out that great diversity exists throughout the various states and that it would seem desirable to secure some degree of uniformity. Taking up

the problems connected with internal economy, he spoke of such matters as the collection of archive materials, their arrangement and classification, the nomenclature of series, various systems of indexing, the relationship of the archivist to the investigator and to his fellow-officials, the equipment of archive depositories, etc.

The purpose of the papers and remarks which followed was to point out in what ways American archivists could learn from European experience. Professor C. M. Andrews indicated three principal lessons to be learned from that of the English: the necessity of preserving archive material, the desirability of centralization, and the unfortunate effects of undue interference in the administration of the archives on the part of officials of other departments of the government. Professor C. R. Fish spoke of Italian experience, and the way in which some of the evil effects of decentralization had been overcome by uniform legislation. As to indexing, he thought that the experience of the Vatican showed that one should beware of the wholesale methods of library science, the old-fashioned but thoroughly workable index in the Propaganda being much more useful than the elaborate index of the Vatican. Archive guides are important, especially when the collections are scattered, and more of them are needed for the United States. In Italy the public character of the records of families, churches, religious orders, and other organizations is well understood; in America we need to realize that the governmental archives are not the only bodies of important records. Professor W. I. Hull pointed out the necessity as shown in Dutch experience of arousing general interest in the preservation of public records. He spoke of the good results obtained from co-operation and conference among archivists. The archivists for the most part are specially trained. The national government exercises a general supervision over all records and the accommodations for the housing of the archives are of superior character. The Dutch government has been especially active in carrying on missions in foreign archives. Professor W. R. Shepherd said that the poverty of Spain made it impossible to make adequate provision for the archives, and that the government is indifferent towards records which are not used in actual administration. The archivists, however, although underpaid, are for the most part well trained. Mr. Shepherd spoke of the importance of the American material in Spanish archives and urged the necessity of taking measures to ensure its preservation. Mr. Amandus Johnson spoke of the early organization of the Swedish archives, the provision made for securing to investigators the services of trained copyists, the system of lending documents, the excellent book cata-

logues, and the comfortable accommodations provided for workers. The conference closed with a paper by Mr. V. H. Paltsits, state historian of New York, on Tragedies in New York's Public Records. He reviewed what had been done in New York for the preservation of archives, but spoke especially of what had not been done. He cited case after case of negligence, wanton destruction, fraudulent sale, and the deplorable ignorance of which those in charge of public records had been guilty. The necessity of immediate action for the preservation of and strict general supervision over public records was made clear. In closing he spoke of his efforts as state historian to secure legislation which should ensure the safekeeping and proper administration of the state and local archives.

Of the afternoon's conferences we take up first that on Modern European History. Professor Ferdinand Schevill's paper on Some Features of the Present Political Situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina aimed at presenting merely the political impressions of a recent traveller. He touched on the merits of the Austrian administration, the prevalence and seriousness of popular discontent, and the difficulties in the way of settlement of the three chief questions: that raised by an antiquated feudal system of land-tenure, with Mohammedan landlords, the question of the Bosnian constitution, promised but not yet published, and the question whether Bosnia shall be incorporated with the Austrian or the Hungarian half of the dual monarchy. Professor G. S. Ford's paper on Bismarck as Historiographer consisted in an instructive survey of the *Gedanken und Erinnerungen* in the light of the German critical dissertations upon them and of the original and contemporary documents by which they may be controlled. The speaker showed from the history and from the dissection of this famous book that there were at least four limitations upon its direct use. Its point of view is political and personal, often polemical, not at all historical. Its arrangement is confused, and bears the impress of its origin in scattered monologues later arranged as best the editors might. It omits many matters of importance. Finally, it is the work of an aged and world-weary statesman little interested in the past and not naturally gifted with the power of taking an objective view of his own development and actions. The working of these limitations was illustrated by consideration of Prussian policy in the Crimean War, of the Hohenzollern candidacy for the throne of Spain, and of the discussions and negotiations preceding the truce of Nikolsburg.

The other two papers in this conference were general or pedagogical in character. Under the title Recent Progress in Modern

European History Professor W. E. Lingelbach showed by comparative statistics the growth in that study, both in undergraduate and in graduate courses, and in Europe as well as in America. The speaker adverted to the peculiar problems arising from the exceptional abundance, even superabundance, of original material for recent periods of history, and to the co-operative means by which this difficulty might be overcome. Dr. C. H. Hayes of Columbia University described a method practised in one of the courses in that institution, a course in the most modern portion of European history, whereby the portions of the current newspapers relating to European affairs are utilized as laboratory material, classified, subjected to criticism, discussed, and made the means of relating the present to the past.

The second conference on American History was devoted to the Ethnic Elements in the History of the United States. Professor Julius Goebel of the University of Illinois, after a brief survey of the earlier literature of German-American history, dwelt upon the failure of American historians to give sufficient weight to the German element in our history. He maintained that the German element to-day constitutes "at least one-third of our population", and that therefore the constant habit of assuming the Anglo-Saxon to have been always the typical American, all others "foreigners", could only lead to a distorted view of our history, and especially of the history of American culture, to which the German contribution had been definite, homogeneous, and constant. A careful study of the cultural status of the various generations of German immigrants, their geographical distribution, and the history of the subsequent development of their civilization, is strictly indispensable to the student of the history of our progress toward a higher national culture. Professor A. B. Faust of Cornell made, as in his recently published book, a more conservative estimate of the present-day population of German blood (27 per cent.), but thought it not greatly less than the English. He properly criticized the unsound method of determining these proportions in the Census volume recently published. He also dwelt upon the failure of historians to recognize duly this element; and upon the services it has rendered in politics and war, and especially in the furtherance of agriculture in America, of education, and of all that makes for the enjoyment of life, especially music.

The next paper, by Mr. Juul Dieserud, of the Library of Congress, was entitled, The Scandinavians: Ethnic Characteristics; Causes of Emigration. After giving some estimates of the numbers of the Scandinavian element, and an account of the anthropol-

ogy and archaeology of the three Scandinavian countries, the speaker discussed the economic and social conditions in these countries in their bearing upon the great exodus of the most recent decades. The leading motives were, land-hunger; dissatisfaction with a rigid social classification, which, however, is fast disappearing; the spirit of adventure; and, of less importance, dissatisfaction with religious intolerance, though at no time very pronounced, and with enforced military service; and finally, exaggerated conceptions of the economic and social advantages prevailing in this country. Dr. H. T. Colenbrander began his paper on the Dutch element in the United States by touching on certain of the late Douglas Campbell's theories of the preponderance of Dutch influence in America. He pointed out that these fallacious reasonings had worked their way to the fore in recent popular literature and had a deleterious effect on the true estimate of Holland. While acknowledging the failure of the West India Company's colonization and the limited extent of Dutch settlement here, he showed the peculiar influence of Holland on seventeenth-century civilization at large and her indirect effect on America.

The sixth annual Conference of Historical Societies was well attended. The chairman, Professor St. George L. Sioussat, opened the session with a brief account of the work of the conference since its organization at Chicago in 1904. He urged that future conferences should consider especially the matter of co-operation between societies. The secretary of the conference, Mr. W. G. Leland, presented an analysis of the reports sent in by over fifty societies. These showed a membership of nearly sixteen thousand, with property and funds amounting to nearly four million dollars. The activities of the societies, however, seemed not to be commensurate either in quality or in amount with their wealth and number of members. Mr. Dunbar Rowland, for the Committee on Co-operation, reported that, two thousand dollars having been subscribed, the work of preparing a calendar of the documents in the French archives relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley has been commenced. The subject for discussion at the conference was the publications of historical societies. Professor H. E. Bourne read a carefully prepared paper on What we can learn from the Publishing Activities of European Societies. Considering mainly the eight hundred societies of France and Germany, he pointed out that the Germans appear to manifest a greater spirit of co-operation and a higher sense of discipline, whereas in France there is an unfortunate division of societies into what may be regarded as reactionary and radical groups. He spoke especially of the collec-

tion and publication of documents relating to the economic history of the French Revolution, by a central commission and affiliated departmental commissions. Of the German organizations he mentioned especially the institutes or commissions which select and edit for publication historical documents from state, city, communal, or private archives. Mr. W. C. Ford's paper on Certain Defects in the Publications of American Historical Societies was exceedingly suggestive. He pointed out the lack of discretion, judgment, or knowledge, and the careless editing so often displayed. He deprecated the preponderance of articles of merely family or personal interest, suggesting as a remedy that the central society in each state might exercise some influence over local societies to prevent the duplication of work, to guard against the burial of material of general interest in obscure publications, and to aid if need be in the selection and printing of documents. In the discussion which followed Dr. R. G. Thwaites made a plea for a charitable judgment of the publications of societies which are dependent upon legislative appropriations. Mr. V. H. Paltsits urged that greater attention should be paid to good book-making, and Mr. R. D. W. Connor pointed out how the publication of the *North Carolina Colonial and State Records* had aroused a general interest in historical matters throughout the state and had resulted in the establishment of a permanent state commission.

In the conference on the Work of History and Civics Clubs, Miss M. Elizabeth Crouse described the Aim and Methods of the City History Clubs of New York, Mr. A. L. Pugh, of the New York High School of Commerce, set forth a Practical Programme in Municipal Civics for Clubs, and Mr. H. C. Green, of the College of the City of New York, described the actual work done in Civics Clubs.

The evening's session on Southern History was a general session of the Association. Its theme was special: Reconstruction and Race-Relations since the Civil War. Judge W. H. Thomas of Montgomery spoke of the South's Task: Some of its Difficulties, stating the need of constantly reckoning with conditions fixed by historical development, and of encouraging the negro to make progress along industrial lines. Professor W. A. Dunning of Columbia University, after sketching the course of federal and state legislation on the relations between the two races in the South since the war, declared, as the general opinion, that the time had passed when legislation could have much effect, one way or the other, in solving the race problem. Progress toward its ultimate solution will be brought about rather by social forces already at work, by

the increase of intelligence, and by better administration. Professor W. E. B. Du Bois of Atlanta University next presented a paper on Some Actual Benefits of Reconstruction, which we shall have the pleasure of printing in a later issue. Arguing against the almost accepted doctrine that the negro in politics was the prime cause of the misfortunes of that period, he called attention to the magnitude of the evils normally resulting from so great a war, even if there had been no men of his race in the South; to the possibilities of far greater evil in the courses which were alternative to the processes of reconstruction actually adopted; to current exaggerations of the actual harm of Reconstruction; and to the concrete benefits derived from legislation effected by Reconstruction governments supported by negro suffrage and with a large proportion of negro legislators—legislation which so commended itself to their successors as to have been long maintained in effect. Discoursing on the Negro Problem as affected by Sentiment, Mr. Theodore D. Jervey of Charleston traced in the legal history of South Carolina the efforts of the white race to differentiate between classes of colored men, continuing the story down through the period of Reconstruction. The discussion which followed consisted largely of the conventional and non-historical discourses to which the topic too easily gives rise. Professor U. B. Phillips of New Orleans, however, usefully emphasized the opportunity and the need for careful and discriminating study of many such problems in economic history as that of the relative efficiency of negro labor in slavery and in freedom, together with the need for recognizing on the one hand the wide variety of types of negroes (and indeed also of Southern white men), and on the other hand the norm, and the degree of unity actually present; while Professor F. L. Riley of the University of Mississippi described, as a practical method which he had found of value, the setting of students to making close studies of actual conditions and results, during Reconstruction, in limited localities such as individual counties.

The last sessions, held on the last morning of the year, were two in number. The first was occupied with papers on the Contribution of the Romance Nations to the History of America, so richly deserving of greater attention on the part of American historical students, not only on account of the intrinsic interest and significance of the history of the Latin colonies, but also because of the relations of their rule and their civilization to the history of the United States. Professor Altamira, in a valuable paper on the Contribution of Spain, adverted to the deficiency of our knowledge of the history of Spanish colonization and action in America. In general, we

know it only in its external or superficial aspects. The history of institutions, of law, of economic and social life, of scientific and literary activity, as it has been presented to us, is full of lacunae, doubts, legends, and unanswered questions. This is largely due to the neglect of the rich archives of Spain, especially of the Archives of the Indies at Seville. Professor Altamira suggested the foundation there, by the governments or universities or historical agencies of the countries interested, of historical institutes of research similar to those existing at Rome. Dr. R. G. Thwaites, speaking of the Contribution of France, described the rise and fall of New France as a glowing epic, and set forth the results which French endeavor brought in exploration, in missionary activity, in settlement, in the development of the fur-trade, in ethnological study, and in the influence of the Gallic spirit.

Dr. Hiram Bingham, in speaking of the Contribution of Portugal, drew attention to the striking contrast between the empire of the Portuguese in the East Indies, of wonderful brilliancy but of transient endurance, and the solid and permanent colonization of Brazil, where industrious, frugal, agricultural colonists prospered so soundly that, like the English colonists in North America, they were able, when independence came, to become a single great nation and maintain a strong federation of states. He also dwelt on the excellent opportunities for instructive research which are presented by Brazilian history. The last of the papers in this conference was that of Mr. Francisco J. Yánes,[4] of the International Bureau of the American Republics, on the contribution of the Latin-American Republics. Admitting that the new republics commenced their career heavily handicapped by economic conditions due to war, by scarcity of population, and even by over-abundance of Nature's productions, he described summarily the advances made in education, in literature and the fine arts, in the development of means of communication and the other material appliances of civilization, in sanitation, and in political life, with closing references to the Pan-American Conferences and the International Bureau of the American Republics.

In a pedagogical conference which was held at the same time, in joint session with the New York State Teachers' Association, two topics were considered, History in Secondary Schools in France and Germany, and the proposals of the Committee of Five appointed two years ago to consider certain questions arising out of the *Report of the Committee of Seven.* Miss Ellen Scott Davison, of

[4] Printed in the February number of the *Bulletin of the International Bureau of the American Republics.*

Bradford Academy, presented a report on the Teaching of History in Some German Schools, mainly based on visits to schools in Frankfort-on-the-Main, Munich, Berlin, and Halle, in the summer of 1909. In all these schools there is a course in history for pupils from about nine to fourteen years of age, beginning with ancient history, ending with modern Germany, centring about Germany, and chiefly biographical. The gymnasia add a second course covering the same period in a more philosophical manner. In the popular schools visited, all material is presented by the teachers. In the gymnasia short lessons are assigned in very brief text-books, and the teachers' lectures furnish details; in general, pupils are not allowed to take notes but are expected to remember what they hear; in the supplementary reading, which is usually recommended, they may follow their own bent. The work is well correlated and uniformity of instruction is secured by universal enforced adherence to state curricula and by pedagogical training. In the enforced absence of Professor Henry Johnson of Teachers College, his paper on History in French Secondary Schools was summarized by Mr. James Sullivan, who described some changes effected by the laws of 1902 and 1905. Especially noteworthy is the adoption of the recitation method, lecturing to the class being forbidden by law, and the assignment of long lessons in full text-books. Wide reading is encouraged.

Professor A. C. McLaughlin, chairman of the Committee of Five on History in Secondary Schools, read a preliminary and in some respects tentative report from that committee. The committee was disposed to adhere in general to the recommendations made in the *Report of the Committee of Seven*. The carrying of ancient history down to 800 A.D. was approved; to add definiteness the committee will suggest the topics that should be treated in the later centuries of this period. As much colonial history as possible should be studied in connection with English history, so that only one month of the last year need be given to colonial history, and two-fifths of the year may be devoted to the separate study of civil government. The committee sympathizes with the demand for more time for modern European history and, as an alternative to emphasizing it at the expense of medieval history in the second year, suggests the substitution in the second year of a course in English history (to 1760), which would bring in general medieval history; and a third-year course in modern European history with introductory matter concerning the later Middle Ages.

Throughout the sessions, except in this last or pedagogical conference, the absence of informal discussion was almost complete.

What is planned by a programme committee to be a free discussion of this sort has for several years seemed fated, in every conference except those devoted to curricula and methods of teaching, to turn into a series of ten-minute written papers not differing except in length from the series of twenty-minute papers which has preceded. Amid the chorus of congratulation upon the advances made in history in this country during the last twenty-five years, there is grave reason to doubt whether, in the last decade at least, that quick and vivid interest in research which would make discussion inevitable on such occasions has increased at all, except in the sense that the profession has grown larger, and that greater numbers of young men conform to the requirement of the doctoral thesis. Some two hundred and twenty-five such dissertations are listed as having been printed in the last twenty-five years; but the writer of these pages knows of but fifteen persons in the list who have since published other equally extensive pieces of historical research. The number of valuable American historical books reviewed in the fourteenth volume of this journal was not much greater than in the first.

That the Association itself, however, is doing its part to cause historical work in the United States to progress, was plain from the transactions of the business meeting, which now remain to be described. The secretary, Mr. W. G. Leland, reported a total membership of 2743 (or 2481, if those are omitted who are delinquent in the payment of dues). The report of the treasurer, Dr. C. W. Bowen, showed net receipts of $9521, net expenditures of $8649, an increase of $819 in the funds of the Association, and total assets of $26,903.

The Public Archives Commission reported that it expected to present, for publication in the next annual volume, reports on the archives of California, Illinois, and New Mexico, and that, by action of the Council, the Commission, reinforced by five other members, would act for the United States in the organization of the International Congress of Archivists to be held at Brussels in August, 1910. The Committee on the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize reported the award of the prize to Dr. Wallace Notestein, of the University of Minnesota, for an essay entitled "A History of English Witchcraft", which will follow Dr. C. E. Carter's essay on "Great Britain and the Illinois Country" in the Association's new series of prize essays. On behalf of the General Committee extensive efforts for increase of membership were reported, with gratifying results indicated in the figures quoted above.

Brief reports were also made on behalf of the Pacific Coast

Branch (represented on the present occasion by Professor Bernard Moses), the Historical Manuscripts Commission, the Board of Editors of this journal, the Committee on Bibliography, the Committee on Publications, the general editor of the "Original Narratives of Early American History", the Committee of Five on History in Secondary Schools, and the Committee appointed last year on a Bibliography of Modern English History. The Council announced the membership of the Committee on Programme for the meeting at Indianapolis in December, 1910, of the Local Committee of Arrangements for that occasion, of a committee to report at the next meeting on questions concerning Historical Sites and Monuments (President E. E. Sparks, chairman), and the membership for the ensuing year of the various permanent committees and commissions. A list of these follows. Professor F. J. Turner was appointed a member of the Board of Editors of this journal, for a period of six years beginning January 1, 1910, in the place of Professor Hart, whose term expired and who declined re-election after invaluable services to the REVIEW from its beginning in 1895.

The committee on nominations, Professors MacDonald, W. E. Dodd, and Wrong, proposed a list of officers, all of whom were chosen by the Association. Professor Frederick J. Turner was elected president for the ensuing year, Professor William M. Sloane and Theodore Roosevelt vice-presidents. Mr. Waldo G. Leland was elected secretary, Professor Charles H. Haskins secretary of the Council, Dr. Clarence W. Bowen treasurer, and Mr. A. Howard Clark curator. In the place of Mr. Ford and Professor MacDonald, who had served three terms in the Executive Council, President Edwin E. Sparks and Professor Franklin L. Riley were chosen.

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First Vice-President,	Professor William M. Sloane, New York.
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THE KING'S COUNCIL AND THE CHANCERY, I.

THE king's council is known as the original authority from which the court of chancery sprang. "As the Law Courts had branched from the 'Curia Regis', so the Chancery", it is said, "began to separate from the Council",[1] but the steps by which the process of separation was carried out have not been known. What was the difference, moreover, between the council and the chancery at the time of division has never been told. That such a problem should still remain unsolved has been due not to want of attention on the part of historians, but to the difficulties encountered. As Palgrave has explained, "partly from the absence of records, and partly from their ambiguity, the history of the Council, a Tribunal which occupied the most prominent station in the government of the country, is involved in great obscurity."[2]

Much of this obscurity has arisen from a failure to realize that the history of the council lies not in a single line of records but in several. Of these the archives of the chancery are the most abundant, the most accessible, and the best known, from which has been derived nearly all that has been written upon the subject. A different view of the council in many of its activities may be obtained from the rolls of the exchequer, which, however, will be drawn upon only a little for the present purpose. Still another aspect is unfolded from certain sources of later origin, less abundant, and as yet not widely known, namely the records of the privy seal, some of which have only recently been discovered.[3] As these throw much new light on the history of the council, particularly in its relations with the chancery, they will afford much material for the present article.

As to the early relations of the council and the chancery no fault is to be found with existing accounts, save as a few matters of fact and explanation may still be added. It will be granted as self-evident that the council, having no executive agencies of its own, must operate through one or more of the existing departments of government, whether the exchequer, the chancery, or some other. In the reign of Edward I. it is clear that many important activities of the

[1] Dicey, *Privy Council* (London, 1887), p. 16.

[2] Palgrave, *Original Authority of the King's Council* (London, 1834), p. 19.

[3] Especially the newly compiled Warrants Privy Seal. All the unpublished documents to which I shall refer are in the Public Record Office.

council were in association with the exchequer, under the treasurer as the chief officer. Frequently meeting in the exchequer chamber, sitting with the barons, the councillors made ordinances, which were recorded upon the rolls and were operative through the other agencies of that body. The treasurer also exercised a presiding function, receiving letters of the king with matters for the consideration of the council, which on occasion he was directed to summon.[4] A procedure of some significance was that of referring to him petitions of suitors in the following manner: "Mittatur ista petitio thesaurario inclusa in litteris Regis et mandetur eidem quod vocatis illis de consilio Regis Londoniae examinari faciat istam petitionem et contenta in eadem et fieri faciat conquerenti quod fuerit rationis."[5] Cases of this kind were said to be heard *coram thesaurario et consilio*,[6] and many of these are recorded upon the Memoranda Rolls.

Of the "council at the exchequer", to use a contemporary term, more might be said, but it is sufficient to point out that the beginnings of the "council in chancery" were very similar. At first the chancellor alternated with the treasurer as chief executive officer. He likewise received letters of the king with commands for the council; he was instructed to summon others of the council; he was to receive the petitions of suitors which were to be submitted to the council.[7] But none of these functions at first belonged to him exclusively. The special advantage of his office lay in his custody of the great seal, which for the issue of letters and writs was more extensively employed by the council than any instruments of the exchequer. Not unnaturally the clerks who wrote the letters were also employed to write the ordinances, and the rolls of the chancery like those of the exchequer became a medium for the council records.

As a secretarial department the chancery was allowed the minimum of discretionary power. In the issue of writs the clerks were permitted of their own initiative to issue only those *in consimili casu*, while all questions of form they were required by statute to refer to the next Parliament.[8] In fact matters of doubt and ambiguity were more readily referred to the council,[9] while instruc-

[4] Ancient Correspondence, vol. XLV., nos. 121, 143, etc.

[5] Ancient Petitions, no. 11872, endors; also Memoranda Roll, Exchequer, K. R., 35 Edw. I., m. 53.

[6] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, I. 214, 375.

[7] In the ordinance of 8 Edward I., it was enacted that no petition should come before the king and council except by the hands of the chancellor and other chief ministers. Hardy, *Introduction to the Close Rolls*, p. xxviii, *Calendar*, p. 108. The importance of this ordinance as regards the functions of the chancellor has been exaggerated.

[8] Statutes, 13 Edw. I., c. 24.

[9] *Calendar of Patent Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., p. 66; 24 Edw. III., p. 209.

tions as to new and unusual writs were received "according to the form ordained by the king and council".[10] So far, indeed, was the chancery dependent upon the council in all matters, that for the purpose of lending their aid and advice it was customary for councillors to meet with the clerks, as with the barons of the exchequer, "to be present in the chancery". Thus in the ordinary proceedings of the chancery, such as the registration of quit-claims, concords, recognizances, and confirmations of charters, the presence of the council is frequently noted. Likewise among the chancery pleas are those designated as "Placita coram Rege et Consilio suo in Cancellaria";[11] while cases before the chancellor and council begin to appear upon the Close Rolls.[12] These, however, belong to the purely common-law jurisdiction of the chancery, which was of limited scope and never attained an extensive development, and concerning which there is little to be said. For the ordinary business of the chancellor's office, the presence of the council becomes less noticeable and in 1376 was declared to be unnecessary.[13]

It is rather in the exercise of an extraordinary jurisdiction that the attendance of the council was most essential, and that the chancery acquired its special importance. The beginning of a special procedure may be noted in the early years of Edward I., when the king by a letter of the privy seal refers to the chancellor a petition in the following manner: "Mandamus vobis quod inspecta petitione . . . quam vobis mittimus inclusam, et habita super ea deliberatione coram vobis et consilio nostro ibidem ulterius inde fieri faciatis quod de iure et gratia curie nostre videritis faciendum."[14] Such a letter became the preliminary writ which was necessary for an adjudication in chancery. At the time, however, it did not differ materially in content from others which were directed to the regent[15] or to the treasurer, one of which has been quoted. Another form of address, which reveals in the beginning an uncertainty of procedure, was "to the treasurer, the chancellor, and others of the council".[16] Not until the reign of Edward III. can it be said that reference to the council was regularly made through the chancellor rather than through the treasurer.

[10] Ancient Petitions, nos. 14570, 14573, etc.

[11] Placita in Cancellaria, 30 Edw. I., no. 37; 34 Edw. I., no. 1 A; 18 Edw. III., no. 16; 21 Edw. III., no. 21, etc.

[12] *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 30 Edw. I., p. 365; 34 Edw. I., p. 395.

[13] *Rot. Parl.*, II. 322.

[14] Warrants in Chancery (Privy Seal), 11 Edw. I., no. 151; October 14.

[15] Ancient Correspondence, vol. XLV., nos. 155, 156, etc.

[16] Memoranda Roll, Exchequer, K. R., 35 Edw. I., m. 41; also Hall, *Formula Book of English Documents* (Cambridge, 1908), p. 100.

In this connection it must be remembered that between the various departments and courts there tended to be much jealousy and contention. The clerks of the chancery in particular maintained with the officials of the exchequer a rivalry which was to a degree reflected in their records. The distortion which has been caused by a reading of the chancery records alone is apparent, when these are supplemented by the rolls of the exchequer. By the aid of the latter it becomes clear that, in his relations with the council, the primacy of the chancellor over the treasurer was not accomplished without a struggle, which seems to have culminated in the fifth year of Edward II., when the chancellor caused the suspension of the treasurer from his office.[17] Apart from the political struggle, however, a special advantage in favor of the chancery appeared in certain writs, namely the *quibusdam certis de causis* and the *sub poena,* which were soon devised in that office.[18] These became an essential feature of council procedure, as will later be described, and served to identify that body the more closely with the *officina brevium.*

The committal of cases to the chancery was largely increased by Parliament and the council, which were constantly overburdened with the suits of private parties.[19] From the reign of Edward II. the Parliament Rolls are filled with petitions which were endorsed in the following manner: "Soit ceste petitioun maunde en chauncellerie . . . et le chaunceller appellez devant lui ceux qui sont appeller face outre droit et reson."[20] Sometimes the order was sent by the king's writ, *per litteras Regis,* but ordinarily the endorsement upon the petition was sufficient. That the chancery in such cases acted only under authority was carefully maintained. Thus a petition of the forty-third year of Edward III. was committed with the following direction: "Soit ceste petition mande en chauncellerie et illeoque appellez ascunes des grantz du parlement et autres du consail le Roi", etc.[21] More often it was expressed that the chancellor was to have power "by authority of parliament".[22] The connection between Parliament and the chancery was the more close, no doubt, since from the beginning of Edward III.'s reign the clerical

[17] Memoranda Roll, Exchequer, K. R., 5 Edw. II., m. 41.

[18] Palgrave, *Original Authority,* pp. 40–41.

[19] Thus a petition of the burghers of Oxford, seeking a confirmation of their liberties, declared that they had tried at various Parliaments, but had been delayed "por les hautes busoignes le Roi". It was endorsed that they should seek the confirmation in the chancery. Ancient Petitions, no. 9994.

[20] *Ibid.,* no. 13933; also nos. 9989, 10001, 11182, 12937, etc.

[21] *Ibid.,* no. 10464.

[22] "Ait le chanceller poaire par autorite du parlement de faire venir devaunt lui", etc. *Ibid.,* nos. 9879, 11046, 11531, 11598, etc.

work of Parliament was entirely in the hands of the chancery officials. In a number of instances certainly where there was a choice, cases were sent to the chancery in preference to the other courts.[23] For a long time probably the greater bulk of the judicial business of the chancery was created in this manner. It was a different method of delegation but still by Parliamentary authority, that certain subjects, such as misdemeanors in office,[24] foreign appeals,[25] and false accusations,[26] were by several statutes placed under the jurisdiction of the chancellor and council. An over-emphasis, however, has been made of the ordinances and statutes as marking in some way the beginning of the chancery jurisdiction.

The efficiency and popularity of the hearings in chancery are best shown, in the reign of Edward III., by the frequency with which plaintiffs sought them, in their petitions beseeching the king in the following manner: "Plaise . . . par voz lettres comaunder a votre chaunceller qui assemblez voz justices sergeauntz et autres sages de votre consail il face ceste busoigne oue toutes les circumstances debatre diligeanment et . . . ils ent facent ordainer si covenable remedie".[27] A suitor of the reign of Richard II. looks to his surest means of assistance when he asks that as the council was not to meet before Michaelmas the chancellor be commanded to assemble it without delay.[28]

The court which the chancellor was instructed to assemble was the council, sometimes including "the lords and those skilled in the law", or more often those of the council "who ought to be summoned", "whom he sees fit", or "come fait a faire".[29] It was left, therefore, largely to his discretion how many bishops, lords, justices, sergeants-at-law, and clerks should be called; although an obligation to summon an appropriate number is once suggested in a demurrer that there was not a sufficiency of learned men present to do justice.[30] For yet an indefinite time it was not a fixed tribunal, but ever an assemblage called *ad hoc*, according to the nature of the case. Sometimes there were jurists only, sometimes mainly

[23] Ancient Petitions, nos. 9975, 12841, 15564.

[24] Statutes, 20 Edw. III., c. 6; 36 Edw. III., c. 9.

[25] *Ibid.*, 27 Edw. III., c. 1; 38 Edw. III., cc. 2 and 3.

[26] *Ibid.*, 37 Edw. III., c. 18; 38 Edw. III., c. 9; 42 Edw. III., c. 3; 17 Rich. II., c. 6.

[27] This is of 21 Edw. III., Ancient Petitions, no. 12144. Some are earlier, *e. g.*, no. 12220 is of 17 Edw. III.

[28] Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section II., file 6.

[29] "Appellez a vous ceux de notre Conseil queux vous verrez qe serroit a ce appeller", was a common form. Warrants in Chancery (Privy Seal), no. 10724; *Rot. Parl.*, I. 362, etc.

[30] The Molyns case, *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., p. 136.

lords, who constituted the court under the chancellor. Neither were there at first any special subjects of jurisdiction, but cases were referred apparently on no other ground than that of convenience and expediency.

Cases were said to be heard "before the chancellor and others of the council".[31] In the records which frequently appear upon the rolls, the presiding function of the chancellor is plainly indicated. He summons the parties;[32] assigns a day for the case;[33] addresses a question to the litigants;[34] answers a demurrer;[35] admits an attorney in spite of the objections of other councillors;[36] dismisses a case on his own responsibility;[37] and delivers the mandate of the court.[38] For his influence in the Melsa case, 1356–1367, it is confessed that he was extensively bribed.[39] It was once alleged as an error in a plea that the judgment was rendered by the chief justice of common pleas in the absence of the chancellor.[40] The other members of the council are represented as assessors or advisers, when in the reign of Richard II. the chancellor was instructed to act "by his discretion with the advice of the council".[41] It is important to observe, however, that for the rendering of decrees the participation of the council was still essential, for as yet in the fourteenth century none were stated as rendered on the authority of the chancellor, but on that of the council—*ordinatum* or *decretum est per concilium* being still the proper form.

Thus far the chancery has been represented solely in the light of a subordinate authority, requiring for its judicial actions in every instance a preliminary writ or order. It is now possible to consider some of the steps by which the chancellor acquired a greater degree of independence, proceeding in judicial matters upon his own authority. "It may readily be supposed", as Dicey says, "that the pressure of other business, and a distaste for the niceties of legal discussion, made the Council glad to first refer matters of law to the Chancellor, and next to leave them entirely to his decision."[42] The first signs of an advance in this direction come in the petitions

[31] *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 18 Edw. III., p. 409; 21 Edw. III., p. 413.
[32] *Ibid.,* 20 Edw. III., p. 136.
[33] Ancient Petitions, no. 12289, 23 Edw. III.
[34] *Cal. Close Rolls,* 26 Edw. III., p. 470.
[35] The Audeley case, Close Roll, 40 Edw. III., m. 15; 41 Edw. III., m. 13.
[36] *Chron. de Melsa* (Rolls Series), III. 135.
[37] Baildon, *Select Cases in Chancery* (Selden Society, London, 1896), no. 106.
[38] Ancient Petitions, no. 14957.
[39] *Chron. de Melsa,* III. 135.
[40] Ancient Petitions, no. 11094.
[41] *Rot. Parl.,* III. 14, 140.
[42] *Privy Council,* pp. 16–17.

which suitors began to address to the chancellor instead of to the king and council.

As it was a custom to direct petitions to any of the ministers for writs, letters, and other matters within their ordinary official powers, it was natural to appeal to the chancellor also for his influence in the council. Thus in the reign of Edward I. John de Langton was besought in the following terms: "Vous pri et requer pur lamour de moy que . . . voy donez teu remedie com la court peut suffrir."[43] In the nineteenth year of Edward II. the chancellor was asked to regard a petition which was delivered in Parliament and to answer *par comun conseil.*[44] In a petition to the chancellor of the second or third year of Edward III. the keeper of the forest of Galtres complains of a conspiracy to rob the forest and asks, "pleise a vous sire conseiller issi qen cas notre Seigneur le Roi mette remedy."[45] About the ninth year of the same reign a man made complaint to the chancellor that he had lost money in the king's service, whereupon he was told to come before the council to explain the matter further.[46] As a means of approach to the council the chancellor became the constant object of appeal for the writs of summons and arrest, thus: "qe vous please granter un brief pour arrester le corps du dit Henry et lui amesner devaunt le conseil de respondre vers le conseil."[47] To obtain the writ was to begin a council process.

In the same reign there begins to appear a new form in the address of petitions to the chancellor *and* council. It is not strange to find here again an alternative procedure suggested in a petition of about the first year of Edward III., "au Tresorer nostre Seignur le Roi et a son counseil", in which a merchant of Gloucester complains of an attack and robbery which was made off Dover upon his ship by men of Calais. That the chancery, however, was the proper place for such suits was stated in the endorsement, "sequatur in cancellaria et fiat ei sicut fit aliis in consimili casu."[48] In the twelfth year of Edward III., 1338, a petition for a confirmation of charters was addressed, "Venerabili domino domini nostri Regis illustris cancellario et ipsius consilio".[49] Of the same year is a petition similarly addressed by a monk and prior of Jersey, who complains that he has suffered loss of goods as though he were an alien,

[43] Ancient Correspondence, vol. XXVI., no. 78; also no. 111.
[44] *Rot. Parl.*, I. 437a.
[45] Ancient Petitions, no. 15119.
[46] *Ibid.*, no. 14774.
[47] *Ibid.*, nos. 14847, 15176, *temp.* Edw. III.; *Calendars of Proceedings in Chancery*, vol. I., p. xii.
[48] Ancient Petitions, no. 15564.
[49] *Ibid.*, no. 11961.

whereas he declares he is a native of the island.[50] From this time scores of legal petitions to the chancellor *and* council appear, showing in their variety and frequent incorrectness of form a still unsettled usage. One as early as 1340 begins in the following manner:

A [*sic*] treshonorable pier en dieu et lour treschier Seigneur si luy plest sire John par la grace de dieu Erchevesque de Caunterbyrs et Chaunceler notre Seigneur le Roi et au bon conseil le dit notre Seigneur le Roi.[51]

Other forms are:

Al Chaunceler et as autres Seigneurs du counsail notre Seigneur le Roy.[52]

As treshonoree Seigneurs le Chaunceller notre Seigneur le Roy et son tressage conseil en le chauncellerie.[53]

As treshonourables et tresreverentz seigneurs Chaunceller, Tresorer, Prive Seal, et touz autres honourables et tressages Seigneurs du conseil notre Seigneur le Roi.[54]

These forms may be regarded as transitional, occurring less frequently after the reign of Edward III., when they were superseded by the single address to the chancellor.

That the chancellor might proceed to administer justice upon his own responsibility without a preliminary writ also begins to appear in the reign of Edward III.[55] This is indicated in the petitions for remedy which were addressed to him—*au chanceller notre Seigneur le Roi*—instead of to the king and council.[56] The earliest of such petitions which the writer is able to identify is of the years 1343–1345,[57] after which time they are numerous enough to indicate a frequent though still unusual procedure.[58] In the reign of Richard II. they occur in such numbers and regularity of form as to reveal an established usage and to indicate the beginning of the separation of the chancery court from the council.[59]

[50] Ancient Petitions, no. 13077, translated in Société Jersiaise. *Ancient Petitions* (Jersey, 1902), p. 66.

[51] Ancient Petitions, no. 14915.

[52] *Ibid.*, no. 10471, 28 Edw. III.

[53] *Ibid.*, nos. 15740, 14755, 15781, etc.

[54] *Ibid.*, no. 14955, 10 Rich. II.

[55] An instance purporting to be of 14 Edward III. is quoted in Spence, *Equitable Jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery*, I. 338. The reference is an error, however, as the passage is taken from the reign of Edward IV., not from that of Edward III.

[56] Ancient Petitions, file 303, contains many.

[57] *Ibid.*, no. 14865.

[58] *Ibid.*, no. 12289, in which mention is made of a suit begun by bill addressed to the chancellor of 27 Edward III. No. 15074 is a notable one of 38 Edward III., given in Hardy, *Introduction to the Close Rolls*, p. xxix. No. 15149 is of the 40th year, and no. 15124 of the 48th year. There are, I am sure, a great many more, but it is not always possible to date them.

[59] Ancient Petitions, files 301, 302, and especially file 332. Also Baildon, *Cases in Chancery*, nos. 107 ff.

They contain a recital of one or another of the common grievances, such as violent attack, fraud, seizures at sea, and inability to obtain remedy in the ordinary courts. They plead for remedy in terms like the following: "pur quei le dit X prie votre graciouse Seignurie que vous ordinez remedie, pour lonneur de dieu et en oevre de charite."[60]

More elaborate forms of address also appear. To the simple form *au chanceller* of the earlier petitions are now added "reverend father in God", "honorable", "gracious", "sage", or "puissant lord". Something of a judicial title is expressed in the words *votre droiturele Seignurie*.[61] At this time, also, the address is placed in the upper margin of the parchment apart from the body of the bill. The reasons which guided suitors in thus addressing their petitions to the chancellor seem perfectly clear. There was in the first place his influence in the council, which for a time was shared by the treasurer; there was also his peculiar function of issuing the necessary writs; and above all there was recognized his power as an executive officer in enforcing the law. This last consideration was expressed by a plaintiff who in 1388 asked the chancellor to proceed against his enemy, "et en oevre de charite luy chastier come vous bien puissez de votre droiturele Seignurie";[62] and again within the years 1391–1396, "depuisque vous avetz les leyes soveraignment a gouverner desouz notre Seigneur le Roy et sa pees a mayntenir et tielx riotes a contreester et des malefeassours et rebelx deinz la Roialme pur duement punire et chastier."[63] To practical considerations such as these the popularity of the chancellor's court is due, rather than to any theory of his position as "holding the prerogative of the king's grace" or as "keeper of the king's conscience", which was as yet unformulated.

The exact stage of development which was reached by the reign of Richard II. is perhaps best shown by a certain well-expressed petition within the years 1389–1391.[64] It was addressed to the chancellor, William of Wykeham, complaining of a seizure at sea, and prayed him to consider the matter and ordain remedy. In the endorsement it is recorded that the hearing was before the council, by whose authority the decree was made awarding damages, whereupon the mandate of the court was given by the chancellor. As thus established the constitution of the chancery was little changed during the fifteenth century. The council remained but with a tendency to be represented by regular officials, such as the serjeants-

[60] Ancient Petitions, nos. 12264, 13313, etc.
[61] *Ibid.*, no. 15085.
[62] *Ibid.*, no. 15085.
[63] *Ibid.*, no. 15216.
[64] *Ibid.*, no. 14957.

at-law, and the "masters in chancery". Decrees of the chancellor are mentioned in the reign of Henry V.,[65] and in the reign of Edward IV. are issued "by the chancellor and the authority of the chancery".[66] It should be understood, moreover, that with the new direct jurisdiction of the chancellor the older method of reference to the chancery by the king, the council, and the Parliament was by no means superseded. In the time of Richard II. the chancery petitions were as yet a small class and the greater bulk of chancery business was still in its subordinate relation.

At this point we may leave the development of the court of chancery with the statement that it was not a separation from the council so much as a specialization of that body in one sphere of its activities. At the same time there were other modes of council action which must now be considered to explain further the differentiation of the chancery.

The recognition of the chancery as a different or at least an alternative authority to that of the council begins to be signified in the later years of Edward III. by such expressions as "en la chauncellerie ou devant le conseil".[67] In the reign of Richard II. there are two distinct judicial authorities indicated in the statement that parties were to respond "devaunt le conseil notre Seigneur le Roi ou devaunt le chanceller en le chancellerie des tortz et grevances susditz".[68] In the twelfth year of the same reign a petition asking that certain disturbers of the peace be brought to the chancery was answered by a writ to have them come before the council.[69]

Now what distinction is implied in the alternative of the council *or* the chancery? At first sight it would seem to be immaterial whether it were the council in which the chancellor was still the chief officer or the chancellor acting with the assistance of the council. In the words of Dicey again, "there is little reason to suppose that in the fifteenth century persons brought before the Council and those summoned to the presence of the Chancellor came before an essentially different court."[70] In point of personnel at the time of Richard II. surely there was no difference, except that in the chancery it was the justices and other legal men of the council rather than the lords who were more regularly summoned, while the clerks

[65] "Omnia acta et actitata . . . per Dominum Cancellarium decreta conscribant." Sanders, *Orders in Chancery*, vol. I., pt. 1., p. 7c.

[66] *Calendars of Proceedings in Chancery*, vol. I., pp. xcvii ff.

[67] Statutes, 27 Edw. III., c. 1; Ancient Petitions, no. 12318, 39 Edw. III.

[68] Ancient Petitions, nos. E 1006, 11028, 14754; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 11 Rich. II., p. 283; *Rot. Parl.*, III. 267, 323, 471, which have been pointed out by Mr. Baildon, *op. cit.*, p. xvii.

[69] Ancient Petitions, nos. 11076, 11077.

[70] *Privy Council*, p. 70.

also were regarded as an integral part of the court.[71] It is of some significance too that at this time the council under pressure of Parliament became more than ever before a political body.[72] This distinction, however, has little weight compared with a certain difference of procedure which steadily widened and caused the ultimate separation of the two courts.

The root of a new development lay in the extended use of the privy seal, which for many purposes came to supersede the great seal, while the office of the privy seal became a department comparable in importance with the chancery. This was partly no doubt to relieve the chancery of a great bulk of business, but more because of the greater convenience and less formality attending the use of the minor seal. According to the long-established customs of the chancery letters of the great seal must be written upon parchment, in the Latin language, and were encumbered with tedious formulae; except the writs of accepted usage they could not be issued without a warrant, and were likely thereafter to be enrolled. The chancery also labored under the afore-mentioned statutory restriction that new writs should not be framed without the sanction of Parliament.

It was against these limitations and inconveniences that the privy seal was originally devised for purposes of royal communications. Written in French and later in English, not necessarily upon parchment, of simpler and briefer form, these letters could be issued without a warrant, and were never enrolled.[73] By reason of these and other advantages of expedition and secrecy, the privy seal was seized upon by more than one of the government departments,[74] and became the direct and official medium of the council, while the king for purposes more exclusively his own fell back upon the signet. In the reign of Edward III. the keeper of the privy seal became one of the three principal officers of the council and for certain purposes its immediate executive.[75] In 1349 it was ordained that petitions of grace, such as were usually considered by the council, should be brought either to the chancellor or the keeper of the privy seal.[76] In 1390 an ordinance was made that petitions of the people should be examined before the keeper of the privy seal

[71] In the year 1406 the court of chancery is described as "cancellarius cum co-officialibus suis et alio [*sic*] consilio regio". *Chron. de Melsa*, III. 300.

[72] My article in the American Historical Review (1906), XII. 1–14.

[73] For a diplomatic study, see Déprez, *Le Sceau Privé* (Paris, 1908).

[74] The privy seal was the special instrument of the wardrobe. See article of Professor Tout, *English Historical Review* (July, 1909), p. 496.

[75] "Notre Seigneur le Roy graunta ceste supplication sur lavis de son conseil et bailla mesme la bille au Gardein de son prive seel par celle cause." Ancient Petitions, no. 11119, *temp.* Edw. III.

[76] Close Roll, 22 Edw. III., m. 2d.

and such others of the council as might be present.[77] His office became the regular channel of council action by means of writs, warrants, and other missives, while the chancery as a secretarial department was thereby one degree removed. For instance, a decree of the king and council was first expressed by a writ of privy seal, which was sent to the chancery as a warrant for an issue under the great seal.[78] The clerks who wrote the warrants were inevitably employed for the other secretarial work, after a brief period of alternation and rivalry,[79] displacing the clerks of the chancery, as the latter had once superseded those of the exchequer. The first to hold the office of clerk of the council was Master John Prophet in the reign of Richard II., one of the staff of the privy seal as was each of his successors.[80] In the hands of these men the records of the council and therefore its procedure followed the methods of the newer office which differed materially from those of the chancery. The chirography is recognizable as rounder and more cursive, the notes and memoranda were briefer, on thinner parchment, or on paper, in French or English rather than in Latin, the records were kept in files but with no enrollments like those of the chancery, while their final depository was the exchequer treasury instead of the Rolls House or the Tower.[81]

In the reign of Richard II. processes by privy seal were fully developed, including not only writs of summons but executory writs as well.[82] There are evidences at that time of a positive policy on the part of the government to use the council as well as the chancery in rivalry with the common-law courts. The king appointed men to the council with salaries expressly for the purpose of hearing

[77] "Bills of the people of less charge" (Nicolas, *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 18b), Palgrave has understood to mean petitions of poor suitors (*Original Authority*, p. 79). In its connection, however, the "people of less charge" are in distinction from the men "of great charge", namely the dukes and magnates mentioned. My interpretation of the ordinance quoted is that for the consideration of ordinary bills the keeper of the privy seal might take the place of the chancellor in the council.

[78] *Rot. Parl.*, 17 Rich. II., vol. III., p. 313a.

[79] There is an instance in which two distinct memoranda were made, one in Latin apparently by a chancery clerk, the other in French by a clerk of the privy seal. Ancient Petitions, nos. 11046, 11047.

[80] My article, *English Historical Review* (1906), XXI. 17–20.

[81] The great collection of Sir H. Nicolas (*Proceedings of the Privy Council*, 7 vols.) consists entirely of documents of privy seal origin, although this fact is not presented by the editor. The statement that there were no enrollments in the privy seal office needs the qualification that a council register was started in 1391 and begun again in 1422, but this was not for judicial records.

[82] "Le consail estoit acordee que le suppliant en ceste bille avera executories bries et lettres du privee seal." Ancient Petitions, no. 11010 endors.

cases, and their activities in this sphere are well attested.[83] The aggression of the council was strenuously resisted in Parliament, objection being expressed particularly to the writs and processes by privy seal.[84] The increased activity of the council was one of the features of Richard's career of absolutism, and served as one of the causes leading to the revolution of 1399, when the council suffered a check but not a hindrance to its further development in this direction.

In the divergence of the council (privy seal), to make a convenient designation,[85] and the "council in chancery", as the other continued to be called, differences of record were a fundamental matter which had a practical bearing in all administration and judicature. With the government there was the alternative between the greater secrecy and dispatch of the one procedure and the greater formality and surer means of record afforded by the other. For these reasons the privy seal was adopted by the council for all its political activities and for such judicature as most affected interests of state. To the suitor, on the other hand, there was offered a measure of choice whether to have his case terminated by writs of privy seal at less cost but without enrollment, or by letters of the great seal at greater expense but with more security. To considerations such as these was it due that the council in time became the great tribunal for criminal trials, and the chancery the court for property cases. The further relations and differentiations of the two bodies or forms of authority, therefore, must be followed in the light of their judicature. This task I shall be permitted to undertake in a succeeding article.

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[83] See my article, "The Privy Council of the Time of Richard II.", AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW (1906), XII. 1–14.

[84] *Rot. Parl.*, III. 21, 44 (§ 49), 266a, etc. In the first year of Henry IV. the Commons prayed that all personal actions be tried at common law and not by writ of privy seal. *Ibid.*, III. 446.

[85] The "council in star chamber" would be a designation not sufficiently accurate at this time, for the chancery sessions were then frequently held in the Star Chamber. The necessary distinction is one of procedure, not of place.

WÖLLNER AND THE PRUSSIAN RELIGIOUS EDICT OF 1788, II.

In the preceding pages of this study a sketch was given of the development of religious thought in Prussia during the reign of Frederick the Great, in whom the *Aufklärung* may be said to have ascended the throne. Like so many great movements of thought, the *Aufklärung* produced in the ranks of its adherents elements and personalities unable to fight the whole battle through on the lines laid down by the boldest of its leaders. Among its camp-followers who had sought shelter in the opposing ranks and who had gradually risen to the position of chief of staff was Johann Christof von Wöllner, a rationalist minister turned mystic, whose career and relations with the new sovereign, Frederick William II., had been followed to his appointment as Minister of Religion under his former pupil, now the successor of Frederick the Great. Wöllner's first and most important official act was the proclamation of the Edict of Religion. Its genesis has already been traced.

The edict bears the date of July 9, 1788.[1] In the introduction Frederick William II. explains his purpose:

> Long before our accession to the throne we had observed and remarked how necessary it would one day be to endeavor after the example of our predecessors and particularly of our deceased grandfather to maintain and partly re-establish in the Prussian dominions the Christian faith of the Protestant Church, in its ancient and primitive purity, and to repress, as much as possible, infidelity and superstition, and by this means also the corruption of the fundamental truths of the Christian religion and the licentiousness of morals which is a consequence of it; and to give at the same time to our faithful subjects a convincing proof of what they have a right to expect from us as their sovereign in regard to their most important concern, that is to say, full liberty of conscience, their tranquillity and security in the persuasion which they have embraced, and in the faith of their fathers, as well as in respect to protecting them against all perturbators of their divine service and religious constitution; in consequence whereof, having now regulated the most urgent affairs of the state and made some necessary and beneficial new arrangements, we have not wished to defer a single moment the serious consideration of this other important duty, which our character of sovereign imposes on us, and to publish by the present edict, our immutable will on this subject.

[1] Text of the edict in *Publicationen aus den königlichen Preussischen Staatsarchiven*, LIII. 250–257; Mylius, *Nov. Corp. Const.*, VIII. 2175–2183; Rabe, *Sammlungen*, etc., vol. I., pt. VII., pp. 726–733.

This introduction has a double retrospect which is enlightening. It points in the very first phrases to the period before his accession, when, as prince, Frederick William was shaping his views on these matters under the tutelage of Wöllner, to whom he has now committed the formulation and execution of his religious policy. Secondly, it ignores completely and purposely the reign of the great Frederick which was the apotheosis of the *Aufklärung,* and seeks to formulate its programme of reaction under cover of a return to the policy of sixty years before during the reign of the unrestrained autocracy of Frederick William I. (1713–1740). Every word of implied or expressed praise for his grandfather in suppressing superstitution and falsification of fundamental beliefs is a condemnation of Frederick the Great's forty-six years of enlightened indifferentism. It then attempts to guarantee what is impossible in a bureaucratic state—that the private beliefs of all subjects shall be respected and their freedom of conscience assured while at the same time no official, in this case no minister of religion, though, of course, a subject with the rights above guaranteed, is to be allowed to disturb the settled creeds and faiths. Such a conception of a free church in a free state meant either hypocrisy on the part of the subject who is a state official, that is, a minister of religion, or oppression of the most galling kind on the part of the monarch who directs religious matters as though they were purely affairs of state. And then, in the interests of morality and religion, the paramour of Mme. Rietz and his minister, Brother Chrysophiron of the Rosicrucian Order, announce the immutable intention of a sovereign whose character was but the débris of broken resolutions and whose eleven years' reign is a chaos of half-executed policies.

The first six paragraphs of the edict, each brief, define the acknowledged position of the three confessions: Lutheran, Calvinist (Reformed), and Catholic, and the three tolerated sects, Herrnhuter, Mennonites, and Bohemian Brethren.[2] The officials are to prevent the rise of other harmful groups seeking to proselyte and thus abuse the toleration "so distinctive of the Prussian States". Proselyting is above all things forbidden to any confession or sect, though the individual is at perfect liberty to change his faith on his own initiative, but he must give proper and public notice of it to the state's officials. The activity of the Jesuits was in particular commended to the watchfulness of the state officials, religious and secular. Such modifications of the creeds as had been made

[2] There is here an historical error in referring to the latter three as tolerated sects. It was corrected by a special rescript, April 10, 1789. *Cf. Acten, Urkunden . . . zur . . . Kirchengeschichte* (Weimar, 1789), II. 173–175.

necessary by the antiquated language of the present form were permissible. Harmony between the sects was to be encouraged as far as possible. All this with the announced intention not only to maintain the old Prussian toleration but to see to it "that not the slightest intolerance should be exercised on anybody at any time . . . as long as each . . . keeps his own views to himself and carefully abstains from spreading them or seeking to convince others or mislead them or make them waver in their beliefs". "According to our opinion", says Frederick William II. (Wöllner), "every Christian ruler has only to see to it that the people are correctly and faithfully instructed in the true Christianity by the teachers and preachers, and thus to give every one the opportunity to learn and embrace it."

Sections VII. and VIII., which define and denounce the errors to be combated and which lay down the lines of warfare against them, are the heart of the edict. In section VII. the king describes how before his accession he had observed with regret the condition of the Protestant churches. The pulpits were filled with men who did not hesitate to preach doctrines "entirely contrary to the spirit of true Christianity . . . miserable errors long since refuted of Socinians, Deists, Naturalists, and other sects", thus diminishing the authority of the Bible "or even rejecting it entirely" together with "the belief in the mysteries of the redemption and atonement of the Saviour". To this "disorder" he proposes to put an end by fulfilling "one of the first duties of a Christian prince in insisting that Christianity in all its ancient and primitive dignity, splendor, and purity as taught in the Bible . . . and determined in the creeds of the chief confessions" shall no longer "be the sport of the delusions of new-fangled teachers".

He then proceeds in section VIII., as sole legislator, to command that all teachers and preachers abstain from spreading the errors denounced on pain of certain dismissal, or even severer punishment. Just as the king would preserve the civil law in all its authority, he now proposes to support the three chief creeds (Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist), which, if any teacher or preacher has once accepted, he is not at liberty to change or modify at his own will "in the minutest point". "If he teach any other thing (than the creed he has accepted) he is already punishable by the civil laws and cannot with propriety hold his office any longer." If he has ceased to believe in the creed he once accepted he may resign. "However, from our great love of liberty of conscience, we are willing that the clergy now in office who may be known to be unfortunately more or less infected by the errors set forth in section VII. should

remain quietly in their charges, only in the instructions they give their flock the rule of doctrine must always be kept sacred and inviolable."[3]

As has already been emphasized, the announcement of some sort of a religious programme of reaction was not unexpected in Prussia. In several of the German states[4] the rulers had already issued more or less formal warnings to their ecclesiastical authorities to guard against the spread of heterodoxy by the teachings of the men whose pulpits were meant to be the bulwarks of the old faith. The freedom and toleration of Frederick II. and Joseph II. had found critics open and covert before their death. The principle of "cujus regio, ejus religio" was not dead in non-Prussian Germany, and even in Prussia the prince was still conceded a special claim to the direction of church affairs. Why, then, does the Religious Edict constitute such a striking incident in Prussian history? Why is the struggle against it one of the most inspiring battles in all the too brief annals of Prussian constitutional history —one which may lead a later age, as it did Bentham, to compare Schulz and Sack and Spalding and Teller to Pym and Hampden?

Two points, the simplest and most evident that can be suggested about the edict, are the answer to the question that has just been propounded. The ordinance was an *edict* and it appeared in *Prussia*. By its very name it was distinguished from the simple directions to the ecclesiastical department given at this time in so many other German states for the purpose of bettering religious conditions. The edict, in its title as well as in its contents, seemed an attempt to revive not only religious but political conditions of the sixteenth century, when the princes had supplanted the pope in the management of the Church and the guardianship of morals.

[3] *Publicationen aus den K. Preuss. Staatsarchiven,* LIII. 253–255. For a better translation than the one in Segur, I. 442–447, and for several references I am indebted to an essay prepared in my seminar at Yale by Dr. D. W. Brandelle of Bates College.

[4] *Cf.* Frank, *Gesch. d. protestantischen Theologie,* Theil III., pp. 172–174; Henke, *Allg. D. Bibliothek,* CXIV. 10–11; *Acten, Urkunden . . . zur . . . Kirchengeschichte,* I. 182–184 (for Baden's decree); *Acta Historico-Ecclesiastica Nostri Temporis,* III. 994–996 (for Saxony's edict of October 2, 1776). On the prosecution in Saxony of some of Kant's disciples, *cf.* Henke, *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte,* III. 715 ff. For Saxe-Weimar, *cf.* [Röhr] *Wie Carl August sich bei Verketzerungsversuchen gegen akademische Lehrer benahm* (Leipzig, 1830). The decrees of Württemberg are found in Th. Eisenlohr, *Sammlung d. württemberg. Kirchengesetze* (Tübingen, 1834–1835). For Joseph's liberal decrees, *cf. Acta Hist.-Eccl.,* vol. III., Theil 22, VII. 556 ff., XII. 621, and Nippold, *Kirchengeschichte,* I. 410–414. The decree in Mecklenburg was directed against the dogmatic errors of a brother of Hermes, Wöllner's lieutenant. *Cf.* Nippold, I. 427 (third edition).

Its appearance in Prussia, the home of religious toleration, is clearly a great factor in explaining the importance attached to it by contemporaries. Had it appeared in any minor German state it would have aroused repugnance and opposition, for it invaded academic and religious life and thought, the field where the German had maintained for himself the largest degree of freedom. Its proclamation in Prussia, the most powerful and prominent German state, and the one whose whole history and much of whose material prosperity since the days of John Sigismund was intimately related to the maintenance of complete religious toleration, made it doubly alarming to the German, who in matters of religion and philosophy had found in Prussia an opportunity to exercise undisturbed his *Schreibseligeit*. Henceforth there were to be bounds and limits beyond which he might not go. If he were an ecclesiastic, he was further shamed and aroused by the offer that he might retain his position if he would stifle his conscience and accept creeds which he and his age doubted or rejected. In this last clause is the key to the situation. The age was the age of doubt and revolution in thought, while the language and the spirit of the edict were of the essence of reaction.

No sooner had the edict appeared than the pamphleteers of all kinds gave it their immediate, undivided, and unscrupulous attention. Many of these pamphlets have fortunately perished without leaving a trace of their existence. Many more would be unknown to us if it were not for the attention given them by Nicolai's *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*—a periodical of heavy respectability, which was the chief organ of the *Aufklärung* in Berlin if not in all Germany. Its reviewer, Henke, has left us a monument of his zeal and activity in his reviews of ninety-four pamphlets on the edict and the issues involved. These pamphlets were many of them so violent that their titles alone are given, their contents being left to sink into deserved obscurity. Some of them rise to the proportion of stout volumes. Henke mentions as among the most popular one of three hundred and seventy-one pages. Some of them went through two or three editions in a few days. Henke's reviews occupy about six hundred octavo pages in two volumes of the *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek*.[5] So clear and fair in general are most of these reviews, though written from the standpoint of the *Aufklärung* for its chief organ, that one cannot help feeling that they represent the voice of the age in condemnation of the edict. Henke's own summary on the general attitude is

> One may assert with certainty that in the Prussian states the largest

[5] Vols. CXIV. and CXV. (Kiel, 1793).

and the best part, not only of the ecclesiastics but also of the learned classes in general and of all classes of men who think for themselves, have withheld their approval of most of the measures that have followed the edict. They are either disturbed or displeased by them, even though in matters of religion they are not wholly opposed to the principles and views which these measures are meant to support.[6]

The edict was not without its defenders among the pamphleteers, and though some of them by their tone merit the appellations bestowed upon them by Henke of "hired sycophants and miserable flatterers", there still remains a group representing the orthodox who felt that the situation justified such a measure as the edict. These defenders were not confined to Prussia. From ducal Saxony came words of warm approval. "Hail to the great and wise Prussian monarch", exclaims the editor of the leading religious journal of North Germany, "who in this edict, framed with as much love and moderation as wisdom and earnestness, puts a check to the terrible confusion which certain popular deistic and Socinian teachers, so well characterized in paragraph VII., have brought about under the misused name of *Aufklärung*."[7]

However, the scattered voices of the defenders of the new order were not able to quiet the alarm of those who felt themselves endangered by the new minister and his edict. Men who for decades had occupied great pulpits and had been a power in the land saw themselves exposed to petty persecution and unmerited disgrace. Some resigned at once in order to avoid such a period being put to their activities as teachers or preachers. Some boldly persisted and defended their views in protests and pamphlets.[8]

On a higher plane than the pamphlet war, which is chiefly important as an amazing revelation of the boldness and unscrupulousness of the press in Prussia on the eve of the Revolution, is the opposition made to the Wöllner measures by the Superior Consistory for the Lutheran and Catholic churches. In the framing of the new measure they had had no hand; but they did not propose to let the occasion pass without a conscientious effort to modify it, and to save what they thought was more important than creeds or doctrines—liberty of thought and scholarly investigation into truth and the distinctly Protestant right of each to accept the Scriptures as the standard of his faith and to interpret them as he understood them.

[6] *Allg. D. Bibliothek*, CXIV. 77; Spalding, *Lebensbeschreibung*, p. 118, says, "Das Aufsehen bei dieser geschwinden und starken Machtäusserung des neuen Ministers war gross, aber der Eindruck davon bey dem beträchtlichern Theile des hiesigen Publicums nicht zum Vortheil der Unternehmung."

[7] *Acten, Urkunden . . . zur . . . Kirchengeschichte*, I. 461.

[8] *Zeit. für Preuss. Gesch. und Landeskunde*, II. 772.

It would be a pleasure, did space permit, to review the services and worth of this group of men: Spalding, Sack, Büsching, Teller, and Diterich,[9] names which represented in the Prussia of that day the most progressive and liberal theological thought. With the exception of Büsching, the geographer and director of the Berlin-Köln Gymnasium, they were pastors of leading churches in Berlin, and all, with the possible exception of Diterich, had made a name for themselves as theological and philosophical thinkers. They were in a sense part of the Prussian bureaucracy, and Spalding, the senior member, had already passed the allotted three score and ten and felt the burden of his advancing years. But with one accord they agreed that they were called to take up the struggle for things more worth while than office. Spalding resigned his preaching position at the St. Nicolai and Marien churches in Berlin that he might not at his age be involved in petty persecutions resulting from the edict, but he retained his membership in the Consistory with the definite feeling that here, despite ill-health and his seventy-five years, he was called to perform a duty which he could not and must not shirk.[10] Teller with equal frankness stated in a letter[11] to Wöllner that though he did not feel that he came under the category of the ministers denounced in paragraph VII. of the edict he must in justice to his conscience ask to be relieved of his duties as a preacher[12] because he "has for years in his capacity as a teacher in the church and university spoken boldly and without reserve against all mere creeds made by men who like himself were likely to err". His office and his membership in the Consistory and in the Academy of Sciences he desired to retain but, if needs be, he would give them up too. Wöllner whose intentions looked to the ultimate dismissal of these men thought that it would be better "to tolerate them for a short time".[13]

The members of the Consistory held long conferences as to what they should do.[14] Sack, the Calvinist member, had already sent his superior, Dörnberg, a ringing indictment of the edict, boldly stating that for twenty years he had not taught in conformity with the letter of the creed, from which he had dissented when in 1769 he

[9] *Cf. Zeitschrift für historische Theologie* (1859), XXIX.; Meusel, *Lexikon der verstorbenen Teutschen Schriftsteller* (Leipzig, 1815), XIV. For a character-sketch of Büsching, *cf. Archiv für die neuste Kirchengeschichte*, vol. I., heft 1., pp. 151 ff. For Diterich, *ibid.*, V. 216 ff.

[10] Spalding, *Lebensbeschreibung*, pp. 113–114.

[11] *Zeit. für hist. Theologie*, XXIX. 44–48, under date July 21, 1788.

[12] He was at this time dean (*Propst*) of the Petrikirche in Köln (Berlin).

[13] Preuss in *Zeit. für Preuss. Gesch. und Landeskunde*, II. 770–772.

[14] Spalding, *sup. cit.*, p. 118.

became a preacher.[15] Teller and Spalding, as has been said, resigned their preaching duties but held to their membership in the Consistory that they might do their part in the fight. It was agreed that they should ask the king for permission to present to him their objections to the edict.[16] Despite Wöllner's opposition the king gave a grudging consent. Sack, the Calvinist member, was selected to draft the protest. It was presented on September 10, 1788.

It is not possible here to give a complete survey of these two able documents from the pen of Sack. Very simply and sincerely they point out the danger hidden in the edict, especially in paragraph VIII., which fixed the old creeds as the norms of faith. Evils are admitted. For these Sack had already suggested remedies in his *pro memoria*. But these evils are as nothing to the anticipated loss of evangelical freedom of teaching and preaching, the invasion of the freedom of conscience of whole communities, the stimulus to dissension and sectarian spirit, and the death of progressive scholarship in the field of Scriptural study. Good men and true must become hypocrites or be treated with unbecoming harshness. Error will go uncorrected and hypocrisy flourish.

It was useless. The king gave their reply no adequate consideration. He referred it to the three ministers, Wöllner, Carmer, and Dörnberg, with instructions to send the Consistory about their business. "There must not be the variation of a hair's breadth from the edict." The *Aufklärer* must be crushed. To accomplish it he was already considering further measures for the stricter censorship of the press. Wöllner was curtly told "to keep his priests in better subordination than his predecessor had done and to be governed solely by the edict, as I must hold you alone responsible".[17]

In the correspondence that ensued the clear unequivocal note is sounded by the Consistory. The three advisers of the king present a wavering and uncertain front. Wöllner was angry at the opposition to his pet edict and highly indignant when the Consistory presumed to criticize his German. Carmer, the chancellor, timidly approves the royal policy and seeks to explain away objections. Let us be lenient with him, for his life's work, the new Prussian Code, after many vicissitudes was approaching completion, and he did not feel free to jeopardize it by living up to the best of his thought on the subject of the edict.[18] Dörnberg alone is firmly against a reproof to the Consistory and is unwilling to give instruc-

[15] *Zeit. für hist. Theologie*, XXIX. 9–17.

[16] The material for the following paragraph will be found in the documents published by Sack's son in the *Zeit. für hist. Theologie*, XXIX.

[17] *Ibid.*, XXIX. 22–23.

[18] Stölzel, *Svarez*.

tions in theology to theologians with an international reputation.[19] But the reproof was framed nevertheless. The Consistory was told in direct phrases that if they had done their duty there would be no such religious condition to deal with. The Consistory had lost their fight for true Lutheranism. The creeds of preceding centuries stood now by law on a plane with the Scriptures, or rather they replaced it, for it was the Bible as presented in the creeds that was henceforth to be taught. Theirs was however the satisfaction of having done the right as they saw it. "We have done what we thought advisable and our duty. Now we can and must remain silent."[20]

One thing they did accomplish behind Wöllner's back. Through their representations to Chancellor Carmer the king was led to publish on December 19, 1788, a sort of supplementary statement, explaining that the edict was only a church police law, in which the king had no intention of placing the church creeds on the same plane of authority with the Scriptures. It was a hollow victory, for the king when prosecutions arose under the edict insisted that it was a binding law of the state. Indeed, Frederick William II. in the next four years, in his efforts to make clear his intentions in issuing the edict and in defending himself from the, to him, unexpected implications of his decree, seemed to be helplessly struggling in the grasp of a legal Frankenstein of his own creation.

Not so his minister. Wöllner, with all the force that comes from narrowness, with all the narrowness and lack of discrimination of the petty theologian at war with the *Zeitgeist,* with all the certainty that comes from adhesion to theories based on partial views and formulated apart from the responsibilities of administration, with all the recklessness engendered by great and sudden power and the shelter of a royal name for the policies he conceived, moved on to more petty and more galling measures against the *Aufklärung* and its representatives.[21] Now that he had embarked his pupil and brother Rosicrucian on the course indicated by the edict, it was

[19] Dörnberg to Carmer, November 20, 1788, in *Zeit. für hist. Theologie,* XXIX.; Carmer replies begging him to give his signature as it is collegiate action in which even those who dissent are expected to sign. "Ueberdem fürchte ich, und kann das fast mit Gewissheit voraussehen, dass eine fernere Verweigerung dieser Unterschrift von Sr. Königl. Majestät ungnädig aufgenommen werden und Ew. Excellentz Unannehmlichkeiten zuziehen dürfte."

[20] *Ibid.,* XXIX. 43.

[21] "Sollte sie", says Henke in summarizing an "Umständliche Anweisung" of the Immediate Commission in 1794, "von der Nachwelt für das Photometer der Brandenburgischen Geistlichkeit unsers Zeithalters gehalten werden, so würde die Nachwelt unfehlbar sehr kleine Begriffe von dieser Geistlichkeit hegen müssen." *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte* (1794), vol. I., heft III., pp. 1–28.

easy to keep him there and lead him further.[22] Criticism and opposition now became defiance of royal authority, and whenever obedience to his authority was in any way involved the king is violent in his language toward the offenders and even toward Wöllner, when he suspected him of laxness in the execution of his decrees.[23] Liberty of the press became, if it aired its views of the edict, impudence of the press and the royal reply was a renewed and stricter censorship of the press, proclaimed on the same day as the king's attempt to explain the Religious Edict as an ecclesiastical disciplinary ordinance.

The Religious Edict, if it had stood alone, would have been enough to justify the deep disgust felt by contemporaries with the Wöllner régime. But that feeling found a further basis and was given wider extent by the supplementary edicts in which it was developed and applied.[24] Of these the edict for the censorship

[22] Wöllner did not dominate the Staatsrath nor the foreign policy of Prussia. *Cf.* p. 520, below, and *Hist. Zeit.*, LXII. 285–286. Note the adverse vote of Prussia on the proposition to include in the *Wahlcapitulation* of Leopold II. in 1792 a prohibition on all publications against the Protestant creeds. *Cf.* Henke, pp. 355–392.

[23] *Allg. D. Biographie*, XLIV. 156–157.

[24] Most of these supplementary edicts will be found in Mylius, *Nov. Corp. Const.* (1791–1795), tomus IX. In tomus VIII., under the dates February 5 and March 31, 1790, are the edicts directing that all preachers of the Reformed Church should use the Heidelberg catechism and Hering's *Unterricht in der Christlichen Lehre* to the exclusion of all other compendiums; and a direction to all inspectors of this church as to how candidates for the ministry are to be examined. In tomus IX. the following may be cited as the most important and typical edicts or rescripts: December 15, 1791, a direction to the church inspectors to supervise the life and conduct of all preachers, teachers, and sextons, and to see to it that the preachers send in copies of sermons that they preach on the text to be set for them by the inspectors; March 13, 1792, directions to the Consistory on the method of examining candidates for the pulpit after they have been certified by the Immediate Commission established in the preceding November; July 12, 1792, edict requiring the use of the manual *Die Christliche Lehre in Zusammenhang*. This was a Lutheran catechism put forth nominally by Hermes but the real author of it was Diterich, a member of the Consistory, who now repudiated it as a youthful production he had long considered inadequate. On the struggle over the introduction of this catechism between its author and his colleagues, on the one hand, and Wöllner, on the other, *cf.* Spalding, *Lebensbeschreibung*, pp. 121–124, Preuss in *Zeit. für Preuss. Gesch.*, II. 770 ff., Sack in *Zeit. für hist. Theologie*, LII. 423 ff. The idea of such a catechism had been taken up by the king in 1789 and the manuscript submitted to the theological faculty at Halle whose reply was "dass das vorgelegte Ms. keine einzige der Eigenschaften an sich habe, die ein allgemeiner Landescatechismus fordere." *Cf. Acten, Urkunden . . . Kirchengeschichte* (1788), pp. 421–452. This matter of reforming catechisms, song-books, etc., was not peculiar to Prussia as may be seen by examining the files of the *Acten, Urkunden . . . Kirchengeschichte* for the years 1788 to 1792. Further edicts are those of March 21, 1793, May 13, 1793, and June 20 and July 4 of the same year, and in 1794 under date of April 14 a very important "Rescript vom Verfahren gegen die neologischen Prediger und Uebertreter der Religions-Edicts", also February 20, May 1, and November 6.

of the press has seemed on the whole the most important and is reserved for an extended treatment later. It is sufficient here to remind ourselves that though censorship of the press was not new to a Prussia just out from under the absolutism of Frederick the Great, the censorship of Frederick,[25] with its chief interest in directing discussion away from political topics, was in spirit and intent not the censorship of Wöllner, which through the activity of such creatures as Hermes and Hillmer[26] was interfering with the printing of books and pamphlets in theology and philosophy—fields of thought dear to the German thinkers and writers—two groups not entirely identical as one may convince themselves by dipping into the pamphlet literature of that day.

As a result of the renewed censorship of the press the German public saw the great organ of the *Aufklärung,* Nicolai's *Allgemeine Deutsche Bibliothek,* forced to move to Hamburg by the activity of Wöllner, hitherto one of its chief contributors. The local publishers and authors were annoyed and exasperated by the method and spirit in which manuscripts were examined, blue-pencilled, and even rewritten by the censors. The book-dealers who would import from the great markets like Leipzig found their shipments examined for contraband works. Teachers, preachers, and university faculties were spied upon, and silenced far less by successful prosecution than by the spectre of government interference. Of the former there was as far as I know but one, but the pressure was felt by the nobler minds like Kant and Fichte. The former saw his books forbidden and his university lectures disapproved. High-spirited but even-minded, he turned to other fields of thought and awaited the death of Frederick William II. to resume his lectures and literary activity in the field of religion and morals.

Besides the renewal of the censorship of the press—in itself more exasperating than efficacious—the Wöllner régime of reaction sought to make itself effective by a long series of supplementary

In 1795 there are two edicts having to do with the use of the new catechism and the subject of theological education, under date of June 14 and August 13. Special directions to the clergy in 1795 and 1796 emphasizing the importance of teaching the nature and sacredness of an oath are to be found in Henke, *Archiv,* etc., IV. 765, and V. 166. For material on the censorship of the press under the Wöllner régime it is sufficient here to refer to the documents in *Archiv für Gesch. d. Buchhandels,* IV. and V., and Consentius's articles in the *Preussische Jahrbücher,* CXVII.

[25] *Cf.* Preuss, *Friedrich d. Grosse,* I. 138, III. 249 ff.; Pigge, *Religiöse Toleranz Fr. d. Grossen,* pp. 68–75.

[26] On Hermes and Hillmer, *cf.,* besides the general accounts of the reign, Grünhagen, *Zeit. für Gesch. u. Altertum Schlesiens,* XXVII. 22–23, and *Publicationen aus den K. Preuss. Staatsarchiven,* "Preussen und die Katholische Kirche", VI. 160–161. They had formerly been Herrnhuter. *Cf.* Nippold, I. 431, 434.

edicts dealing with the reform of the catechism and religious instruction in the schools,[27] by the institution of a special (Immediate) Commission not controlled by the Consistory, which should examine candidates for the pulpit,[28] and by the promulgation of the so-called *schema examinis candidatorum,* outlining the sort of tests which prospective candidates for the pulpit must undergo and inferentially compelling university readjustments if its requirements were to be met.

The theological faculty of Halle, which lived and worked in the traditions of such men as Thomasius, Wolff, Semler, and the radical Bahrdt, were soon in conflict with the Religious Department on account of their inclinations toward liberal views. Men like Nösselt and Niemeyer refused to change their methods of teaching at the direction of such theologians as Wöllner, Hermes, and Hillmer. When in the summer of 1794 the latter two dropped into Halle on an investigating tour a certain marked uneasiness on the part of the student body led them to leave town in haste and send back their directions from a safe distance. The faculty maintained a dignified disregard of the avalanche of rescripts from the Religious Department and, on an appeal to the king, were upheld by the Staatsrath, Wöllner dissenting, and told to make their own teaching rules and disregard those of Wöllner's commissioners.[29] With the exception of Silesia, where there is no trace of its enforcement and where none of the supplementary edicts, not even that on the censorship of the press, was published,[30] Brandenburg-Prussia, especially in the cities and university centres, felt some of the effects if not the full force of the Wöllner régime. East Prussia, according to Philippson, was almost as unaffected by the edict as was Silesia. Though there is no basis on which one may estimate, as does Philippson, that three-fourths of the clergy paid no attention to the edicts and efforts of Wöllner, one must admit that the evidence he presents of the indifference, sullen acquiescence or open defiance on

[27] *Cf.* n. 24. p. 518, above, and Heigel, *Deutsche Geschichte,* I. 77; Henke, *Archiv,* etc., I. 391–429.

[28] Composed of such men as Hermes, Hillmer, and Woltersdorf. Silberschlag, who was a member for a short time, though a frequent defender of Wöllner in the Consistory, was a man of a far higher type than the three first named. On this commission, *cf. Zeit. für hist. Theologie* (1862), pp. 430–437; Philippson, *Gesch. d. Preuss. Staatwesens,* I. 343; Geiger, *Berlin, 1688–1840,* II. 11; and *Zeit. für Gesch. u. Altertum Schlesiens,* XXVII. 21.

[29] Preuss in *Zeit. für Preuss. Gesch.,* II. 768–769. One of the rescripts telling the Halle faculty how and what to teach will be found in Henke, *Archiv,* etc., IV. 1–5. The editor adds that he refrains from commenting on it as he has not those hundred ducats handy with which to pay fines.

[30] *Cf.* article by C. Grünhagen in *Zeit. für Gesch. u. Altertum Schlesiens,* XXVII. 23–24; also Berlin Archives, Rep. 9, F. 2, a.

the part of the great mass of the clergy strongly supports the opinion already expressed, that the effect of the efforts of the minister and his supporters is more clearly shown in the disgust and opposition that they aroused than in any change in the conditions at which they were directed.[31] The sturdy independence of the judges and the administrative officials and the willingness of capable lawyers to undertake the defense of offenders still further tied the hands of Wöllner. Publishers and pamphleteers continued to bid defiance in a most scurrilous manner to all the efforts of the censors, Hermes and Hillmer.[32] The words of the latter in 1791 are most significant in this regard. "We are considered all powerful but we have not been able to oust a single neological preacher."[33]

It would unduly prolong this chapter if space were taken to excerpt and analyze the supplementary edicts but it must be clear to the reader as it is to the investigator that they furnish important material for the correct understanding of the policy of the author of the Religious Edict. That edict must be interpreted in the light of the succeeding measures which sought to apply it in detail. Its author might, if judged by that edict alone, claim indulgence on the basis of the liberal sentiments expressed in its opening paragraphs and the ambiguities of its phraseology at other points. But when he follows it up by a group of enforcing measures which seek by petty regulation to limit or direct thought and teaching in schools of all grades and in the pulpits of the two great branches of the Reformed Church in Brandenburg-Prussia, he betrays himself utterly. It is *ex pede Wöllnerum* everywhere. The man and his measures cannot be separated for the measures are mounted in a setting of official correspondence—fawning and hypocritical when directed to his royal master,[34] truculent and abusively denunciatory when prepared in reply to the clear and thoughtful protests of the Consistory and the university faculties who cared less for their place and their office than they did for clear consciences and freedom of thought.

Behind Wöllner stood Frederick William II. With a certain doggedness that was characteristic and worthy of a better cause, the king clung to his minister and his minister's policy. They become by that very fact more distinctly than by his putting his signature

[31] *Cf.* Philippson, vol. II., ch. II.

[32] L. Geiger, *Vorträge und Versuche* (Berlin, 1890), ch. XIII.

[33] Nösselt, *Leben*, p. 61. Quoted in *Zeit. für Gesch. u. Altertum Schlesiens*, XXVII. 23.

[34] For examples of the fulsome flattery Wöllner lavished on the king, *cf.* Stölzel, *Svarez*, page 256, note 2. His language to the Consistory is to be found in the Sack papers in *Zeit. für hist. Theologie, sup. cit.*

to them his measures. The ideas, originally Wöllner's, had become the king's by their early relations as teacher and pupil, by their associations in the Rosicrucian Order, and by their joint interests now, as minister and sovereign, in combating the tide of irreligious and revolutionary thought.[35]

The tenacity with which the religious policy was adhered to by the king stands out even more emphatically when it is recalled that its development and execution were parallel with the consideration of questions of foreign policy affecting the whole future of the Prussian states—the Dutch war, the abandonment of the Fürstenbund, the Hertzberg alliances and exchange schemes, the complications with Austria leading in July, 1790, to the treaty of Reichenbach and through that ultimately, in 1791 and 1792, to a closer alliance with Austria in view of the Polish and French situation. It is, indeed, the upheaval in the latter country that strengthened the king in his policy of internal reaction. The experience of Louis XVI. with the obstreperous parliaments was in the king's mind in dealing with the protests of the Superior Consistory. He did not intend, he said, that they should play the rôle of a parliament in the Prussian state.[36] Recalcitrant subjects violating the Edict of Religion and that on the censorship of the press appeared in a different light when France seemed to be reaping the results of eighteenth-century irreligion and irreverence for old beliefs and old dogmas—political and religious.

The danger in Prussia of any such movement as that in France is not conceivable. The prosecutors of the king, however, did not fail to cite dangerous political utterances in the case of at least one violator of the Religious Edict.[37] The Consistory indignantly denied any intention of playing the rôle of a French parliament. The opposition, then, to the Wöllner régime did not take the form of political agitation except in the sense that what are political and social rights in the vocabulary of one people may be represented in the language of another people by freedom of religious thought and teaching; and the agitation in their defense is the equivalent of political activity in another land. Far more significant from the standpoint of Prussian history was the quiet but persistent check on the king and minister to be found in the stubborn unwillingness of the

[35] The bold but considerate judgment of Teller on Frederick William II. is interesting in this connection. *Cf. Predigt zum Gedächtniss Friederich Wilhelm II.* (Berlin, 1797), pp. 8–9.

[36] Letter of the king to Carmer, June 11, 1792, in *Zeit. für Preuss. Gesch.*, III. 70–71.

[37] In the trial of Schulz, 1791–1792. *Cf.* Amelang, *Vertheidigung*, pp. 92 ff., and Volkmar, *Religionsprozess*, etc., p. 20.

courts and bureaucracy, including in these the clergy itself, to fall into line with the new policy.[38]

Opposition and agitation seemed to savor of revolution and against such manifestations in his own lands he was determined to act with severity.[39] It is when in the spring of 1794 the whole Wöllnerian régime of edicts, inspections, and commissions seemed breaking down that this characteristic of the king makes him the real leader. The sovereign in him could not brook the inefficiency in execution that Wöllner and his subordinates exhibited. The unchecked tide of liberal thought in the press, pulpit, and universities, the independence of the courts and the tactics of the Consistory in the trial of the boldest of the violators of the Religious Edict and the confession about the same time by the Examination Commission that they could effect nothing, put the king, already harassed by the course of affairs in Poland and the dissensions with the English over the campaign against the French, into a fine fury of helpless wrath. New edicts were showered upon the bureaucracy, proving by their numbers the inefficiency of preceding efforts, not, as Nippold contends, their power and effectiveness. The instigator of the system was called sharply to account for his futility in making the king's will effective. Wöllner was deprived of the office of director of public buildings that he might "dedicate himself wholly to the cause of God" and a little later (March, 1794) in an autograph letter from the king outlining new forms of activity, including the calling of Kant to account, he was curtly informed that "this disorder (*Unwesen*) must be absolutely checked; until then we shall not again be friends."[40] Wöllner's activity as the result of this secured neither success for the decrees nor a complete restoration to the king's favor.

The untimely and unnational character of the whole reactionary effort is shown not only by the failures recorded above but by the

[38] When this independence of the officials in the matter of the religious policy of the king is considered in conjunction with the open criticism of his war policy in 1794 by a clique in the army, it throws an interesting light on the weakness of the king's control over the two chief supports of the Prussian monarchy. *Cf.* Ford, *Hanover and Prussia* (New York, 1903), pp. 61, 68, and 72, and Cavaignac, *La Formation de la Prusse Contemporaine*, I. 211.

[39] Berlin Archives, Rep. 9, F. 2, a, contains interesting edicts of February 1 and June 30, 1792, directed against revolutionary agitation. For further evidence of the king's distrust of the masses, *cf.* Lehmann, *Stein*, I. 161.

[40] Bailleu in *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XLIV. 156–157. Wöllner had further compromised his standing with the king by his opposition to the whole policy of the French war. *Cf.* a memoir of his on the foreign policy of Prussia in October, 1794, referring to his attitude and the king's displeasure in *Hist. Zeit.*, LXII. 285–286.

immediate fall of Wöllner and his henchmen on the accession of a new sovereign.[41]

Frederick William II. died on November 16, 1797, and his high-minded and clean-hearted son and successor, Frederick William III., after having purged the Augean stables of the Prussian court addressed himself almost immediately to checking any further activity on the part of Wöllner, Hermes, and Hillmer. Wöllner, who had the effrontery to assume that the new sovereign would allow him to twist his utterances into an approval and renewal of the Religious Edict and its supplements,[42] was overwhelmed by a crushing reproof. The king, after denying that any of his official utterances were meant to indicate an intention to enforce more strictly the edict, refers Wöllner to the example of one of his predecessors (Münchhausen), who had every reason to trust his own judgment and yet always consulted his qualified subordinates, of which Wöllner is reminded there is no lack in his department. The king then proceeds:

> In his [Münchhausen's] day there was no Religious Edict but more religion and less hypocrisy than now, and the Religious Department stood higher in the eyes of Germans and foreigners. Personally, I reverence religion and carefully obey its blessed precepts and would not for worlds rule over a people who had no religion. But I know also that it is and must remain an affair of the heart, of the feelings, and of individual conviction and may not be debased into a senseless mummery by methodical compulsion if it is to further virtue and righteousness. Reason and philosophy must be its inseparable companions, then it will stand by itself without the need of the authority of those who would presume to force their creeds upon future ages and prescribe to coming generations how they should always think. If in the management of your office you act according to genuine Lutheran principles which are so wholly in consonance with the spirit and teachings of their founder, if you see to it that the pulpits and teachers' desks are occupied by upright and capable men who have advanced with the knowledge of the day especially in exegesis without attaching themselves to dogmatic subtleties, you will soon see that neither mandatory laws nor admonitions are necessary in order to maintain true religion in the land and to extend its beneficent influence over the happiness and morality of all classes.[43]

[41] The brother of Frederick the Great, Prince Henry of Prussia, Wöllner's former employer, records his opinion of the régime in a letter to Count Henckel in 1791. "[Ich] sei Glucklich nichts von Berlin, Potsdam, Friedrich Wilhelm, König-Bischoffswerder und König Wöllner zu hören." *Cf.* Graf Henckel, *Briefe der Brüder Friedrichs des Grossen* (Berlin, 1871). Quoted by Grünhagen in *Zeit. für Gesch. u. Altertum Schlesiens, sup. cit.*

[42] Royal order of November 23, 1797, and Wöllner's interpretation of it, dated December 5. Letter of Göckingk to Benzler in *Zeit. für Preuss. Gesch.*, XIV. 67, and Volkmar, *infra.*

[43] L. Volkmar, *Religionsprozess des Predigers Schulz* (Leipzig, 1846), pp. 327–328. The author of this state paper was Bismarck's maternal grandfather, Mencken. *Cf.* Hüffer, *Anastasius Ludwig Mencken* (Bonn, 1890), p. 18. Hüffer

The new king had already (December 27, 1797) restored to the Consistory its control over the affairs in its charge before Wöllner's activity began. Piece by piece the whole elaborate structure of edicts, commissions, and catechisms fell to the ground. The discredited minister clung to his office for three months after the king's disapproval had been visited upon him. On March 11, 1798, he was dismissed without the pension he asked for and without hope of ever holding the least office under Frederick William III. A little more than two years later a grave on his estate at Gross Reitz closed over the fallen leader of one of the most extraordinary reactions in the political and religious history of Prussia.[44] None was left to bear his name or share the opprobrium heaped upon it by contemporaries and echoed anew by each historian of the reign of Frederick William II.

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dates it January 12. Mencken and Svarez, the new king's tutor and one of the greatest legal minds in Prussian history, represented the best traditions of Prussian bureaucracy throughout the trying years of Frederick William II.'s reign. For Svarez, *cf.* Stölzel's biography, one of the most suggestive books in the whole range of German historical writing. Also Dernburg, *König Friedrich Wilhelm III. u. Svarez,* a rectoral address delivered at Berlin in 1885.

[44] Nippold (*Kirchengeschichte,* I. 432) contends that the Berlin bureaucracy has in ecclesiastical matters never escaped from the influence of the Wöllner régime.

THE CONTEST FOR THE LAWS OF REFORM IN MEXICO

In 1873 there was consummated in the City of Mexico the final act which marked the end of the long and bitter contest for the complete separation of the Church and State in that republic. The triumph of the Liberal party which championed that separation was really attained in 1861; but the tripartite intervention of France, England, and Spain, the Napoleonic-Maximilian régime, and the era of disorder which followed, had postponed the incorporation of the so-styled *Laws of Reform* as amendments to the federal Constitution as a part of the organic law until 1873.[1]

The same year marked the final act of the government in the enforcement of these laws. In 1861, on the re-establishment in the capital of the Liberal government under President Juarez, the separation of the Church and State was made effective, the Church property not used for parochial purposes was confiscated and sold, the monasteries were closed, the civil registration of births, marriages, and deaths, and the other provisions of the *Laws of Reform* went into operation. The only exception made was in allowing the Sisters of Charity to remain in the pursuit of their avocation of mercy; but now that the laws had been incorporated into the Constitution, it was felt by the leaders of the Reform movement that consistency required that no exception should be made, and orders were issued to close the nunneries and require the Sisters to cease their monastic life.

Soon after my arrival in the country my good offices were invoked, in the absence of a diplomatic representative of France (to which country most of the Sisters belonged), to act as their friend and interventor with the government in making their departure more easy. I was also brought into personal contact with many of the prominent participants on both sides in the contest which raged in the press, in the forum, and on the field of battle during the years preceding 1861, and I became deeply interested in the questions so hotly fought out and finally settled. It may be a matter of some interest, after the lapse of half a century and more, to recall some of the salient features of that contest, which had such an important influence on the destinies, not only of Mexico, but of all the countries of Latin America.

[1] For the text of the amendments, see *U. S. Foreign Relations*, 1874, p. 714.

The spirit which largely influenced the occupation and conquest of Mexico by the Spaniards was their devotion to the Church. The Cross was inscribed on their banners, and the conversion of the natives was carried out with pious zeal. Throughout the Spanish domination the Church and State were indissolubly bound together, and the Holy Catholic Church held universal sway over the hearts and consciences of all the people. When the independence was achieved and the Mexican nation was established, the same close relationship between the Church and State was continued. The Plan of Iguala, under which Iturbide declared the independence of Mexico, announced that it was "animated by no other desire than to preserve the holy religion which we profess", and it established as the first of the three solid bases of the new government "the Apostolic, Roman Catholic religion, without the tolerance of any other".[2] From 1821 to 1857 through all the revolutions and many changes of government every national constitution contained a similar provision.

The movement which brought about the separation of the Church and State and which so completely changed the social and political order of this devoted Catholic country, did not begin with a definitely framed programme, but was an evolution of ideas developed in the long series of revolutions and violent changes of government which for so many years after its independence distracted the country, and in which the clergy so often played an important part. The first step in the Reform or Liberal movement was taken in 1833.

In that year Santa Anna for the first time in his checkered career became President of the Republic, and Valentin Gomez Farias Vice-President. The latter saw more clearly than any of his contemporaries the needs of the nation and the obstructions to its pacification and advancement. He was a man of superior education, a diligent student of French history, of advanced liberal views, and had already participated prominently in public affairs as governor of his state and as a representative in the federal Congress. He had carefully noted the spirit of the clergy, their opposition to general education, and their attachment to a monarchical form of government, or whatever military dictatorship would protect them in their franchises and power. He saw that while they possessed a very large part of the property of the country they contributed little to its pecuniary support, and that the monasteries and orders were fast absorbing the capital and land of the people.

Santa Anna spent much of his time at his country estate or was absent engaged in military campaigns against his rivals, and left the

[2] For the Plan of Iguala, see Alaman, *Historia de Méjico*, vol. V., app. VI., p. 9.

civil administration of affairs to the Vice-President. The latter procured the passage by Congress of laws abolishing the compulsory payment of Church tithes and monastic vows, suppressing the privileged University and College of Saints, reforming the career and methods of public instruction, and otherwise restricting the power and influence of the clergy.[3] These measures at once created a storm of opposition throughout the country known by the party cry of "Religion and Privileges" (*Religion y Fueros*). A body of advanced Liberals, bold and far-sighted public men (known as *El Partido Yorquino*),[4] gathered around and supported Gomez Farias, but the storm of indignation was too strong to be overcome. Santa Anna was called back to the capital by the clergy, Gomez Farias was deposed, and the Congress which passed the odious laws was dissolved.

These and the following years of Mexican history are a sad recital of revolutions, pronunciamientos, and conspiracies, of civil war, fratricidal strife, and bloody contests. As a statesman and historian of that country expresses it, "the mind is lost and the memory confounded with so many plans and pronunciamientos"; or as another writer describes it, "every year a new ruler, every month a revolt."[5]

The war with the United States of 1846–1847 brought about the second attempt to restrain the influence of the clergy and force the Church, out of its great wealth, to contribute its fair share to the national defense. A strange coincidence marked this period. After repeated changes of government and various vicissitudes of power and defeat, Santa Anna was again at the head of the nation, and, although of utterly different political views, Gomez Farias was again his Vice-President, both having in the meantime and for different causes been driven into exile. A Mexican historian, commenting on such events, remarks:

> Everything is very possible in the civil wars. Men ascended to power, fought battles, were overthrown in campaigns, wasted their prestige, their revenues, and everything; were lost, made a journey to Europe and after a time returned, and again seized the government or were elevated to it by their partizans and perhaps by the very party which overthrew them.

While Santa Anna was on his campaign against General Taylor,

[3] Alaman, *Historia de Méjico*, V. 861; Zamacois, *Historia de Méjico*, vol. XII., ch. 1.

[4] Alaman, *Historia de Méjico*, V. 869. As to the influence of the Masonic order in Mexico, see *ibid.*, V. 58.

[5] Gustavo Baz, *Vida de Benito Juarez*, p. 38.

which resulted so disastrously at Buena Vista, Gomez Farias was left in charge of the executive power. In this capacity he was straining every nerve and resorting to every possible means to provide resources with which to resist the northern invaders. Congress had authorized a loan of two million dollars, but it was impossible to effect it, and all classes were oppressed with the burden of extraordinary war taxation—all classes, with a single exception. The clergy or the Church had up to this time escaped taxation, notwithstanding the fact that it had immense capital invested and was the owner of real estate to the value of hundreds of millions of dollars, held in its own free right or in mortmain. Driven to bankruptcy and unable to support the army in the field or to send new levies to resist the American forces advancing under Taylor or besieging Vera Cruz under Scott,[6] after a long and animated debate,[7] Congress authorized the government to effect a loan of fifteen millions of dollars by the hypothecation of the Church mortmain and other property not used directly for religious purposes, and upon failure to effect a loan then to sell so much of said property as was necessary to raise the amount stated.

The passage of this law at once set the entire body of the clergy and their political partizans at open war with the government. Excommunications were levied against Gomez Farias and all who should seek to execute the law,[8] and conspiracies were formed and movements to overthrow the existing authorities broke out all over

[6] In his letter to the clergy, appealing to them to contribute to the loan of two million dollars, the Secretary of Finance wrote: "It was no exaggeration to say that the government was without a single dollar to resist the enemy who with gigantic strides was advancing to the centre of the Republic."

The Secretary of the Interior in his circular to the governors respecting the loan, said: "The government has found it necessary to choose between the imposition of forced loans, which under other circumstances would be repugnant to it, and the horrible spectacle of our army dead, not by the infamous invaders, but by hunger." *México á Través de los Siglos*, by Riva Palacio and others, IV. 598.

[7] The session of Congress for the final consideration of the bill began on January 7, 1847, and continued without intermission or recess till Sunday morning, January 10, when at 10 o'clock the final vote was taken. The periodicals of the day give detailed accounts of this extraordinary session. At midnight, January 9, after an uninterrupted sitting of about sixty hours, it is said the Chamber presented a solemn spectacle, feebly lighted, with the members many of them asleep in their chairs, and others standing about in groups, all exhausted with their long labors, struggling against their fatigue, and from time to time answering to the roll-call. *Ibid.*, IV. 602.

[8] The government encountered great embarrassment in the initial steps to give effect to the law. Rather than proclaim it, the first and second alcaldes of the capital resigned, but the third alcalde, Juan J. Baz, an intrepid Liberal, assumed the responsibility. For the text of the law, see *ibid.*, IV. 603.

the Republic. A pronunciamiento was promulgated in the capital itself and for twenty-three days the revolution was carried on in the city; the streets, barracks, and public buildings witnessed an artillery and musketry conflict; and riot, bloodshed, and fearful havoc reigned. Finally, the Clerical party triumphed, Gomez Farias was driven out of office, Santa Anna was recalled from his campaign, the odious law was repealed and the Church property was saved. This occurred at the very time that the Mexican army was fleeing from Taylor after the battle of Buena Vista and while Scott was bombarding Vera Cruz. Such a scene is rarely witnessed in any country, and it is best that I should allow a Mexican historian to comment upon these events:

> The foreign enemy had penetrated as far as the borders of San Luis and General Scott had appeared before the harbor of Vera Cruz with a formidable squadron. The country was in danger, and, it is sad to say, very few in those moments of supreme trial had the holy abnegation of heroism. The Vice-President and his adherents were seeking resources everywhere: Congress had authorized them to put into the field the national guards; but the clergy were conspiring meanwhile to save the fifteen millions of dollars in exchange for the ruin of the country, and those who had expended so much in stirring up revolts and in buying the consciences of the public officials—those whose coffers were overflowing with money and who could have accomplished everything by their influence and prestige, had for their dying country not a farthing nor a moment of pity, and the money which ought to have been used to defend the independence was spent in bribing the chiefs of the national guards who ought to have gone to the aid of Vera Cruz, blockaded by the foreign foe, and the monks, whose prayers ought to have been raised in behalf of the homeless families, the orphans, and the widows left by that terrible war, were engaged in embroidering robes for the subvertors of the public order, and there were cowards who employed the arms which the nation had entrusted to them for its defense in assassinating their brothers and filling the capital of the Republic with mourning.
>
> It is scarcely possible to make public those scenes; the conscience rebels, the heart bleeds at the remembrance of these days of mourning and of shame. . . . Fifteen millions of dollars and desire for vengeance against the law weighed more in the minds of those men than the country, the public calamities, and the national honor.[9]

This severe judgment has come to be recognized by the great mass of intelligent Mexicans as not unjust or overdrawn. When it is remembered that this revolt was only one of several insurrections against the government which occurred during the war between the United States and Mexico, it is hardly to be wondered at that Gen-

[9] Baz, *Vida de Benito Juarez*, p. 46.

eral Scott could with only 10,000 men march into the valley of Mexico, capture the capital, and dictate terms of peace.[10]

The sad results of the American war were not destined to teach the country the necessity of peace and constitutional order whereby to recover its exhausted resources. Santa Anna, who before the close of that war had left the country with the execrations of almost the entire nation, had again returned to disturb the peace, once more to seize the reins of government, and establish a most tyrannical dictatorship. But the cup of his iniquity was almost full, and the beginning of the end of Mexico's dreary journey on the road towards genuine republican independence was approaching. Its realization was still a long way off and the goal was only to be reached through even more terrible experiences of carnage and suffering than had just been witnessed, bad as they had been; but the Liberal party was beginning to realize what were the reforms necessary to enable the nation to enter upon the true path of constitutional and stable government, and were preparing to undertake the arduous task.

An entire generation had passed since the country began its independent existence and it seemed to have been one constant succession of disorder and anarchy. But in spite of all this the nation had made some progress. Education was beginning to be disseminated

[10] For events of 1847, see *México á Través*, etc., vol. IV., bk. II., ch. XV.; Zamacois, *Historia de Méjico*, vol. XII., ch. VII.

Lucas Alaman was one of the first of Mexican statesmen, a man of much culture, endowed with a strong intellect, of aristocratic family, a zealous patriot of strong conservative tendencies, inclined to a monarchical government, of sincere piety and devotion to the Church. His *Historia* is one of the most classic productions of the Mexican nation. It ends just before the war with the United States, but the author lived through the turbulent scenes of that period and died in 1853, the year before the Liberal Plan of Ayutla was promulgated. The closing paragraph of his *History*, which I quote, gives his gloomy forecast of his country's future:

"Mexico will be undoubtedly a prosperous country, because its natural resources are adapted to make it such, but it will not be for the races which now inhabit it. As it seemed destined that the peoples which settled it at different and remote times in the past should disappear from its surface, leaving scarcely a memory of their existence; as, also, the nation which built the edifices of Palenque and the others in the peninsula of Yucatan which are so greatly admired has been destroyed, and no one knows what it was or how it disappeared; as, also, the Toltecs perished at the hands of the barbarian tribes from the North, and there remains no trace of them save the pyramids of Cholula and Teotihuacan; and as, finally, the ancient Mexicans fell under the power of the Spaniards; . . . so, in like manner the present inhabitants will be destroyed, and though they may not secure the compassion they deserve, yet at least there may be applied to the Mexican nation of our days the lines of a famous Latin poet [Lucan] who said of one of the most illustrious characters of Roman history [Pompey]: '*Stat magni nominis umbra*'." Alaman, *Hist. Méj.*, V. 954.

among the better classes. The participation of the people in government, imperfect as it had been, and even the terrible civil wars, had quickened their intelligence and elevated the masses somewhat from the degradation in which the Spanish rule had left them. The opening of the ports to commerce (closed under the viceroys), the introduction of foreign capital, and intercourse with the outside world, had awakened a spirit of inquiry and investigation and were enabling the more intelligent to compare their wretched condition of society and government with that of their more fortunate neighbor, the United States, and of Europe. These influences were giving increased strength to the Liberal party. It was apparent that a radical reform must be entered upon before the country could enjoy the genuine fruits of republican government. Up to this time little attention had been given to the education of the people, which the clergy maintained should be subject to their control. There had been no real freedom of the press. Personal rights and liberty, although usually guaranteed in the organic codes, were violated with impunity, and executions, imprisonments, and exile without even the forms of law were ordinary occurrences. The privileged classes had not been abolished, the clergy and the military enjoying special prerogatives and being exempt from the jurisdiction of the ordinary tribunals. Immigration was prohibited except to adherents of the Catholic faith. Religious toleration did not exist. The Church was possessed of a vast amount of capital and real estate, filled the land with its religious orders, and was exempt from taxation even on its secular property. Not content with these privileges, it insisted upon controlling the government, and all rulers who were not in accord with its purposes were soon driven from power. Under Santa Anna's last régime the military despotism, clerical domination, and outrages upon the rights of the citizen reached their culmination; and the moderate and radical parties united to overthrow the dictator and seek a thorough reform in the system of government. This movement, inaugurated in 1854, is called the revolution or Plan of Ayutla and had for its chief leader General Alvarez[11] of Guerrero, one of the patriots of the war of independence, a soldier of Morelos who was the greatest military genius and one of the ablest and best of the revolutionary heroes. Next in prominence to Alvarez in this movement was General Ignacio Comonfort, who was destined to play an important rôle in the events to which it gave rise. The Plan

[11] For a sketch of Alvarez, see Rivera, *Los Gobernantes de México*, II. 477; *México á Través*, etc., IV. 826; Dublan y Lozano, *Legislación Méxicana*, etc., IX. 310.

of Ayutla,[12] which is considered the formal beginning of the Reform movement, triumphed in 1855, and Santa Anna left the country never again to return except as a private citizen. General Alvarez was made provisional President and immediately issued a proclamation for the election of delegates to a national congress,[13] as he expressed it, "for the purpose of reconstructing the nation, under the form of a popular representative democratic republic", which was the chief basis or provision of the Plan of Ayutla.[14]

As already stated the parties who had achieved the triumph over Santa Anna were composed of two elements, the moderate or conservative and the radical republicans, and President Alvarez had called to his cabinet two representatives of each of these elements—Comonfort and Lafragua, Juarez and Ocampo. While the Constitutional Congress was being elected and constituted, two measures were agreed upon by the new government which indicated something of its spirit and were the first steps towards the realization of the principles of reform. The first was known as the Law Juarez,[15] which abolished the privileges and exemptions of the clergy and military, suppressed the whole system of class legislation, and secured the equality of all citizens before the law. While the great mass of the nation were inclined to accept this as a wise and necessary measure, the clergy and the remnants of the regular army rose in rebellion at the old cry of "Religion y Fueros", and a formidable revolution ensued; but fortunately the government was able to suppress it.

[12] For the text of the Plan of Ayutla, see Zarco, *Historia del Congreso Estraordinario Constituyente de 1856 y 1857*, I. 12; as modified at Acapulco, p. 14.

[13] For the text of the proclamation, Zarco, *ibid.*, I. 19.

[14] Soon after the new government was organized, the diplomatic corps presented its felicitations to President Alvarez. A noticeable feature of this ceremony was the absence of the minister of the United States, General Gadsden, who asked for and was granted a separate audience, in which he expressed the sympathy of the United States for the new movement. A Mexican historian's comment was that his words "plainly showed that the United States was influenced by a spirit very different from that which animated the rest of the diplomatic corps respecting the interior policy of Mexico, as later events proved". *México á Través*, etc., V. 78.

[15] For the text of *Ley Juarez*, see Zarco, *Hist. Cong.*, I. 140. The discussion in the Constituent Congress follows, up to page 182, when the law was approved. The historian of the Congress, Sr. Zarco, in recording this action, writes: "Thus was approved, by an almost unanimous vote of the national representatives, the suppression of the privileges (*Fueros*), a reform their action upon which was looked forward to with anxiety, and which henceforth constitutes one of the bases of the future constitution." *México á Través*, etc., V. 131; Baz, *Vida de Juarez*, p. 94; Zamacois, *Historia de Méjico*, XIV. 127.

The second of these measures was known as the Law Lerdo,[16] also taking the name of its author, one of the most able and popular of the radical leaders of that day and brother of the distinguished statesman who succeeded Juarez to the presidency in 1872. This law provided for the compulsory sale by the Church of its lands to such of the tenants as could purchase or to other persons, the proceeds, less a government tax of five per cent., to be invested by the Church on perpetual mortgage for its own uses. It was not a confiscation, its object being to secure a greater number of landed proprietors and modify the clerical influence in civil affairs. It was shorn of much of the force designed by its author, on account of the conservative influence and timidity of the compromise government, and was regarded by the radicals as only a half-way measure, but it was sufficient to again arouse the clergy, who hurled excommunications against all who enforced the law and purchasers under it. By their instigation a fierce discord was stirred up within the administration, and a new rebellion broke out, but was put down. But these disorders and the bitter dissensions within the government circles led to the resignation of President Alvarez;[17] he was a sturdy old patriot, but at his advanced age he could no longer endure the harassing cares of office and he transferred the power to General Comonfort, who was more acceptable to the Conservative and Clerical parties.

Meanwhile the Congress to frame a new constitution upon the basis of "a popular representative democratic republic" had assembled in 1856 and was found to be composed in the majority of radical or Reform republicans, but embraced among its members some able representatives of the Conservative party. It was organized by the election of Gomez Farias as its President, the first apostle of the Reform movement, who in his old age and as the last and crowning act of his stormy life was to sign this great charter of

[16] For the text of *Ley Lerdo*, Zarco, *Hist. Cong.*, I. 597; for the discussion in Congress, *ibid.*, I. 597–615; for its effects, *México á Través*, etc., V. 150–153; Rivera, *Historia de Jálapa y las Revoluciones*, etc., IV. 665; Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, XIV. 299; Baz, *Vida de Juarez*, p. 103; a temperate letter of the Archbishop of Mexico to the President, opposing the law, Garza y Ballesteros, *Lázaro de la Contestaciones*, pp. 3–54.

[17] On his way to his mountain home in Guerrero, after his resignation, he wrote a private letter to a friend vindicating his conduct as president, which a historian of the period describes as "beautiful words, which deserve preservation in history". He wrote: "Poor I entered the presidency and poor I leave it; but with the satisfaction that public censure does not weigh upon me, because, devoted from my earliest years to personal labor, I knew how to handle the plough in order to maintain my family, without the need of public posts, where others enrich themselves through the abuse of the fatherless and by oppression." *México á Través*, etc., V. 90.

Mexican rights and liberty. He died the following year at the age of seventy-seven. At his death the artisan and working classes, the students of the colleges, and the Liberal party, flocked *en masse* to do honor to his memory, but the clergy never forgave his work for the Liberal cause and refused him Christian burial. All the cemeteries were closed against his lifeless body and his friends were compelled to bury him in the garden of his own country-house in the suburbs of the city. Even in my day in Mexico he was held up to the execration of the "faithful" and they believed that his unquiet spirit still haunted his old homestead.

After long and animated discussions the Constitution was adopted and promulgated as the organic law of the land.[18] It did not prove to be wholly acceptable to either the Conservative or the Liberal party, as it was far too radical for the former and fell short of the desires of the latter, but it was the most perfect instrument that had ever been framed in Mexico, however serious may have been its defects or omissions, and it struck at the roots of many of the causes which had brought so much evil upon the country in the past generation. It provided for free education, complete freedom of speech and the press and of assemblies of the people; the territory of the Republic was made free and open to all; slavery was prohibited and all slaves reaching its soil became free men, despite its slaveholding northern neighbor; special laws and tribunals, all privileges and exceptional rights of individuals, classes or corporations were abolished; personal freedom from arrest or molestation except upon legal writ and competent authority was guaranteed; the laws recognized no religious vows or obligations; and in general the bill of rights and fundamental principles were in harmony with the liberal spirit of the age. The division and powers of the three branches of government were similar to those in the United States. Its most serious defect was that it did not specifically recognize the freedom of worship or the equality of all creeds. Such a clause was proposed and stoutly advocated by the Liberal party, but the Conservative and Clerical influence, coupled with the timidity of President Comonfort, was sufficient to prevent its adoption;[19] and the Church was left intact in its possessions and

[18] For the text of the Constitution, Zarco, *Hist. Cong.*, II. 993. The author of this valuable work, Francisco Zarco, was a member of the Congress, and afterwards active in the Liberal cause. At his death in 1860 Congress decreed honors to his memory. Dublan y Lozano, *Legislación Mexicana*, X. 776; Gallardo, *La Constitution de 1857*, a small volume, but useful as supplying an index omitted by Zarco.

[19] The debate on this question in the Congress was of a most animated and able character. The advocates of liberty of worship protested their belief in the

religious orders. It was a great step in advance, however, that the Catholic Church was not recognized in the Constitution as the sole religion of the country, as had been the case in all previous organic enactments. Its silence on this subject and the Liberal bill of rights already enumerated were sufficient to secure for it the undying hostility of the Church and the Conservative party.

In accordance with the provisions of the new Constitution a popular election was held for the federal executive, legislative, and judicial officers.[20] Comonfort was chosen President and Benito Juarez Chief Justice of the Supreme Court and *ex officio* Vice-President of the Republic. The Congress proved to be largely made up of Liberals. The awakened spirit of reform and the influences already alluded to had brought upon the political arena a galaxy of new but able and intelligent men who in the Constitutional Convention and in this Congress reflected honor upon their country and on free principles everywhere, and were in the approaching contest destined to exert a decisive influence upon the fortunes of the nation. The new Constitution went into effect on September 16, 1857, and the President entered upon his duties under it on December 1. But in the meantime this instrument had been the subject of the most bitter and animated controversy in the capital and throughout the country. The entire Reactionary and Conservative elements declared themselves in open hostility, maintaining that it was unjust and impious in its provisions and was not adapted to the existing state of society; while the Liberals, on the other hand, strenuously contended for its thorough enforcement, insisting that republican institutions could only be enjoyed through the exercise of its principles, and that there would be no peace or safety for the Republic without such a code. The press was in full enjoyment of liberty of discussion and the controversy was carried on with the greatest vigor and acrimony. The clergy were most active in directing the Reactionary forces and the Archbishop of Mexico announced that all who took the oath to support the Constitution would be visited with excommunication.[21] President Comonfort

tenets of the Catholic religion and their personal devotion to the Church. For details of the discussion and action of Congress, Zarco, *Hist. Cong.*, I. 771–876; II. 5–96. For comments of historians, *México á Través*, etc., V. 163–171; Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, XIV. 322–336. There are to-day four surviving members of the Constitutional Congress: Ignacio Mariscal and Justino Fernandez, members of the cabinet of President Diaz, Felix Romero, justice of the Supreme Court, and Benito Gomez Farias.

[20] For the text of the Electoral Law, Zarco, *Hist. Cong.*, II. 1017.

[21] *México á Través*, etc., V. 228. The Mexican government since the independence had maintained a diplomatic representative at the Vatican in Rome. President Comonfort, himself a devout Catholic, sent a plenipotentiary to Rome

was greatly embarrassed in setting the machinery of government in motion on account of the large number of officials who refused to take the oath as required by that instrument, and he became alarmed at the formidable opposition.[22] Although as commander of the army he had put down the revolts occasioned by the Law Juarez and Law Lerdo, he had never given his hearty support to either of these measures. He was one of the moderate republican party and had, as far as he dared, obstructed the work of the Liberals in the Constitutional Congress. It was a great mistake for the Liberals to have allowed him to be intrusted as President with the important task of inaugurating the new organic code, as they might have prevented his election; but, as he had rendered important services in the revolution of Ayutla, enjoyed great prestige as a military leader, and had so successfully resisted the pronunciamientos against the reform, it was considered best in the divided state of public sentiment to allow him, as a moderate republican, to take the lead, trusting to Juarez in the second post and the radical Congress to control his conduct. It was not thought possible that he could enter into a conspiracy to betray and overthrow the Constitution. But this was the guilty act which history has recorded against him. Although a brave soldier, in politics he was a man of great timidity and irresolution. He was a patriot honestly desiring to serve his country, and was opposed to the political machinations of the Clericals; but at the same time he feared that the extreme tendencies of the Liberals might bring the nation into new troubles. He had been made to believe that the new Constitution was utopian and far in advance of the Mexican people, who, it was alleged, were not prepared for such complete self-government. He maintained that it was an obstacle in the way of the very government which it had created; and he fancied that he had won over the leading Liberals to his views. Whereupon he proposed to Congress that it should undergo important modifications; but that body was unwilling to commit such an act of self-stultification. However dark has been the record of the political history of Mexico, it is but just to note that very rarely has a congress elected by popular vote proven false to the trust confided to it. Dictators and usurpers have not found

to seek to bring about an understanding with the Church. He held a number of conferences with Cardinal Autonelli, but was refused an audience by the pope. The latter in an allocution respecting Mexican affairs denounced the acts of the government, approved of the conduct of the archbishop and clergy, and praised the Mexican people for their fidelity to their religion and the Church. For the text of the allocution, see *México á Través*, etc., V. 225.

[22] For troubles in enforcing the oath to the Constitution, *ibid.*, vol. V., bk. I., ch. XII.; Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, XIV. 512; Rivera, *Gob. de Méx.*, II. 521–523.

the chosen representatives of the people their supple tools, and more than one such congress has been dispersed by military chiefs at the point of the bayonet.

Very soon it was discovered that Comonfort had come to an understanding with the Clerical party to dissolve Congress and overthrow the Constitution, and on December 17, 1857, the very month in which he had taken the solemn oath to support and enforce that instrument, General Zuloaga, with his knowledge, issued at Tacubaya his pronunciamiento, seized and imprisoned Vice-President Juarez and the President of Congress, declared that body dissolved and the Constitution of 1857 annulled; and Comonfort was continued at the head of the government.[23]

The latter accepted the revolution and the Plan of Tacubaya, and for a short time he sought to carry the new projects into execution. In conformity with the Plan a council of state[24] was formed but it became apparent that he was not trusted by his new partizans, and a military movement was set on foot to force him from the presidency. This he resisted, and for weeks the capital was in turmoil, which soon broke into open hostilities, and for days the streets and public buildings were the scene of battle, carnage, and anarchy. The people fled from their homes, the streets were barricaded, the nights were illuminated with the flash of musketry and the bursting of bombs, the groans of the wounded and dying were heard on every hand and havoc reigned supreme. It was charged that during this contest the monks were seen mixing with and encouraging the troops of the Reactionary party and that the Church treasury furnished the funds to carry on the revolt; and the archbishop announced that all who swore to the Plan of Tacubaya would be released from the excommunication pronounced against those who had sworn to the Constitution.[25]

Too late Comonfort repented of his error and sought to turn upon his steps. After it became plain to him that Zuloaga was acting wholly in the interest of the Church party, he threw himself into the arms of the Liberals, caused Juarez to be released from imprisonment, and offered to transfer to him the reins of govern-

[23] For the text of the Plan of Tacubaya, *México á Través*, etc., V. 267.

[24] Comonfort published a manifesto giving his reason for accepting the Plan of Tacubaya. Baz, *Vida de Juarez*, p. 123. For his address to the Council of State, *ibid.*, p. 126. For the protest of Congress against its dissolution, *ibid.*, p. 120.

[25] For the text of the archbishop's announcement, see *México á Través*, etc., IV. 273. For events attending the Plan of Tacubaya, see *ibid.*, vol. V., bk. II., ch. XV.; Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, vol. XIV., chs. XI. and XII.; Portilla, *México en 1856 y 57;* Rivera, *Gob. de Méx.*, II. 533.; Dublan y Lozano, *Leg. Mex.*, VIII. 654.

ment; but it was then impossible to repair the mischief he had done, as Zuloaga was already completely established in power.

By the bad faith of President Comonfort the Liberal government had been broken up and the Reactionary or Church party under Zuloaga was in complete possession of the capital.[26] Jaurez escaped to Guanajuato and, in conformity with the provisions of the Constitution, the President by his own act having vacated his office, he assumed the executive functions and reorganized the government as far as he was able by appointing a new ministry and taking such measures as were possible to re-establish the legitimate and constitutional authority. The majority of the state governments recognized Juarez as the legal chief magistrate of the Republic and a host of able and patriotic statesmen and soldiers rallied to his support[27]—men like Ocampo, Doblado, Prieto, Baz, Ruiz, Fuente, Degollado, Lerdo, and a long list of Liberal leaders, who were ready to pledge their lives to the principles which they had promulgated in the new Constitution.

The conduct of Comonfort had placed the Church party in control of the federal army and all its military resources. Under the command of Osollo and Miramon, two skilful and energetic officers, the army was at once put into the field and marched with great

[26] Zuloaga was declared president, and he was recognized as such by the diplomatic corps, including the American minister, but the latter soon after withdrew his recognition and demanded his passports. President Buchanan discusses these events in his annual message of December 6, 1858, *Messages and Letters of the Presidents*, V. 512. President Zuloaga communicated to the pope, in a personal letter, the triumph of the Church party. The pope, in response, expressed the highest satisfaction at the event and the suppression of the laws which had kept the Church of Mexico in such great affliction. For text of this correspondence, *México á Través*, etc., V. 281.

[27] Benito Juarez, who is to be regarded in history as one of the first of Mexican statesmen and patriots, was born in a mountain village of the state of Oaxaca, in 1806, of poor but respectable parents of the pure Zapotecan Indian race. Up to the age of twelve he lived in his mountain valley, isolated from the outside world and unaffected by its civilizing influences. At that age he became restless at his confined life, and wandered off to the city of Oaxaca, the capital of the state. Here by good fortune he became a servant to a lay-brother of the Franciscan Order, who detected his bright intellect, and dedicated him to the service of the Church. In his twentieth year he began the theological course which was to fit him for the ministry, just after the empire of Iturbide had been overthrown and the republican government fairly established. It was a time of intellectual and liberal awakening, and young Juarez decided that his future was not to be in the service of the Church. He gave up his clerical studies and chose the profession of the law, in which he soon attained a creditable position. He was early called into the service of the state as a member of the legislature, civil judge, governor, and member of the federal Congress. He was banished by Santa Anna, and after passing a period of exile in the United States he returned to take part in the revolution of Ayutla and thenceforth to the end of his life he became the chief leader in the Reform movement.

promptness to attack the gathering but unorganized Liberal troops. In less than a month they had defeated and scattered all the forces which could make any opposition. Juarez and his cabinet were driven from Guanajuato to Guadalajara and thence, hotly pursued by the enemy, to the Pacific port of Manzanillo. Once had he been captured by his pursuers and placed in charge of a platoon of soldiers to be shot, and at another time surrounded by them and in great peril of his life, but his imperturbable spirit and cool courage showed that he was as undismayed in the strife of battle as he had proven to be in the heat of the political contests. The Reactionary forces having scattered all opposition and occupied the chief cities and states of the interior of the country, Juarez and his ministers had to find safety on board an American packet-steamer; but he did not abandon the cause which for the moment appeared lost. The important city and port of Vera Cruz in the Gulf of Mexico still held out in favor of the Liberal cause under the lead of its governor, Zamora; and to that city the President and his cabinet repaired with all possible speed, being compelled to make the long journey via Panama, Havana, and New Orleans.

When he reached Vera Cruz on May 4, 1858, everything looked hopeless for his cause. In the intervening four months since he had been driven from the capital, the Church party had not only possessed itself of the machinery of government, but had destroyed all organized opposition with the exception of Vera Cruz and some of the more unimportant points, and was, owing to its energetic military movements, supreme throughout the country. After having passed through various changes the executive power in the capital was placed in the hands of General Miramon, an able and daring soldier. He had at his command a well-organized army flushed with its recent victories, the aid of a body of able statesmen, representatives of the Conservative element, who feared the radical tendencies of the Liberal party, and the hearty support and pecuniary assistance of the Church,[28] which felt that its vast property interests and its existence as a political power were at stake in the contest. The new régime appeared firmly established in power. It seemed as if the Reform movement inaugurated at Ayutla had come to naught, that the new Constitution and its liberal principles had been strangled at their very birth, and that Mexico had given itself over to the Reactionary party and clerical domination.

But Juarez was not disheartened. Though shut up in Vera Cruz

[28] *El Libro de Actas* of the cathedral chapter of Mexico shows that large sums of money were furnished out of the Church revenues to the Conservative government.

he felt that he was sustaining a great movement and that the liberal and progressive element of the country would soon rally to his support. He maintained that the Constitution of 1857 and the government organized under it was the only legally expressed will of the Mexican nation and that they could not be destroyed by conspiracy and mere force, temporarily installed. The very morning after his arrival at Vera Cruz, he set up his government, and the chief of his ministry by his direction issued a circular announcing the fact and encouraging the Liberals to continue the struggle for the triumph of the principles contained in the fundamental code, and assuring them that the members of his government would spare no efforts or personal sacrifices to that end and that no new difficulties would shake their resolution.[29]

The party was not slow in responding to the appeal. Before leaving Manzanillo the President had appointed Degollado Minister of War and had given him full powers to continue the contest in the northern and western states. Although the Reactionary army had, as stated, driven all organized opposition from the field, it was not numerous enough to garrison all the cities, and the moment it was withdrawn from any one of them the Liberals rose in arms and began to reorganize their forces, so that very soon all over the country were being gathered the elements of a new army. It became evident that the nation was entering upon a struggle which would test the strength of the opposing parties. Thus was brought face to face the advocates of the Constitution and the supporters of the Church—the principles of liberal representative republicanism against class privileges and clerical control of political affairs. The contest is known in Mexican history as "the War of the Reform", and the combatants took the party names of the Constitution and the Church. It continued for three years and was waged on both sides with the most relentless bitterness and cruelty. Never before in all its bloody history had the country been so stirred up or witnessed such scenes of carnage. It pervaded every section and all classes of society, and there was hardly a village or neighborhood in the whole republic that was not made the theatre of some conflict or had not its story of violence and disorder.

I have already stated that the Constitution with all its liberal and progressive principles had not satisfied the desires of the radical republicans. Through the influence of President Comonfort the Church had not been attacked in its most valued interests. Class privileges had been abolished and free education and liberty of

[29] For the text of the circular, see Baz, *Vida de Juarez*, p. 141.

speech and of the press had been declared; but there had been no formal dissolution of the ties between Church and State, freedom of worship had been voted down in the Constitutional Congress and, most of all, the property of the Church had not been confiscated and the monasteries and religious establishments had not been closed. But now that the Church had appealed the controversy from the arena of political strife and debate to the issue of the sword, had overthrown the Constitution by conspiracy and had driven the legal government out of the capital at the point of the bayonet, the Liberal party felt that the era of compromise had passed and that all the questions heretofore unsettled should be decided by the arbitrament of arms. Eighteen months had passed and the Clerical party still maintained the warfare with unrelenting bitterness and energy, when the Liberal government, after mature deliberation, decided to make the issue a full and sweeping one and to take from the Church its power thereafter to obstruct the enforcement of the Constitution and its enlightened principles; and on July 12, 1859, a proclamation to the nation, signed by President Juarez and his ministers, was issued at Vera Cruz, announcing the memorable *Laws of Reform*,[30] which may be briefly enumerated as follows:

1. Complete separation and independence of the Church and State.
2. The suppression of the monasteries and religious communities.
3. Confiscation to the use of the nation of the Church lands and estates.

These measures of reform it was proposed to carry out upon the triumph of the Constitutional government and the suppression of the rebellion. In the same proclamation a programme of the policy to be followed to meet the wants of the nation is set forth; and it constitutes the most able and comprehensive state paper ever issued in Mexico. It is bold and statesmanlike, in that it strikes at the very root of the evils which afflicted the country, without temporizing or compromises. It was a proclamation of death and destruction to the dearest privileges and customs of the opposing party. President Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation in our Civil War did not more fully attack the spirit and cause of the rebellion than did that Proclamation of Reform, nor was the former issued under such dark and gloomy circumstances; and great and glorious as was that act, it was not so courageous and daring as that of Juarez in 1859.

This important document was followed by a Circular addressed to the governors of the states,[31] giving the reasons which had in-

[30] For the text of the proclamation, Baz, *Vida de Juarez*, p. 150; Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, V. 909.

[31] For the text of the circular, see Baz, *Vida de Juarez*, p. 172.

fluenced the President to promulgate these reforms, which were considered necessary to secure the triumph of enlightened republican principles, the stability of the Constitutional government, and the peace and prosperity of society. The first and great reason is given in the following historical facts which I quote from the Circular:

> Thirty-eight years ago the heroic effort of our liberators broke forever the opprobrious chain which bound us to the throne of Charles V.; and if we carefully trace the sad pages of our history in this long period, we cannot point to a single event in the continuous and mournful struggle which right and justice sustained against force and violence, which is not marked with characters of blood, written by the hand of the Mexican clergy. These, taking advantage of their influence over the conscience, misappropriated the gifts dedicated to worship and the relief of the poor, and with them purchasing treachery and treason, in the first instance disturbed the foundations of our society at its very birth in 1822, and sealed with blood the conquest of their privileges and predominating influence.

The Circular then proceeds to establish this assertion with an array of historical facts, showing that by their influence over the conscience, their control of political affairs, and their vast property and moneyed power they had overthrown every government which had sought to secure to the people the genuine fruits of republican independence and free and enlightened political principles.[32] In this connection it is to be borne in mind that the Church was estimated to be the owner of one-third of the entire productive wealth of the nation. In the Federal District, the centre of its political power, it is said to have held one-half of the real estate, and besides this it possessed a large cash capital which it loaned out upon mortgage or other security, and was in effect the great banking institution of the country.[33] Its annual resources far exceeded those of the government, and as the latter was, owing to the constant civil wars, almost always on the verge of bankruptcy, it can readily be under-

[32] Following this action President Juarez took the final step to make complete the separation of the Church and State by directing the closing of the Mexican Legation at the Vatican. In the letter of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs to the Mexican representative in Rome, he wrote: "Article III. of the law of July 12 last having provided that there shall be perfect independence between the affairs of state and those which are purely ecclesiastical, at the same time that it imposed upon the government the duty of limiting itself to protect with its authority the exercise of public worship of the Catholic religion, the same as any other, and His Excellency, the President, proposing not to intervene in any way in the spiritual affairs of the Church, he has deemed it proper that the Republic should be relieved from maintaining a legation near the Holy See." For the text of the letter, see *México á Través*, etc., V. 381.

[33] Waddy Thompson, *Recollections of Mexico*, p. 41; Lester, *The Mexican Republic*, p. 18.

stood what a power the Church was in political affairs, by its mere property and moneyed influence alone, which it never scrupled to use, without counting its great influence over a superstitious and ignorant people.

The proclamation of the *Laws of Reform* made the Church party even more hostile and determined, if that were possible, than before, and the contest was waged throughout the country with redoubled vigor but with varying fortunes.[34] Twice did the Constitutional army march up to the very gates of the City of Mexico, and in April, 1859, it seemed as if the conflict was about to be ended with its victorious entrance, but it suffered an overwhelming defeat by Miramon at Tacubaya, in the suburbs, followed by a most shameful butchery; and again for a time the Church party recovered its lost ground. Twice was the President and cabinet besieged in Vera Cruz and took refuge in the Castle of San Juan de Uloa. Added to the internal strife Juarez was embarrassed by threatened foreign intervention. The Spanish, French, and English governments sent their ships of war to Vera Cruz to watch the contest and their diplomatic representatives were active in seeking to bring about a compromise, and even succeeded in inducing General Degollado, the commander of the Constitutional army, to agree to a truce and a submission of the questions at issue to the decision of the foreign representatives; but Juarez at once rejected the proposition and removed Degollado from command for having transgressed his powers. He was unalterably opposed to any compromise or transaction with the enemy. He maintained that the only way to peace was for his opponents to recognize the Constitutional government and lay down their arms. He announced his position in the following words, and in the next eight years he had frequent occasion to repeat them:

> I am not the chief of a party; I am the legal representative of the nation; from the moment I transgress legality my powers cease, my mission ends. I cannot, I do not wish, neither ought I, to make any compromise, for from that instant my constituents would reject me, because I have sworn to maintain the Constitution, and I maintain it with the full approval of public opinion. When that shall change, I will be the first to respect its sovereign will.[35]

In the midst of all this gloom, with the whole country plunged in the horrors of civil war and the nations of Europe giving encouragement to the insurgents and embarrassing the legal government

[34] For the reply of the archbishop to decrees confiscating Church property, see Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, XV. 881, 895.

[35] Baz, *Vida de Juarez*, p. 145.

with offers of mediation and compromise at the very time that Miramon was bombarding Vera Cruz, the only expression of sympathy came from the United States. The government of the United States, after having sent a special agent to Mexico to investigate the situation of the country and the contending parties, determined to recognize Juarez as the legitimate head of the Mexican Republic and sent its accredited minister plenipotentiary to Vera Cruz. A writer of that day, in giving an account of the reception by President Juarez of the American minister, Hon. Robert M. McLane, says:

> The scene was in the highest degree solemn and impressive. . . . By an extraordinary series of events this pure Indian, now a man of education and accomplishments, having risen from mysterious depths, is found at the head of the nation in its last struggle for liberty and happiness. This Indian President of disturbed Mexico—he who represents the past as well as the present—in behalf of a wretched remnant of a people of unknown antiquity, which the despotism of ages has not crushed out of existence, cries out to the youngest, freshest, and most powerful free government on earth for sympathy and support. The representative of that free government responds in the name of Christianity and humanity, and acknowledges before all the world the right of this down-trodden and despised people to possess and enjoy that priceless boon to man—civil and religious liberty.[36]

But the country was being exhausted by this fratricidal strife and there must needs come an end to the contest. The indomitable constancy and unflinching faith of Juarez were to have their reward. The proclamation of the *Laws of Reform*, while it exasperated the Reactionists, had given new life to the Constitutional party, who saw in it the resolution of their government to make no compromise with treason and no terms with the Church, except the complete surrender of its temporal power and its opposition to free principles. The renewed courage of the Liberals and the wasting energies and resources of the revolutionists was shown in the decisive battle of Calpulalpam on December 22, 1860, when Miramon was completely overthrown and the capital was abandoned to the peaceful occupation of the Constitutional forces under General Gonzalez Ortega. The whole country after this decisive battle hastened to acknowledge the Constitutional government and on January 10, 1861, Juarez

[36] Dunbar, *Mexican Papers*, p. 7. For text of addresses exchanged between Minister McLane and President Juarez, see Zamacois, *Hist. Méj.*, XV. 849. The conduct of the United States and the state of affairs in Mexico during this period were discussed at length by President Buchanan in his annual messages of 1859 and 1860, *Messages and Letters of the Presidents*, V. 563, 644.

re-entered the City of Mexico, just three years from the time he had been driven out by the Church party.[87]

It would seem that nothing now remained to be done but to reconstruct by the peaceful methods of civil administration the various departments of government, to put in practice the Liberal principles which had triumphed, and to carry out the *Laws of Reform*. Upon this work Juarez and his government entered with zeal, but its final consummation had to be postponed because of the European intervention. The contest had been decided so far as the Mexican people could determine it, but the attempt to establish a Latin empire in America, supported by French armies and the sympathetic aid of the pope and the Catholic countries of Europe, Austria, and Belgium, had first to be overcome.

More than half a century has passed since the separation of the Church and State in Mexico was finally effected. Its results have been two-fold. First, the forebodings of the Church party have not been realized. Relieved by enforced abstention from political affairs, the clergy are more efficient in ecclesiastic affairs than ever. The Church is more vigorous to-day than before the Plan of Ayutla. The Catholic religion continues to be strongly entrenched in the hearts of the people. Protestantism has made comparatively little progress. No public man of any prominence favors a return to the old régime. Second, the action of Mexico has influenced all the countries of Latin America. When the Constitution of 1857 was promulgated, in these nations almost without exception the Catholic was the state religion, and none others were tolerated. To-day, with few exceptions, the governments are entirely separated from the Church, and religious freedom prevails.

JOHN W. FOSTER.

[87] For the proclamation of Juarez to the nation, January 10, 1861, see *México á Través*, etc., XV. 447.

The citations which have been made in this article have been mainly to two authorities. *México á Través de los Siglos* is a large quarto work of five volumes, and is especially full for the period here treated. It was written in collaboration by Vicente Riva Palacio, a scholar and statesman of rare merit, and five of the most distinguished public men and writers of Mexico. They wrote from the standpoint of the Liberal party. *Historia de Méjico*, by Niceto de Zamacois, is an octavo work of twenty volumes, and the most complete history of the Republic yet published. It treats the period under review from the Conservative standpoint.

There is a great variety and volume of publications on the history of the Republic, especially for the period after the Plan of Ayutla. In addition to the citations made in this article, long bibliographical lists will be found in H. H. Bancroft's *History of Mexico*, V. 550, 808. A partial list is appended to Noll's *From Empire to Republic*, p. 313. *La Constitucion de 1857 y las Leyes de Reforma*, by R. C. Granados, written in 1906 on the centennial of the birth of Juarez, a monograph of 133 pages, is an excellent treatise on the subject.

THE MOLLY MAGUIRES IN THE ANTHRACITE REGION OF PENNSYLVANIA[1]

HOLDING a brief for the Historic Muse it might seem fitting that I should treat in a general way of the study and writing of history but in a number of addresses before learned societies and to university students I have gathered everything in my power from this well-reaped field. To recombine and restate what I have already said would in no way be worthy of this occasion and I think that I can better serve my muse.

Someone asked Jowett, Is logic a science or an art? Neither, he said, it is a dodge. And some scoffers, impressed with the saying attributed to Napoleon that "history is lies agreed upon", have answered likewise the same question when applied to history. Napoleon, indeed, struck at two of the masters when he said that Tacitus writes romances, Gibbon is no better than a man of sounding words. Therefore it has seemed to me that the relation of an episode, which has been investigated according to the modern method, will better show our aim at the truth than a laudation over results that have been accomplished. And I have chosen an episode into which no question of party politics intrudes; the operations of the Molly Maguires in the Anthracite coal region of Pennsylvania between 1865 and 1876.

The name and organization of this hide-bound secret order—the Molly Maguires—came from Ireland; no one but an Irish Roman Catholic was eligible for membership. During the Civil War there had been an enormous demand for anthracite coal at high prices and this had caused a large influx of foreigners, Irish, English, Welsh, Scotch, and Germans, so that the colliery towns were under their control; and the Irish from their number and aggressiveness were the most important single factor. Many of the Mollies were miners and the mode of working the mines lent itself to their peculiar policy. Miners were paid by the cubic yard, by the mine car, or by the ton, and, in the driving of entries, by the lineal yard. In the assignment of places which was made by the mining boss there were "soft" jobs and hard. If a Molly applied for a soft job and was refused, his anger was great and not infrequently in due time

[1] Paper read at the first public meeting of the American Academy of Arts and Letters in Washington, December 14–16, 1909.

the offending boss was murdered. If he got employment, there was constant chance for disagreement in measuring up the work and in estimation of the quality of the coal mined, for it was the custom to dock the miners for bad coal with too much slate and dirt, and a serious disagreement was apt to be followed by vengeance. Little wonder was it that, as the source of the outrages was well understood, mining bosses refused to employ Irishmen, but this did not insure their safety, as they might then be murdered for their refusal. A good superintendent of any colliery would, in his quality of superior officer, support an efficient mining boss and would thus fall under the ban himself.

The murders were not committed in the heat of sudden passion for some fancied wrong; they were the result of a deliberate system. The wronged individual laid his case before a proper body demanding the death, say, of a mining boss, and urging his reasons. If they were satisfying, as they usually were, the murder was decreed but the deed was not ordered to be done by the aggrieved person or by anyone in his and the victim's neighborhood. Two or more Mollies from a different part of the county, or even from the adjoining county, were selected to do the killing because, being unknown, they could the more easily escape detection. Refusal to carry out the dictate of the conclave was dangerous and seldom happened, although an arrangement of substitution, if properly supported, was permitted to be made. The meeting generally took place in an upper room of a hotel or saloon and, after the serious business, came the social reunion with deep libations of whiskey.

During the decade beginning in 1865 a great many men were killed to satisfy the revengeful spirit of the Molly Maguires. Some of the victims were men so useful, conspicuous, and so beloved in their communities that their assassination caused a profound and enduring impression.

While the murders were numerous, still more numerous were the threats of murder and warnings to leave the country written on a sheet of paper with a rude picture of a coffin or a pistol and sometimes both. One notice read, "Mr. John Taylor—We will give you one week to go but if you are alive on next Saturday you will die." Another, to three bosses, charged with "cheating thy men" had a picture of three pistols and a coffin and on the coffin was written, "This is your home." In other mining districts and in manufacturing localities, during strikes and times of turbulence, similar warnings have been common and have been laughed at by mining bosses, superintendents, and proprietors; but, in the anthracite region be-

tween 1865 and 1876, the bravest of men could not forget how many of his fellows had been shot nor suppress a feeling of uneasiness when he found such a missive on his door-step or posted up on the door of his office at the mine. Many a superintendent and mining boss left his house in the morning with his hand on his revolver, wondering if he should ever see wife and children again.

The young men of the order were selected for the commission of murder; above them were older heads holding high office and, in a variety of ways, displaying executive ability. They were quick to see what a weapon to their hand was universal suffrage, and, with the aptitude for politics which the Irish have shown in our country, they developed their order into a political power to be reckoned with. Numbering in Schuylkill County only 500 or 600 out of 5000 Irishmen in a total population of 116,000, the Molly Maguires controlled the common schools and the local government of the townships in the mining sections of the county. They elected at different times three county commissioners and came near electing one of their number, who had acquired twenty thousand dollars worth of property, associate judge of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. In one borough a Molly was chief of police; another in Mahanoy township, Jack Kehoe, was high constable. In the elections were fraudulent voting, stuffing of the ballot-boxes, and false returns; in the administration of the offices, fraud and robbery.

Despite the large number of murders by Molly Maguires from 1865 to 1875 there were few arrests, few trials, and never a conviction for murder in the first degree. The defense usually relied on was an alibi, made fairly easy to establish as the men who did the killing were unknown in the locality of it, and as there were Mollies in abundance equal to any amount of false and hard swearing at the dictation of their order.

During the summer and autumn of 1874 the Molly Maguires were at the height of their power, yet, while there was nothing in sight menacing their dominion, operations against them had been commenced by Franklin B. Gowen. Shortly after coming of age, Gowen, in company with others, had worked a mine in Schuylkill County, but, owing to the aftermath of the panic of 1857, his venture had not been successful. He turned to the study of law and was admitted to the Schuylkill County bar, was elected district attorney, and later, securing a large and lucrative practice, became attorney for the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, and in 1869, at the age of thirty-three, its president. He organized the Philadelphia and Reading Coal and Iron Company, which secured an immense

amount of coal-land and became the largest producer of anthracite coal. He knew Schuylkill County through and through and made up his mind that a regular and profitable conduct of mining operations would become impossible, should the terror of the Molly Maguires continue and grow. As the guardian of the great Reading property, he felt it his duty to break up the criminal organization, and in addition to his local knowledge and experience he possessed peculiar qualities for the work. With restless ability and indomitable energy, he combined in a remarkable degree both physical and moral courage. He was convinced that the Molly Maguires could be exposed only by the employment of secret detectives and, with this view, he applied to Allan Pinkerton of Chicago, "an intelligent and broad-minded Scotchman". Pinkerton chose James McParlan, a native of Ireland and a Roman Catholic, who coming to Chicago in 1867 had been a teamster, the driver of a meat wagon, a deck-hand on a lake steamer, a wood-chopper in the wilds of Michigan, a private coachman in Chicago, a policeman and detective, then an employé in a wholesale liquor establishment, developing from this into the proprietor of a liquor store and a saloon. The store burned down in the great fire of 1871 and, as the saloon was no longer remunerative, he sold it out and, in April, 1872, went into the employ of Allan Pinkerton. In October, 1873, at the age of twenty-nine, he reported to the Pinkerton agent in Philadelphia for orders, with the understanding that he was to receive twelve dollars a week as his salary and, in addition, his expenses. After some preliminary observation of his field, he took up his residence in the anthracite region in the following December, first at Pottsville, then at Shenandoah. Under a disguise and the assumed name of James McKenna, McParlan was a "broth of a boy" who could sing a song, dance a jig, pass a rough joke, and stand treat, apparently taking his full share of whiskey, which was the usual beverage. Still other qualities were needed; so he said he had killed his man in Buffalo and was a fugitive from justice. Supposedly a workman, he got a job, but found this too confining and laborious and soon appreciated that it was unnecessary for his object. But he had to account for the money which he spent freely and, quickly learning that honest labor was no recommendation to the Molly Maguires, he concocted the story that he was in receipt of a pension from the United States Government, fraudulently obtained, and that he was also a counterfeiter engaged in "shoving the queer". This latter proved a clever device as it explained both his ready command of money and the frequent journeys from place to place, which were necessary in his

work of detection, warning, and prevention of crime. The tale, as McParlan told it on the witness stand, is better than any detective story, for it is based on a diary of actual happenings in the shape of regular written reports to a superior officer in Philadelphia. McParlan gained the confidence of his brother Irishmen and Catholics and, on April 14, 1874, was initiated into the order and became a full-fledged Molly Maguire. Loud, brawling, boastful of crimes, and in education superior to most of his fellows, he was soon chosen secretary of his division, the duties and privileges of which office made him a local leader, gave him an insight into the secret workings of the order, and imparted to him a knowledge of their past crimes and projected murders. While he was working with zeal and discretion, learning each week something more of their practices and plans of operation, other events were tending towards the end.

In 1875 there was a recrudescence of Molly Maguire outrages. As the result of a certain feud, a Molly, in accordance with the rule of the organization, brought his case before a convention held in a second-story room of a hotel in Mahanoy City. He maintained that he had been shot at and that it was the intention of two brothers named Major and of one "Bully Bill", otherwise William M. Thomas, a Welshman, to kill him. He therefore asked his society to put these three men out of the way. The meeting to consider this request was opened with prayer and presided over by Jack Kehoe, the county delegate of Schuylkill, the highest officer in the county organization. There were also present the county delegate of Northumberland, three body-masters (the body-master was the chief officer of the division), three other officers, and James McParlan (McKenna), our detective, and secretary of the Shenandoah division. The matter was discussed, and after some consideration a motion was made that Thomas and the Major brothers be killed; it was carried. The mode of the killing caused some discussion, but there seemed to be no lack of men ready and willing to do the job. In the end, certain Mollies were agreed upon and selected for the murders, McParlan being one of those assigned for the dispatch of Thomas. There being no further business before the meeting, it adjourned in due form. Having doubtless taken many drinks of whiskey, the Mollies dined at the tavern, when, so the account reads, other matters were sociably discussed.

On the morning of June 28, four Mollies from Shenandoah of the ages from nineteen to twenty-three, started out to kill Thomas, expecting to shoot him as he walked towards the drift-mouth of Shoemaker's colliery, a mile from Mahanoy City. Thomas was in

the stable talking to the stable-boss. The hour of half-past six arrived and the Mollies, becoming impatient that he did not come out, started towards the stable. When they reached the door, one fired at Thomas, hitting him in the breast. Thomas jumped towards the man, grasped the revolver, when a second bullet took effect; then another Molly shot him twice in the neck, one wound being within a quarter of an inch of the jugular vein; the other two fired but apparently did not hit the victim; Thomas, covered with blood, fell and crawled under the horses that had not been hit; one horse was killed and another wounded. Thinking that Thomas was dead the assassins fled to Shenandoah and "wet with sweat" found McParlan and reported what they had done.[2]

Jimmy Kerrigan, the body-master of the Tamaqua division, Schuylkill County, and his chum, Thomas Duffy, hard drinkers, reckless and quarrelsome in their cups, had been arrested and imprisoned more than once by the police; they had conceived therefore a violent hatred against Policeman Yost, who with an associate constituted the night watch of Tamaqua, and who on one occasion had overcome the resistance of Duffy by beating him on the head with his club. Yost was a man of good character, kindly nature, and popular in the community, but the Tamaqua division decided that he must die.

At the same time the Mollies of Storm Hill, Carbon County, had determined upon the murder of John P. Jones, a mining boss in the employ of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company, because it was supposed that he had blacklisted William Mulhall and Hugh McGehan. An exchange of "Mollie courtesies" was at once suggested and decided upon. Carbon County Mollies were to be sent over for the murder of Yost and in return Schuylkill Mollies would undertake to put Jones out of the way. Yost was to be assassinated first and the time fixed upon was the early morning of July 6 at the hour when he should extinguish the last gas light in the town. Mulhall, who was a married man with a large family, was relieved from the work and James Boyle, being conveniently at hand, was substituted in his place.

McGehan and Boyle, the Carbon County representatives, came to Tamaqua and were guided by Kerrigan and Duffy. About mid-

[2] Although Thomas was not killed, his doom and the assault on him was a characteristic incident. The limit of this paper does not permit me, however, to enlarge upon its importance. In the Court of Quarter Sessions, Schuylkill County, Jack Kehoe and a number of other Molly Maguires were convicted for aggravated assault and battery with intent to kill William M. Thomas, and, in a trial immediately thereafter, for conspiracy to murder the Majors.

night Duffy took the two to the cemetery and returned to the Union House, an inn kept by a prominent Molly, so that he might prove an alibi when, as was highly probable, suspicion fell upon him. Somewhat later Kerrigan took a bottle of whiskey to the cemetery, but the drink was for himself and Boyle, as McGehan, who was a tall young man (about twenty-two) of powerful frame with brawny arms, never touched a drop of liquor. Kerrigan led the two to the street lamp and placed them under the shade trees near by. After a while Yost and his associate watchman appeared and went into Yost's house to get something to eat. Coming out at a little after two o'clock Yost went at once to the lamp-post, placed his ladder against it, began to climb the ladder, heard footsteps behind him, and turned round to see who was coming from under the trees. As he turned, McGehan reached up and shot him in the right side. Yost fell off the ladder, exclaiming "Oh my God! I am shot, my wife!" His wife leaning out of the window saw him climbing the ladder, saw the flash of the pistol, heard that and a second report, the scream of her husband, the sound of retreating footsteps, and,rushing downstairs and out, found him mortally wounded. "Give me a kiss", he said, "I am shot and have to die." Later to his brother-in-law he said, "This is the last of me; I must die; I have been so long in the army and escaped, and now I must be shot innocently." He died that day but not before stating that he had seen his murderers plainly, they were both Irishmen but neither was Kerrigan nor Duffy who were the only enemies he had in the world.

Kerrigan piloted McGehan and Boyle away to a point whence they could easily return to their own county. McGehan boasted to Kerrigan of the deed. "I dislike", he said, "to draw Irish blood but I want no better sport than to shoot such men as Yost. When he was shot he 'hollered' like a panther." The murderers reached their homes without apprehension. Not until seven months afterwards were they arrested.

McGehan became a hero. All the Mollies admired his "clean job", for which it was generally recognized a suitable reward should be given. A leading Molly of Carbon County, Campbell, bestirred himself in his behalf and started him in a saloon near Storm Hill.

I pass over two murders by Mollies in August to the murder of Thomas Sanger. An Englishman, thirty-three years old, of good character and amiable disposition, a mining boss at Ravens Run colliery, he had somehow incurred the ill-will of some of the Molly Maguires and he was doomed to die. On the morning of September 1, a little before seven o'clock, as he walked towards the mine to

set the men to work, he was attacked by five Mollies, shot and killed, as was also William Uren, a young man who was with him and interfered in his defense. Although a hundred men and boys witnessed the assault, they were so terrified by the promiscuous firing that they made no attempt to arrest the Mollies who escaped to the mountains.

The sensation in Schuylkill and Carbon counties was profound. The victims had been Welsh, Pennsylvania-German, or English, and the feeling of their blood-brothers towards the Irish Catholics was growing into a keen desire for vengeance.

But the day of reckoning was at hand although the Mollies, arrogant in their success, drunk with deeds of violence and thirsting for blood, little recked that the period of their dominion was drawing to an end.

It will be remembered that in return for the murder of Yost, the Schuylkill County Mollies had promised to kill John P. Jones, a Welshman, a mining boss at Storm Hill, Carbon County. Through McParlan, he had been put on his guard and for a number of weeks had slept at the house of his superintendent under guard of Coal and Iron policemen. The changes of design and shifting of plans were so frequent that the detective was unable to trace them all, and he hoped that this project had been abandoned when the community received another shock in the following manner.

Jimmy Kerrigan, who knew the by-paths in this difficult mountainous country, led Edward Kelly, whose selection had been by lot, and Michael J. Doyle (who had volunteered to take the place of a married man with a family) into Carbon County and they stopped all night with Campbell, in whose saloon they were well entertained. Jones, passing the first night for a long while in his own house, left it, after taking breakfast and chatting with his family, at a little after seven on the morning of September 3, to go to the mining superintendent's office near the railroad station. As the train from Tamaqua was nearly due, a hundred men, miners and railroad employees, were about the place. As Jones approached them, two strange men suddenly stepped forward and fired a number of balls into his body, killing him almost instantly; at once they fled to the mountains. Wild excitement prevailed at the station but the mining superintendent kept his head and organized a party for pursuit. Jimmy Kerrigan led his two men by unfrequented roads and by-paths and, eluding all pursuers, got them safely by Tamaqua, five miles from the scene of murder. Had he kept on, instead of stopping to show his hospitality, he could have taken them to Tuscarora, where there was a nest of Molly Maguires. Some of these could easily

have conducted the assassins to Pottsville, where, merged in the crowd, detection would have been impossible. But when they had left Tamaqua behind and were near his own house Kerrigan left them in the bush and went home to get them whiskey and something to eat.

Meanwhile Beard, a young law student, who had seen the dead body of Jones immediately after the murder and was one of the first to bring the news of it to Tamaqua, happened to hear that Jimmy Kerrigan with two strange men had been seen west of the town. Going to a hill whence with a spy-glass a pretty good view of the surrounding country could be obtained he saw Kerrigan wave a handkerchief, whereupon two other men appeared and the three went to a spring on the side of the mountain. Hurrying back to town, Beard together with an elder brother mustered a force of twenty, went out to the bush, captured Kerrigan and his associates and bringing them to town had them confined in the Tamaqua lockup. They were surrendered to the deputy sheriff of Carbon County on his properly supported demand.

The trial of the murderers of Jones which had been fixed for October 19 was postponed on sufficient ground; and, as it was well understood that strong evidence for an alibi was being manufactured and as the Molly Maguires were at the height of their political power, fears were entertained by many that the assassins would escape the punishment which was justly their due. But these people had no conception of the impending doom of the terrible order owing to the irrefragable evidence gathered by McParlan, the energy and discretion of Gowen and Parrish,[8] and the high character of the bench and bar of Carbon and Schuylkill counties.

On January 18, 1876, the trial of the three assassins of Jones began at Mauch Chunk before Judge Dreher. Assisting the district attorney in the prosecution were Charles Albright and F. W. Hughes, one a Democrat, the other a Republican, who had clasped hands in the determination to root out the Molly Maguires by process of law. Five attorneys appeared for the defense, of whom two, at least, were able lawyers and a third was the Republican member of Congress for Schuylkill County. The prisoners demanded separate trials and the commonwealth elected to begin with Michael J. Doyle. The testimony presented on its part was complete. The defense was a carefully manufactured alibi but as it was evident that the commonwealth stood ready to prosecute for perjury as well as for murder, the counsel for Doyle, either too timid or too honorable to

[8] President of the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre Coal Company.

put upon the stand men who they knew would swear falsely, did not call their witnesses and let the case go to the jury on the evidence of the commonwealth. Three arguments were made by the prosecution; two "stirring appeals to the jury" on behalf of the prisoner. On February 1 the jury brought in a verdict of guilty of murder in the first degree, the first conviction in the anthracite region of a Molly Maguire for a capital crime. Later the judge refused a motion for a new trial and sentenced Doyle to be hanged.

Kerrigan decided to turn state's evidence and, before the conviction of Doyle, told Albright and Hughes (who were accompanied by a stenographer) the story of the murders of Jones and Yost and disclosed the inside workings of the society of Molly Maguires. On February 4 Campbell was arrested as accessory before the fact to the murder of Jones and on the same day the two principals and three accessories to the murder of Yost were committed to the Pottsville jail. On February 10 two men were arrested for the murder of Sanger and Uren at Ravens Run.

The Molly Maguires were much alarmed. They knew that the arrests of Campbell and of the murderers of Yost were due to the disclosures of Kerrigan and they were bitterly indignant at his treachery, but they did not believe that the arrest of Sanger's assassin could be laid to his charge, as Kerrigan was in a different division and had no intimate connection with the murder. It was rumored that a detective was in their midst and suspicion fell upon McParlan. Having heard the report more than once Jack Kehoe, one of the most adroit men in the society, became convinced of its truth and sent the word around that McParlan (McKenna) was a detective and that members must beware of him. Hearing this, McParlan went to Kehoe and demanded, "Why do you spread these reports about me?" "I heard it from a conductor on the Reading Railroad", was the answer. "He called me into the baggage car and said that I might be certain that you were a detective. I told him it was not the first time I had heard the charge made against you." McParlan denounced the charge as a slander and demanded a convention of the order to investigate the matter. "I will let the society try me", he said, "and if I find out the man who is lying about me, I will make him suffer. It is a terrible thing to charge a man like me with being a detective." They agreed that a county convention should be called and, as Kehoe was too nervous to write the notices, he asked McParlan to write them in his name, who therefore summoned in proper form all the body-masters of the county to convene at Shenandoah for his own trial (about March 1).

Meanwhile the report concerning McParlan gained force, helped on by the assertion of the leading attorney for the defense of Doyle that, in some unaccountable way, the attorneys for the commonwealth got hold of the minute details of their line of defense. On the day before the one fixed for the convention, McParlan, while at Pottsville, was charged with being a detective by another Molly, who further asserted that the convention at Shenandoah was a game of his to get all the body-masters and officers together and have them arrested by Captain Linden[4] and his Coal and Iron police. To allay this suspicion McParlan went at once to see Linden and asked him not to have the police there at all. "I believe", he said, "I can fight them right through and make them believe I am no detective." Linden reluctantly consented but told McParlan that he was running a very great risk.

Linden was right. Earlier in the day, McParlan had seen Kehoe and the two arranged to travel together to Shenandoah that evening that they might be there for the convention early on the morrow. But Kehoe stole away thither on an earlier train, got together McAndrew, the body-master of the Shenandoah division, and a number of the Mollies, telling them that beyond doubt McParlan was a detective and that he must be killed. "For God's sake have him killed to-night", he added, "or he will hang half the people in Schuylkill County." The men consented, McAndrew with reluctance as he was fond of McParlan. Kehoe went home but a dozen men assembled a little below the station, armed with axes, tomahawks, and sledges, and waited for the coming of McParlan, intending to inveigle him down there on the track and kill him, avoiding the use of firearms in order not to attract the policemen around the station.

Meanwhile McParlan was travelling towards Shenandoah on the evening train, his suspicions aroused from Kehoe's failure to join him as agreed, and they grew, when he was not met as usual at the station by five or six comrades to discuss the news and have a drink. He went into the saloon of a member whom he found so nervous and excited that he could hardly open the bottle of porter called for. Walking on he met another member, ordinarily friendly, who hardly spoke to him, then another, Sweeney, who was less cold but of whom he was so suspicious, that, as they went on together, he invented some excuse to make him walk ahead lest he should receive

[4] Linden was assistant superintendent of the Pinkerton Agency in Chicago, was sent to the anthracite region and became captain of the Coal and Iron police, his calling of detective being known only to the few whose guiding hands were in the enterprise.

a blow from behind. He kept his hand on his revolver ready to meet an attack. Arriving at McAndrew's he noticed two Mollies on guard and that his friend was nervous and uneasy. Sweeney went out, came back again, and threw a little piece of snow at McAndrew as a signal for action to which the latter replied, "My feet are sore; I guess I will take off my boots", which was as much as to say "I have abandoned the project." With truth did McAndrew tell McParlan next day, "I saved your life last night." McParlan, on the alert, knew something was up and after a question about the meeting said good-night and started for his boarding house but not by his usual route, taking instead a byway through a swamp. He slept little for he was constantly on his guard against an attempt at assassination.

Next morning there was no sign of a convention and McParlan made up his mind to go to Girardville and demand of Kehoe the reason. Hiring a horse and cutter he took McAndrew with him; and two other Mollies in a similar conveyance started after them. "What does this mean", asked McParlan? "Look here", was the reply, "you had better look out, for that man who is riding in that sleigh behind you calculates to take your life. Have you got your pistols?" "Yes", said McParlan. "So have I", returned McAndrew, "and I will lose my life for you. I do not know whether you are a detective or not but I do not know anything against you. I always knew you were doing right and I will stand by you. Why don't they try you fair?" Then McAndrew told of the plot of the previous day adding, "You will find out that you are in a queer company this minute." "I do not give a cent", replied McParlan, "I am going down to Kehoe's." To Kehoe's they went. Kehoe was surprised to see McParlan still alive in company with the men who had agreed to kill him. Yet they fell to discussing the burning question when Kehoe intimated to him that he had learned his true character from Father O'Connor. On McParlan's determining to go to see the priest at Mahanoy Plane, a number of Mollies went along. The one to whom the killing of the detective was assigned got too drunk to make the attempt; but on their return to Shenandoah McAndrew would not permit McParlan to go to his boarding house for fear of assassination but insisted that he should sleep in his (McAndrew's) quarters.

Having failed to find Father O'Connor when he left Kehoe's, McParlan made a second unsuccessful attempt on the next day, but not caring to pass another night at Shenandoah he went on to Pottsville. "There", he said to Captain Linden, "I have come to the

conclusion that they have had a peep at my hand and that the cards are all played." Shadowed by Linden, he went on the following day to Mahanoy Plane, and had a long talk with Father O'Connor, learning that not only O'Connor, but two other Catholic priests as well, believed that he was a Pinkerton detective in the employ of the Reading Company. Satisfied that his mission was generally known he returned to Pottsville that evening and next morning (March 5 or 6) left for Philadelphia, ending his experience of nearly two years as a Molly Maguire.

A word here should be said concerning the position of the Roman Catholic clergy. Father O'Connor's aversion to McParlan was not due to any love for the Molly Maguires. On the contrary he had denounced them from the pulpit and read only a short time previous the pastoral letter of Archbishop Wood excommunicating all lawless societies and especially the Molly Maguires. But Father O'Connor looked upon McParlan as a stool-pigeon, egging his associates on to crime in order to enhance his own glory and profit as a detective.

Wood was the archbishop of Philadelphia and had almost from the first been cognizant of and sympathetic with the means which Gowen employed to bring the Molly Maguires to justice.

McParlan was the chief witness for the commonwealth in the trial of the murderers of Yost. The Molly Maguires knew Jim McKenna, a man with bushy red hair and rough dress, a brawler and a roysterer, "the biggest Molly of us all". They saw before them in the witness-box James McParlan, a man slightly built but muscular, of fair complexion, closely cut dark chestnut hair, above a broad full forehead and grey eyes. Dressed plainly in black, wearing spectacles, with an intelligent and grave countenance and gentlemanly bearing, he resembled a college professor rather than a rowdy, frequenting bar-rooms and saloons. McParlan told his wonderful story slowly, without an attempt at theatrical display, and he was listened to with breathless interest by judges, attorneys, prisoners, and officers of the law. He remained upon the witness-stand for four days and instead of being shaken by the searching cross-examination to which he was subjected, he was able to add evidence which told against the prisoners and which had been objected to on his examination-in-chief. Accurate and truthful, he excelled as witness as he had as detective and, when he finished his testimony, the case of the commonwealth was won.

McParlan testified in a number of subsequent cases. More of the Mollies turned state's evidence and proof was piled upon proof. Conviction after conviction for murder followed and death sentences

were pronounced. Many of the cases were taken up to the Supreme Court on writs of error with the result that the sentences of the lower courts were affirmed.

On June 21, 1877, at Mauch Chunk four Molly Maguires were hanged, three for the murder of Jones, one for the murder of Powell in 1871. At Pottsville six were hanged, five for the murder of Yost and one for the murder of Sanger. In the meantime arrests had been made of Mollies who had committed murders previous to 1875. For the killing in Columbia County of a mine superintendent in 1868 three were convicted and on March 25, 1878, were hanged at Bloomsburg. For killing a breaker-boss in 1862 the mighty Jack Kehoe was found guilty of murder in the first degree and on December 18, 1878, was hanged at Pottsville.

In all, nineteen Mollie Maguires were hanged; a greater number for lesser crimes than murder received various sentences of imprisonment. The majesty of the law was vindicated. The Molly Maguires were crushed. Never did the society reappear in the anthracite region. The weapon of coolly devised and violent assassination was never afterwards employed on the part of Labor. The region did not again suffer from the lawlessness which had prevailed there from 1865 to 1875. That this result was accomplished, not by vigilance committees and lynchings but by the regular, patient, and considerate process of law, was due to Gowen, McParlan, Parrish, the bench of Carbon, Schuylkill, Columbia, and Northumberland counties, and the lawyers who acted for the commonwealth.

The racial characteristics shown in this story are worth a passing note. All the Molly Maguires were Irish. McParlan who exposed them and served his employer with stanch fidelity was Irish, and Gowen, to whom the greatest credit is due for the destruction of the society, was the son of an Irishman.

A peculiar feature stands out, differentiating the Molly Maguires from any criminal organization (so far as I know) of any other peoples of the Indo-European family. We read of strong drink and carousing, of robbery and murder, but nowhere, during the orgies of whiskey, of dissolute women. We read of wives and families, of marriage and the giving in marriage, of childbirth but nowhere of the appearance of the harlot. The Irishman, steeped in crime, remained true to the sexual purity of his race.

The characteristic failings of the Celts, as the ancient Romans knew them, were intensified in their Irish descendants by the seven centuries of misgovernment of Ireland by England. Subject to tyranny at home the Irishman, when he came to America, too often

translated liberty into license and so ingrained was his habit of looking upon government as an enemy, that, when he became the ruler of cities and stole the public funds, he was, from his point of view, only despoiling the old adversary. With his traditional hostility to government, it was easy for him to become a Molly Maguire, while the English, Scotch, and Welsh immigrant shrank from such a society with horror.

James Ford Rhodes.

DOCUMENTS

1. Letter of Major-General Johann Kalb, 1777.

For the following letter, written by General Kalb to the chief clerk of the French War Department, we are indebted to Mr. Reginald G. Marsden of London and to Professor Charles M. Andrews of the Johns Hopkins University. It was found in a body of letters captured in the *Venus* prize, preserved among the papers of the High Court of Admiralty. It is in a bundle designated, in accordance with the official arrangement hitherto prevailing, as "Unarranged Miscellanea", bundle 1286.[1] The collection of 441 bundles designated as "Unarranged Miscellanea" contains a great amount of material that at one time or another came into the hands of the registrar of the Admiralty Court, but was sent to the Public Record Office in 1863–1865.

The interest of the letter lies chiefly in the light it casts on the relations between Kalb and Lafayette from the time when the latter was introduced to Deane to that of his departure from France. These relations are here stated, from Kalb's point of view, not more explicitly, perhaps, than in his letter to his wife as published by Kapp,[2] but with different details and, in the earlier part of the story, with a greater amplitude. The reader will observe that, whereas Kapp obviously regards Lafayette as going to America under the aegis of Kalb, and Doniol[3] inclines to regard Kalb as proceeding under the aegis of Lafayette, the present document supports the view that their resolves to go, and their status in going, were mutually independent. It also supports Mr. Tower's opinion that, though the government connived at Kalb's departure, it did not connive at that of Lafayette.

A Monsieur
Monsieur de Saint Paul, Chef des Bureaux
de la Guerre a la Cour de France.

A l'armee des Etats Unis
de l'Amerique
le 7 novembre 1777

Si depuis longtems je n'ay pas eu l'honneur de vous écrire, Monsieur, ce n'est pas que j'aye oublié ny que je puisse jamais oublier les marques

[1] We are not yet able to give the designation it will bear in the new system of arrangement.

[2] *Life of John Kalb*, pp. 103–108.

[3] Kapp, pp. 86, 87; Doniol, *Histoire de la Participation*, II. 377.

de bonté et d'amitié donc vous m'avez honoré de tout tems, et donc je vous demande avec instance la continuation pour moy et pour ma famille, surtout si elle etoit privée de me revoir pendant quelque tems par mon acceptation d'une commission de Major Genéral dans l'armée Continentale.[4] N'attribuez mon silence qu'à l'incertitude ou le Congrès a laissé pendant long tems les officiers francois arrivés avec moy ou en même tems s'ils seroient employés ou non, le refus qu'il a fait enfin de tous ceux qui ne parlent pas la langue du Pays et l'incertitude si je devois (presque seul de ma band) accepter ou refuser le Grade qui m'etoit offert par une voix unanime du Congrès. Je craignois d'un coté d'etre blamé en france de n'avoir pas suivy le sort de ceux qui y returnent, et de l'autre d'etre taxé d'inconsequence pour avoir entrepris un voyage long et penible sans remplir l'objet pour lequel je l'ay fait, pouvant rester meme avec distinction par les sollicitations qui m'en ont été faites. Je suis donc convenu avec le Congrès, et cela par ecrit, qu'en servant je me reserverais la faculté de quitter leur service si la party de rester icy étoit désapprouvée en france, soit par les ministres, soit par mes amis, de même que si par desagrément ou autrement je croirois avoir des raisons de m'en retourner.[5] Ces conditions m'etant accordées et l'assurance donnée du commandement d'une Division, j'ay été à l'armée pour scavoir si le General Washington, ny aucun des officiers generaux Americains aux quels mon arrivée pouvoit fait tort, ny avoient point d'objection à faire. J'y restay trois semaines, et sur l'assurance du Chef que mon service [ne] pouvoit etre qu'agreable à l'armée je fis mon equipage et je viens de rejoindre au camp de White Mash a 13 milles de Philadelphia. Le Congrès croyoit que mon refus d'abord provenoit de mécontentment d'avoir donné la préference sur moy a M. le marquis de la fayette auquel ils avoient donné le grad de Major General sans appointment et sans commandment, et m'offroit d'antidater ma commission à la sienne,[6] mais j'ay refusé cet article et n'ay voulu l'avoir que de même datte (elles sont de 31 Juillet)[7] a fin qu'il soit en mon pouvoir de luy laisser prendre rang sur moy de s'etre trouvé à la Bataille de Brandywine pres Wilmington, Lorsqu'on ne m'avoit pas encore formellement engagé a rester. L'amitié dont il m'honore depuis que j'ay fait sa connaissance, et celle que je luy ay voué fondées sur ses qualités personnelles, m'engagent a cette déférence pour luy. Personne ne merite mieux que luy la consideration dont il jouit icy. C'est un Prodige pour son age, il est plein de valeur, d'Esprit, de jugement, de bon procedés, de sentiments de Générosité et de Zele pour la cause de Liberté de ce Continent. Sa Blessure va très bien. Il vient de rejoindre l'armée pour ne pas perdre d'occasions de gloire et de danger. J'ay appris que sa famille a été persuadée que j'ay eu part au party qu'il a pris de venir en Amérique. Je dois me justifier de cette imputation, supposé qu'elle ait eu lieu, et je serois bien aise de le faire par votre moyen, si vous avez occasion d'en parler, ou s'il en a jamais été questions vis a vis les ministres, ou de vous, Monsieur. Je vais donc vous

[4] *Journals of the Continental Congress*, VIII. 746.

[5] *Id.*, IX. 769. For his letter of August 17, 1778, announcing that the ministry, the Marshal, and the Count de Broglie had stated their approval, see Kapp, p. 307.

[6] *Id.*, VIII. 747, erased passage.

[7] *Id.*, IX. 769. "That the Baron de Kalb's commission be dated the same day with that of the Marquis de la Fayette, [agreeable to the request of the Baron]". The last seven words were added to the journal by John Hancock.

faire le détail de ce que j'ay scu en fait sur cela. M. le V^te^ de Noailles et M. le M^is^ de la fayette me sont venus voir au commencement de [novem]^bre^ 1776 (Je n'avois pas l'honneur de les connoitre avant) pour me dire que M. le Duc D'Ayen[8] consentoit à ce qu'ils proposassent tous deux à M. Deane leurs services pour l'Amérique, si on leur accordoit le Grade d'Officiers Generaux, me firent quelqu'honnetetés sur ce qu'ils avoient appris de mon arrangement avec l'agent Américain et de la plaisir qu'ils aur[oien]t de servir dans la même armée que moy, et finirent par me prier de les presenter quelque jour a M. Deane, ce que je promis de faire à leur commodité. Au bout de quelques jours M. le Viscomte de Noailles m'écrit qu'il a abandonné le projet de passer en Amérique. M. le Marquis de la fayette, au contraire, est revenu plusieurs fois, je l'ay presenté a M. Deane et luy ay servi d'interprête pour sa proposition, toujours disant que M. le [Duc] D'Ayen le desiroit et y consentoit. Nous nous voyons tous les jours. Il venoit chez moy ouvertment et sans le moindre mystére, ne devant pas en soupconne j'allois de même chez luy a l'hôtel de Noailles, et l'on me faisoit entrer sans difficulté, lors même que Madame de la fayette étoit avec luy. Je n'aurois donc jamais du imaginer que toutes ses demarches se faisoient a l'inseu de sa famille. À la fin du même mois de [novem]^bre^ il signa sa convention avec M. Deane—(il est vray que c'est moy qui a leur requisition l'ay fait et écrit). Je partis de Paris le 8 X^bre^ pour m'embarquer au havre. Je pris congé de M. de la fayette, il me dis, jusqu'au revoir en Amérique. Mon embarquement n'ayant pu avoir lieu, je revins à Paris et pendant un tems il n'etoit plus question de ce voyage. Au mois de fevrier 1777 M. Deane reprit son Projet de me faire partir, et M. le Marquis de la fayette voulant etre de la partie, et craignant des delais trop longs pur son impatience, il proposa d'armer un vaisseau à ses propres dépens, ce qu'il fit sans que je m'en sois melé le moins du monde (car j'eusse tout aussi bien attendu le vaisseau que M. Deane vouloit faire armer pour moy). Il fournit [*word illegible*][9] qu'il en a chargé de l'argent, le fait partir pour Bordeaux, et luy même part pour Londres avec M. le Prince de Poix,[10] pour icy rester qui jusq'a la reception des nouvelles de son vaisseau dez qu'il seroit prêt a metter à la voile. Je luy ecrivais sur cela a l'adresse de M. le M^is^ de Noailles, Ambassadeur en Angleterre, d'apres les lettres que j'avois recu de Bordeaux. Il revint le 13 ou 14 Mars à Paris, ou plutot à Chaillot[11] (sur prétexte d'eviter une scene d'attendrissement et d'afflictions à Madame de la fayette) et nous partimes ensembles de chez moy (ou il s'est rendû le jour même, sa voiture y ayant été envoyée deux jours avant) le 16 Mars à midy. Mon etonnement fut extrême, lorsqu', en arrivant à Bordeaux, il me confessa que son depart, aussy bien que son projet de servir l'Amérique etoit ignoré de toute sa famille, et qu'il alloit envoyer un courier à Paris pour apprendre l'effet que ses lettres laissées pour les en instruire auroient produit. Son courier revint le 25 au matin avec des lettres effrayantes de ses amis, sur la colere du Roy, et surtout de celle de M. le Duc D'Ayen. Mon avis etoit qu'il abandonna son projet, qu'il returna sur le champ à Paris, et qu'il chargea ses armateurs du soin de son vaisseau. Mais tout ce que je pû gaigner fut de

[8] Lafayette's father-in-law.

[9] Lieutenant Dubois Martin.

[10] Lafayette's cousin, and the commander of his regiment.

[11] Kalb's suburban place of residence.

retacher dans une autre Port ou il put recevoir la confirmation des Ordres du Roy, que les lettres de ses amis luy annoncoient et l'on convint du Port de S^t^. Sebastian en Espagne, où il recu un Courier de M. le Comte de Fumel, commandant à Bordeaux, sur quoy je l'ay persuadé de se rendre aux ordres de Sa M^té^ et au voux de sa famille. Il partit donc sous la condition expresse que je ne [*illegible*] pas remettre à la voile que je n'eusse recu de ses nouvelles, parcequ'il feroit les derniers efforts pour avoir la permission de partir. Je ne pus me refuser à une demande si raisonnable, d'autant plus que le vaisseau luy appartenoit en propre. [. . .] qu'on permettoit tacitement son entreprise et nous partimes aussytôt le 20 avril. Quant à ses affaires d'argent et de depenses je ne m'en suis mêlé que pour luy conseiller l'oeconomie et si j'ay endorsé à Charlestown les lettres de change de 28000^l^ qu'il a tirées sur son homme d'affaires à Paris ce n'etoit que parce que sans cela il n'auroit pû toucher (à cause de son age) de l'argent, Le correspondent de M. Raimbaux[12] ne voulant pas luy en fournir à compte de la cargaison de son vaisseau, qu'il n'eut auparavant la main levée de l'armateur de Bordeaux conformement à un acte passé entre M. le Marquis et luy. Le tout a été recu par luy et il en a disposé comme il l'a jugé à propos. Quoiq'il soit riche, je desirois pour luy qu'il donnoit dans des occasions moins carriere à sa Generosité et a sa liberalité. Je n'ay pas manqué de luy en parler souvent. Le peu d'emplettes qu'il m'avoit prié de luy faire, nos frais de voyage en commun de Paris à Bordeaux et ceux de Charlestown à Philadelphie, avec ce que je luy ay remis quelque fois ou payé pour luy a été compté et compensé par un compte definitif fait double entre nous le 1 7^bre^ dernier par lequel il me redevoit 388^l^ 18^s^ en espèce dont il m'a fourny un Billet à mon ordre sur son homme d'affaires et trente piestres ou Dollars en Papiers monnoye qu'il m'a payé. Ces details font ma lettre plus longue que je n'aurois voulû et je crains que cela ne vous ennuye, mais je desirois vous faire voir ma conduite dans cette affaire. Je ne vous parleray pas du mécontentement que M. le V^te^ de Mauroy, M. de Lesser du Reg^t^ d'Aunis, M. le Ch^er^ de fayolle du Reg^t^ de Brie et d'autres qui s'en retournent, feront peutêtre paroitre de ce que j'ay accepté du service, pendant qu'on n'a pas voulu leur en offrir, et dont ils paroissoient même ne pas se soucier. Ils ne pourront pas dire néanmoins que je ne me sois pas employé vivement à leur faire accorder le remboursement de leur frais et les moyens pour leur retour. Comme je ne doute pas que quelques uns n'imaginent que j'aye négligé leurs intérrets pour ne songer qu'a moy et qu'ils feront peutêtre une espece de plainte de moy à M. le Ct de Broglie, j'ay prié M. de Valfort du Reg^t^ d'Aunis de dire sur cela tout ce qu'il scait, et il scait mieux que Personne ce que s'est passé et ce que j'ay fait. C'est un homme d'honneur et de bon sens qui voudra bien me rendre justice à cet égard. Je n'en diray pas d'avantage si non que je n'ay aucun reproche à me faire.

Je vais finir ma lettre par vous dire quelques nouvelles d'icy de notre guerre, et des bons et mauvais succès. Vous avez sans doutte deja appris en leurs tems les nouvelles de l'abandonnement de Ticonderoga pas les Américains à l'approche des Anglois; de la Bataille de Brandewine près la Rivière Delawar; de la prise de Philadelphie par

[12] Of the firm of Reculez, Basmarins, and Raimbaux, shipping-merchants of Bordeaux.

le General Howe ou plutôt qu'on luy a donné, et de l'attaque fait a Germantown, ou sans un malheureuse méprise et le Brouillard les Anglois eussent été completement battûs. Je ne repeteray pas ces faits, les Anglois n'auront pas manqué de les faire sonner et surement au dela la verité. Pour les Balancer nous avons eu l'avantage en deux actions sur le General Burgoyne, et enfin il a été obligé de capituler le 14 8^{bre} et se rendre Prisonnier de guerre avec toute son armée, forte encore (après toutes ses pertes) de 5700 hommes, obligé de laisser toute son artillerie de 40 pieces du Bronze, tout son camp, toutes ses armes et ammunition, d'etre renvoyé en Angleterre et ne plus servir contre l'Amérique qu'ils ne soyent echangés. Près Philadelphie nos Galères ont fait sauter le 23 l'auguste vaisseau de Guerre de 32 pieces qui ont voulû s'approcher des fortes Miflin et red-bank sur Delawar, pour soutenir l'attaque que les troupes de Howe detachés pur cet effet dans la jersey devoi[ent] faire. Cette attaque a été repoussé avec beaucoup de perte pour les ennemis. Le Colonel Donop Hessois avec plusieurs officers 80 soldats et trois pieces de canon ont tombés entre nos mains. Le Colonel étoit blessé et est mort depuis.

Hier nos eumes la confirmation que les troupes de la Nouvelle Angleterre viennent d'enlever aux ennemis dans l'isle de Rhode Island 800 soldats 24 pièces d'artillerie et une quantité immense de sel.

Depuis la capitulation du Burgoyne le General Clinton qui remontoit Hudsons river pour aller au secours est rentré a la Nouvelle York avec son corps. Ce corps et celuy du General Howe qui ne forment peut-être pas actuellement 12000 h. composent toutes les forces de la grand Bretagne dans le continent Septentrional. Ce que leur reste en Canada doit être peu de chose. Le Garnison de Ticonderoga ne doit plus se compter avec leur forces, parce qu'il faudra de necessité qu'elle se rendre tot ou tard.

Le Général Howe se borne actuellement à se tenir renfermé a Philadelphie et s'y fortifier. s'il ne peut pas prendre les fortes Miflin et red-bank pour pouvoir faire arriver des vaisseaux au quay de la ville, je ne prevois pas qu'il puisse tenir longtems cette Position. il est même possible de luy couper tout retraite, s'il attend que nous ayions reçû le renfort qu'on attend du Nord.

Tous ces avantages coup sur coup vont porter la consternation en Angleterre, reveiller et augmenter le party de l'opposition et peutêtre occasioner une Revolution, au moins un changement dans le Gouvernement et Ministère. Ce moment seroit, je pense, très favorable à declarer la guerre à cette nation. Suppose que la france y fut disposée, le decouragement ou tous leurs mauvais succès icy vont les jetter, leurs nombreuses armées en Amerique presqu'entièrement detruittes, sans possibilité de les remplacer, s'ils ont une guerre en Europe, leurs conventions avec les Princes d'Allemagne finis ou à renouveller a force d'argent, leurs dettes portés au comble et le commerce tombé, tous cela offre l'occasion la plus favorable, et qui ne se retournera peutêtre plus, a leur faire la guerre. Si la france reconnoissoit l'independence de l'Amérique et qu'elle soutint cela par l'envoy de douze vaisseaux de ligne dans ces Parages, cette flotte jointe par les fregates d'icy et les armateurs Americains, auroit bientot nettoyés ces mers, ou forceroit l'Angleterre à souscrire a l'independence, et la france luy seroit la loy. Quelle gloire, et quel bien n'en resulteroit il pas pour la marine et la commerce du Royaume, un traité de commerce et d'alliance avec cette

nouvelle republique seroit le prix du secours que le Roy leur auroit accordé. Ce sont des choses à voir avec leurs agents à Paris. J'ignore s'ils sont authorisés à faire des propositions ou s'ils en ont faites. Je ne serois pas faché que vous voulussiez faire lire ma lettre a M. le C^te^. de Broglie; il en scait beaucoup sur ces matières la, il verroit ce que je ne puis pas voir, en parleroit a qui il conviendroit. Si ensuitte on vouloit me donner des instructions circonstanciés avec les pouvoirs d'en conferer avec le Congrès, je m'en chargerois volontiers mais les lettres sont si longtems à aller et venir et si peu sûres d'arriver que les affaires ne pourroient que beaucoup souffrir par là. Tout ce que je vous dis, m'est dicté par le zele qui j'ay pour le service de mon maitre,[13] et pour la juste cause de ce Pays cy. Vous en ferez l'usage que vous jugerez à propos.

J'ay l'honneur d'etre avec le plus sincere et le plus parfait attachement, Monsieur, votre très humble et très obéissant serviteur

LE B^ON^ DE KALB

P. S. Si le Roy avoit dessein de faire la guerre, ou pourroit au moment ou avant de la declarer faire enlever les 5700 hommes en question, Lorsq'ils seront renvoyés en Angleterre. leur depart d'icy ne peut pas être très prochain. Je vous le manderay aussytot qui je pourray en etre informé, aussy de leur escorte.

2. Letter of the Marquis of Rockingham respecting Defense against John Paul Jones, 1779.

THIS letter, for which we are indebted to Professor Charles M. Andrews, was addressed to Lord Weymouth as secretary of state. A letter of Lord Rockingham to the marchioness, September 23, 1779, printed in Albemarle's *Rockingham*, II. 381–383, covers in part the same ground, but the present letter is fuller, and dwells less on the personal and more on the public aspects of the affair. It exhibits well the alarm caused by Jones's exploits. Rockingham had been vice-admiral of Yorkshire from 1755 to his dismissal in 1763, and again, under his present appointment, since December, 1776; he had been high steward of Hull since 1766. The original letter is in the Public Record Office, in State Papers Domestic, Military (Militia), vol. 33.

My Lord

I received an Account from Hull on Wednesday Night; stating the Alarm they were in from the Appearance of Paul Jones and his Squadron off the Mouth of the Humber and also representing the defenceless State in which the Gentlemen and Merchts of Hull considered the Town

[13] The Count de Broglie, to whom Kalb was *aide-maréchal des logis*. His project for being made "stadtholder" of the United States, and Kalb's position and course in relation to this intrigue, are sufficiently set forth by Kapp, and by Dr. Stillé in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, vol. IX. "Si je repars pour l'Europe c'est en grande partie parcequ'il y a impossibilité de faire reussir le grand projet dont je me suis occuppé avec tant de plaisir"; Kalb to Broglie, October 11, 1777, cipher letter in Stevens, *Facsimiles*, no. 755.

and Shipping. The Honour which his Majesty conferr'd upon me in appointing me Vice Admiral of the Maritime Ports of the County of York, has indeed no Power nor any duty, and my Object in taking it in the late Kings Time, was to prevent its falling into Hands who might trouble and incommode many Gentlemen on the Coast—by reviving old Obsolete Claims of Rights in regard to Wrecks on the Coast etc. etc. The Town and Corporation of Hull several Years ago had done me the Honour to appoint me—to a Nominal Office—of High Steward of Hull. Tho' no real Power was placed in me, yet the very Imagination that such High Offices did contain Power, appeared to me, to give a Sort of Weight to me, which might possibly to be of Some Service. I therefore set out for Hull as early as I could on Thursday Morning and arrived there that Night.

Two Gentlemen from Hull had been dispatched from thence on Wednesday Night, by whom Your Lordship and his Majesty's Ministers will have been fully informed of the State in which the Gentlemen, Merchts, Trinity House, and inhabitants considered their Town and Shipping.

The Mayor called a general Meeting on Friday Morning in consequence of my coming. They informed me of the Steps they had taken and desired me to Suggest what I might think adviseable. I shall not conceal from Your Lordship, that I expressed very strongly my thoughts, that the Safety and Security of the Town and Port of Hull had been long neglected. I shall not hesitate to say, that from an Attack by Frigates or Ships of War, it was entirely without defence: the Artillery *in the Fort*—its *only defence*—were unserviceable both from the Carriages being entirely rotten, and also from most of the Guns which carried any Weight of Metal being honeycombed and dangerous to Use. New Carriages had been order'd for some of the Cannon, but they were at Woolwich to be ironed, and indeed if they had been at Hull, very few of the 18 Pounders and 9 Pounders could have been mounted on them, as Those Cannon were so universally reckoned unserviceable and dangerous, even tho' some of them had on a late Report been deemed still capable of Use.

A Ship of 60 Guns can lay, *even at low Water,* within less than 400 Yards of the Town. In Paul Jones's Squadron the largest Vessel was a 40 Gun Ship, so that whatever Force he had could have come up.

It appeared to me, that not only from the Information of a Man who had been put by Paul Jones into a prize and who had assisted very principally in securing the men and bringing her in with the Assistance of a Hull Pilot, but also from the Size and Number of Ships in Paul Jones's Squadron, that there could not be any Number of Soldiers or Marines on Board the Squadron, or that with what Seamen he could have spared from the Ships, that any considerable Force could be landed by Paul Jones, which the Yorkshire Reg^{t} of Militia under Col: Harvey would not be as able, as they were willing and desirous to repell. Part of the Northumberland Militia were also at Beverley and the Neighbourhood, so that on any attack on Shore from Paul Jones's present Force, I did not conceive much danger to the Town and Port and Shipping of Hull could ensue. I conceived very differently in regard to an attempt being made by the Squadron coming up Humber. I therefore pressed as much as I possibly could that every Effort should be made to prepare Batteries and get what Artillery could be had. I

must observe to Your Lordship that at the Meeting on Friday Morning, Intelligence came, that the Serapis and the Countess of Scarborough had been seen shortening sail, covering the Baltic Fleet and waiting for Paul Jones, who was then very near to them. A later Intelligence also informed us, that the Serapis and the Countess were seen to tack and to stand to meet Paul Jones and his Squadron and that the Engagement was begun, but it growing dark—the Event of a very Warm Action was not known. Great Hopes were entertained—Great Confidence in the Ability and Valour of Capt Pearson of the Serapis and of Capt Percy of the Countess of Scarborough—the Serapis was a 44 Gun Frigate, the Countess of Scarborough one of the Armed Vessels hired, carrying 20 Guns, but in fact not capable of making Use of more than *Five* Guns on a Side.

The Unfortunate Event of their being Captured after a most Severe Engagement, came to our Knowledge at Hull on the Friday Evening, when the Mayor immediately called a Meeting, and at which the Proposition of preparing Batteries was unanimously adopted.

I was informed that a Vessel was detained in the Port of Hull on the Appearance of Paul Jones's Squadron, on which there was, 20 Eighteen Pounders, Some 12 Pounders and a few 9 Pounders, which were cast at the Foundary near Rotheram and were going according to Orders from the Ordnance to Woolwich. I ventured to Suggest and to press that the 20 Eighteen Pounders particularly should be required to be landed, and that Carriages should immediately be prepared for them. It was assented to by the Meeting, but if the Stopping of them was wrong, I must beg that it may be consider'd as entirely my Act. It was said at first, that it would require Seven or Ten days to make Serviceable Carriages for them, but in less than half an Hour, Two of the Capital Block Makers in Hull came to us at the Meeting, and contracted to deliver the 20 Carriages, by *Nine oClock* on the next day's (Saturday) Evening. I had the Satisfaction to see Several of these Carriages *ready for Use* by 12 oClock on the Saturday Morning, and the whole I believe was or would have been completed within the Time. The Guns were taken out of the Ships Hold on the Saturday Morning and some of them mounted and carried to the Artillery Ground where there formerly had been a Battery, and which in a few Hours would have been ready for Use. a Battery on one of the Curtains in the Garrison was also making ready for these New Guns.

The Account which was received at Hull on Saturday Evening, that Paul Jones's Squadron was seen standing off the Coast and supposed with the Intention to go to Gottenburgh, as a very fresh Wind served him, occasioned some Slackness in accelerating the Works, but I have nevertheless Hopes that they were completed Yesterday Evening, and I must Hope and earnestly recommend, that not only the above Preparations should continue, but that also Batteries at Marfleet and at Pauls[1] should immediately be ordered. The Batteries formed by the new Guns would have been served by the Sea Captains and Seamen of the Port of Hull, with the Assistance of Capt. O'hara, the regulating Capt: and who in every respect was ready to be of all possible Assistance. Col Morris and Capt Terrot of the Garrison were also equally ready, and the Gentlemen and Merch[ts] and Inhabitants of Hull were quite Alert, and pleased with the thoughts of some better Hope and Mode

[1] Both places are on the north side of the Humber, a few miles below Hull.

of Defence than had at first appeared. One Gentlemen, Mr Standridge, had offered on Friday Morning to erect and command and Serve with the Seamen belonging to his Vessels, a Battery which he would erect at his own Expence, and on which some of the Hull Ships Guns should be mounted. I understand there are in Hull many Ship Guns, but being in general only 3 Pounders, they would not have been of much avail. Mr. Standridges Proposition was negatived on the Friday Morning, but probably would have been afterwards adopted.

Some Gentlemen at the Meeting thought, that the assent of Govt: was necessary. I did not press the Matter at that Time, but desired Leave to offer to make a Present to the Town, of Some 18 Pounders, providing it met with his Majesty's Approbation, and which Guns I proposed should always be looked on as belonging to the Town and Corporation, to be manned and Served by their own People, and formed into a Battery either at Marfleet or at Pauls.

I must therefore desire Your Lordship to lay this my humble Request before his Majesty, and it will make me happy to hear that his Majesty would graciously permit it, as I think that it would give Pleasure to the Town to have a Battery in any degree respectable, and which I doubt not would be well served, whenever the Occasion of an Enemy Fleet made an Attempt to come up Humber.

I have wrote a Letter to L^d^ Amherst,[2] and shall again shortly trouble his Lordship in regard to a Battery at Marfleet and at Pauls. Marfleet is within Two Miles of the Garrison, and would therefore be easily protected from any Attempt by Land, from the Assistance which the Reg^t^ in Hull could give it. At Pauls it would require *something of a Fort* and Battery as it is Ten Miles from Hull, but my Lord, tho' I see the absolute Necessity of securing the Port of Hull, agt the Attack of Frigates etc. by Sea, Yet I should not call upon Government for a large Expence in the Situation of the Finances of this Country. A *Few* thousands expended, would afford much Security to that Important Port.

Ever since the Year 1759, when I was there, I have always conceived that Batteries at *Pauls* and at Marfleet were necessary. At present it is become still much more Necessary, as this Country has so many Enemies by Sea, and has not a Naval adaquate to the Security and Protection of Every Part of the Coast, at *all Times*.

The Report of Paul Jones's Squadron which was received on Saturday Evening, was fully confirmed on Sunday. I had the Pleasure also to hear that in the Night a Frigate of 36 Guns, one of 28 the Cerberus, and an Armed Ship of 40 Guns and three Sloops of 16 Guns Each had passed Spurn head standing to the Northward. It is possible they may overtake Jones's Squadron, as both his own Ship and the Serapis were so mauled as that they can scarce make much Way. There is also another Circumstance which may retard him, as he probably in his Course to Gottenburgh may fall in with our Second Baltick Fleet which was to sail in Six days, after that Fleet which is just arrived. It is happy that our Frigates may be so soon after him, as it may tend to save the 2d Baltick Fleet which is of Even larger Value than the one which is Arrived. I must nevertheless add, that by the Account of Five men who escaped in a Boat from Paul Jones's Ship, when they were shifting the Prisoners after the Action, the

[2] Commander-in-chief of the army.

Squadron under Paul Jones is not far inferior in Force to the Frigates etc. which are in pursuit of him. If Paul Jones should escape and get to Harbour and refit his Ships, He will be of considerable Force, and I should imagine the Eclat of his having taken the Serapis would occasion the French to place more and more Confidence in him, and he may be entrusted by them with a much more formidable Force, than that with which he has lately appeared.

In that View I should hope and humbly reccomend that this Northern Coast should be protected by Ships at Sea, and that no practicable Precautions should be omitted at Land.

May I beg that Your Lordship will state the particulars of this Letter, in the most respectful and dutiful Manner, to his Majesty. If I presumed too much in Stopping the Cannon, I humbly hope his Majesty will be graciously pleased not to dissapprove it. If in any other Transaction in this Business, I have taken upon me more than I ought, I must hope and trust that his Majesty will put the most favorable Construction.

I have the Honour to be
My Lord
With great Regard
Your Lordships
Most Obedt and Most Humble
Servt
ROCKINGHAM

WENTWORTH
Tuesday M:
Sept. 28th 1779

Paul Jones's Squadron being gone and no further Business appearing for me at Hull, I set out late on Sunday Evening and got here on Monday.

[Endorsed] Wentworth 28 Sepr 1779
Marqs of Rockingham
Rx 1st October
one inclosure.

[On a half sheet of paper accompanying the foregoing is]:

By the Account from the Men who left Paul Jones's Ship After the Action and who landed at Bridlington—

N B this Account came from Mr. Foster Saturday Night Sept: 2d,

Bon Homme Richard	Paul Jones	40	Guns
Alliance	Lundy[3]	36	Do.
Pallas	(Coutinea[4] by Walker Acct.)	32	Do.
Monsieur		36	Do.
Vengeance Brig		12	Do.
Granville		12	Do.
Cutter		18	Do.

Endorsed In Lord Rockingham's
28 Sepr 1779.

[3] Landais.
[4] Cottineau.

3. Letter of John Quincy Adams, from Ghent, 1814.

THE original of the following letter, for a copy of which we are indebted to Mr. H. E. Lawrence, jr., of Yale University, is possessed by Mr. John V. Bacot of Morristown, New Jersey, a descendant of the person to whom it is addressed. Its interest lies chiefly in its spirited statement of the author's position at one of the darkest periods of the peace negotiations at Ghent.[1] Another element of interest lies in the evidence of friendly remembrance of those Americans who had been the writer's schoolmates at Passy in 1778, during his father's first mission to Europe—Cochran, a South Carolina boy, Jesse Deane, son of Silas Deane, and Benjamin Franklin Bache, Franklin's grandson.[2] Though the course of the latter as editor of the *Aurora* produced a complete alienation, the *Memoirs* show Deane as held in kindly regard in 1827: "I told him [Professor Richard Henry Lee the biographer] of my meeting Jesse Deane in 1824, and that I should be sorry at the publication of anything that would wound his feelings in regard to his father."[3]

Ch^{s}. B. Cochran Esq^{r} Charleston

GHENT 18. July 1814.

Dear Sir.

Just at the moment when I was embarking at Boston for Russia in 1809, I had the pleasure of receiving a Letter from you, by one of your friends, and strongly regretted that my immediate departure deprived me of the opportunity of acknowledging your favour, and of marking by any attentions or services which it might have been in my power to render to the Gentleman who was the bearer of your Recommendation, my value for your friendship, and my remembrance of our intimacy, formed at an age when every sentiment is equally vivid and sincere, and when the heart is naturally led to seek those attachments which are to last through life.

On my arrival at Gothenburg a few weeks since, from Russia, Lieutenant Bacot delivered to me your obliging favour of 11. March last. I had the pleasure of coming in the Ship in Company with that young Gentleman from that City to the Texel, and his return to the United States now furnishes me the occasion of thanking you for your Letters, and of recalling myself again to your Recollection.

During my residence at St. Petersburg, I have had the good fortune to meet two of our old fellow-pensioners at Le Coeur's school. One of them was Mr. David, one of two brothers, the children of French Parents, who at that time resided in London, and who had sent those two sons over to Passy to be educated in their native Country. A few years after that period, and as soon as Mr David had attained the age of Manhood he went over to America, and for nearly thirty years

[1] See Adams's *Memoirs*, II. 659, under date of July 18, 1814, and Crawford's letter to Clay, dated July 19, in Clay's *Works*, IV. 42.

[2] See *Works of John Adams*, III. 96, 97.

[3] *Memoirs*, VI. 419; VII. 245.

has generally resided at Philadelphia. He went to Russia, with a vessel and Cargo, principally belonging to himself, and which were unfortunately lost on their return to America. I saw him often while he was at St. Petersburg and he bore among our Countrymen there, universally the Reputation of an honourable and benevolent man.

The other was an Engineer Officer in the Russian Service. His name was *Rudolphe*. I had the opportunity of seeing him only once, in the year 1810, and I have not heard of him since. I know not how it happened, but I did not recollect either his name or his person. His memory had been more faithful; for although he did not recognize my person, he remembered my name, and those of both our American Schoolmates Bache and Deane; and particularly you, about whom he enquired with so much interest, that I think his acquaintance with you must have been longer and more familiar, than with me; it has not been without some self-reproof that I have found it possible that I should have forgotten any one of our school-fellows at Passy.[4]

The object upon which I was in the first instance directed to repair to Gothenburg, and for which, by a subsequent proposal from the British Government, and assented to by my Colleagues, I am with them in this City, is as you justly observe of a Nature to engage the wishes of every true American, and the patriotic exertions of every person entrusted with a charge so highly important to the Community. Peace upon Honorable Terms, would be a blessing of such inestimable value to our Country, that I trust that neither myself nor any one of my Colleagues would deem his life or mine a sacrifice too great to obtain it. We have unfortunately too much reason for the conviction that it is utterly unattainable; and I am happy to find in your Letter, what my knowledge of your character would indeed not have permitted me to doubt, that in your mind, Peace, upon any other than honourable terms is not an object upon which my Colleagues or I were suitable persons to be employed, or upon which the Government of the United States was prepared to employ any person. Dearly as I value Peace, and much as I know it is needed and desired by our Country, I pledge myself to you that you shall never see my name to a Treaty, no, nor to any one stipulation that shall give you cause to blush for your Country or for your friend. Yet at the same time I must admit that with this Disposition, Peace at the present moment, and I fear for a long time to come, is absolutely hopeless. Whatever the disposition of the British Government may have been at the time even when they proposed the negotiation at Gothenburg, the change of Circumstances since that time, has undoubtedly made the continuance of the War with America, a purpose of policy with them, as much as it is a purpose of Passion with their Nation. I have not myself recently been in England; but two of my Colleagues have, and their opinions coincide with the whole mass of Evidence manifested by the public Prints of that Country, by the Debates in their Parliament, and by the Acts of their Government

[4] [June 9, 1810.] "This evening I met . . . a Monsieur Rudolphe, a Frenchman, who told me that he had been with me at Mr. Le Coeur's school at Passy, in 1778, and enquired of our other American schoolmates of that date—Cochran, Franklin Bache, and Deane. I have no doubt that this gentleman's memory has been more retentive than mine; for I have no recollection of him, nor indeed of any one name among Mr. Le Coeur's French scholars, though I well remembered all the Americans." *Memoirs*, II. 133.

as far as they are known to us, that they are resolved to make no Peace with us at present, and none at any time but such an one, as may gratify their jealousy in the reduction of our Power; their Revenge in our Humiliation, and their Pride in our Disgrace. They have kept us waiting nearly four Months since the arrival of Mr. Clay and Mr. Russell in Europe, and their Commissioners are not yet here to meet us; in the mean time they have sent to America formidable reinforcements both of their Navy and Army, to subdue the Spirit of our Country by the terror of their Arms, and I can imagine no other motive for their studied and long protracted delays to the Commencement of the Negotiation, than the intention of waiting for the effect of their forces upon our fears. Whatever they may do, I trust in God that they will find in our Country a Spirit adequate to every exigency; and that the same blood which warmed the hearts of our fathers to resist and triumph over their tyranny, will be found still flowing in our own veins and in those of our children.

I am with great Respect, Dear Sir, your friend and very humble Servt.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

4. Letter of William Henry Trescot on Reconstruction in South Carolina, 1867.

WILLIAM HENRY TRESCOT of South Carolina (for whose position in 1860–1861 see an earlier volume of the REVIEW, XIII. 528–556) was by nature a moderate man, dispassionate, and capable of taking an external view of the events which went on around him. Thus in 1867 he was well adapted to playing the part of a mediator. It is possible that Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, when in the spring of that year he visited South Carolina in the course of a tour of the Southern states, had some conference with Trescot. At all events, it is plain from the following letter that he invited suggestions from Trescot, by a letter of September 1, to which the following is a reply. It is known from other portions of Wilson's correspondence that he invited suggestions from other judicious Southern men also, but it is not known that their responses are preserved.

Though Wilson in the end supported all the Congressional measures of Reconstruction, he was never an extremist, and professed a strong desire to restore peaceable feelings between the sections. In a reply to Senator Nye, in March, he had said:

These states must continue, for ages to come, to be a part of our common country; and these people, their children, and their children's children, must continue to be our countrymen. I do not consider it either generous, manly, or Christian, to nourish or cherish or express feelings of wrath or hatred toward them. At this time, when these misguided and mistaken countrymen of ours have been conquered, when we have absolutely established our ideas, which must pervade and be incorporated into their system of public policy, it seems to me

to be a duty sanctioned by humanity and religion to heal the wounds of war.

Trescot's letter, by reason of the qualities noted above and of his well-known clearness of insight and expression, is of interest and value. It has recently been acquired by the Library of Congress, Division of Manuscripts. To the chief of that division, Mr. Gaillard Hunt, our thanks are due for permission to print.

HAZLEWOOD
NEAR PENDLETON
Sep. 8th. 1867.

Dear Sir

Your letter of Sep. 1st reached me last night. I thank you for the courtesy which suggested it and the feeling of kindness to the State which it expresses. It encourages me to ask your serious attention to the critical condition of things with us.

I believe I represent the opinions of a majority of the white people of this State but it is a majority which the policy of the Republican Party as we understand or misunderstand it—you can best say which—has rendered entirely powerless for good.

The Supplemental Act[1] has greatly enlarged the catalogue of the disfranchised. By a general phrase, the full force of which I can hardly think that Congress intended, all those who are or have been engaged in executing a general law of the State, are disfranchised. As one illustration, this includes Commissioners of Roads, of the Poor, of Free Schools. Now in the Country Districts, there is not a neighbourhood in which the most respectable citizens, the very men holding the opinions which I have expressed and who would therefore form the nucleus of a wholesome public opinion, are not disfranchised. And when you consider that not only those who held such positions during the war but all those who have ever held them are disfranchised and the other fact that it has been the invariable custom to change these officers at the end of their terms, so that their onerous but unpaid service should not press too heavily upon one set of persons, you will readily understand how large a number are now included in the disfranchisement and how such wholesale destruction of the white vote, disheartens and deters the few who can, from registering.

While this process has been going on with the white vote—while the hard struggle for daily bread and the disfranchisement of those accustomed to direct public opinion, have prevented all concert among the whites, the blacks, who when they will work, are receiving good wages and who when they will not work are being supported by the Government, have been secretly and thoroughly organized by the Union League on the distinct basis of colour. No denial of this can avail against the evidence of our daily life and the fact that although in this and other Districts, the negroes have been invited to meet the whites in their public gatherings and to select their own speakers, they respond very coldly to such invitations. They prefer the secret association of the League and although we cannot of course speak positively as to the teaching of such associations, it is impossible not to conclude

[1] Act of July 19, 1867, section VI.

from conversation with such negroes as are disposed to be communicative, that they are firmly convinced that adhesion to the League will in some way, they do not exactly know how, secure them the possession of the land of the State. To argue against such an impression is idle, especially when the argument is made by the present land owner.

From many letters before me—all from men who have earnestly endeavoured to do their duty in a spirit of the completest justice to the freedman—I will send you two extracts from different but equally important Districts—Districts too in which there it not an overwhelming preponderance of coloured voters.

"The Freedmans Bureau, the school masters and all the Radical emissaries have had the field to themselves and *they have done their work*."

"In this District there are six Union lodges, with nearly every negro voter in the District already members with a few whites, and they have recently inserted an addition to the oath taken—that they will not vote for a white man for any office and this amendment was suggested to the negroes by a white man."

The registration which is nearly completed shews a much smaller white vote and a much larger black vote than was anticipated. Even in Districts where the white population is numerically the largest, the extension of the Disfranchisement has seriously altered the proportions of the votes and judging from the returns so far it seems not improbable that the white vote will scarcely be more than a third of the whole vote of the State.

In this condition of things there are three parties, or as only one of them is organized, I ought perhaps to say, three opinions in this State.

1. Those with whom Governor Perry[2] oppose the call of the Convention provided for in the Reconstruction Act. I think this opposition injudicious and calculated to aggravate rather than cure the evils which it anticipates. But as a just man I am sure you will recognize that even this opposition proceeds not from an unwillingness to comply with the conditions of the Act as the expressed will of Congress but from the grave apprehension of the dangers which the condition of things I have described, seems to threaten.

2. Those who are represented as an organized party in the Coloured Convention lately held at Columbia.[3] This party is composed almost entirely of the coloured citizens of the State, the white persons belonging to its organization being an almost imperceptible infusion. Its leaders with the exception of perhaps half a dozen intelligent and respectable native freedmen, are either coloured men from other States or the white holders of subordinate government offices here. I mean no disrespect to any of them when I state the fact that they are not either in property ability or character, representatives of the people of South Carolina. The policy of this party is declared in the platform which it has published and I do not think I misrepresent its intentions when I say that it is attempting to make its support of the Reconstruction Acts, the means of forcing upon the State negro supremacy and an agrarian domestic legislation.

[2] Benjamin Franklin Perry, provisional governor of South Carolina in 1865.

[3] The convention of the Union Republican party, which met at Charleston May 9, and adjourned to meet at Columbia July 24. Three-fourths of its members were negroes.

3. But there is a third party (I use the word for convenience) in the State which is not organized. That party believes that the issues made in the late war, have been irrevocably decided against us—that the abolition of slavery is a great political and social revolution, the consequences of which may be directed with wisdom but cannot be prevented by resistance—that the Reconstruction Act is the settlement of the late disturbances, not that which we desired, but a settlement upon which the South can renew its regular political life—that most of its conditions which are harsh and felt to be unjust, proceed as much from ignorance and misconception of the public feeling and opinion of the South as from a deliberate intention to oppress—that Universal suffrage is a mistake but that if the North refuses to accept that impartial suffrage which reconciles the interest of the Country with the rights of the individual, the only way to correct the error is to teach the freedman how to discharge his duty and so to win his confidence that he will not desire to use his power against us.

The conditions of the political life of the South are completely changed. The relations of the States to the Federal Government will never be again what we thought they were under our old interpretation of the Constitution and the question of race or colour is forever excluded in the determination of political privileges. Whatever we may think as speculators on abstract political questions, these are the conditions of the new life the State must lead. What sort of future it will make we do not know. What the Republican party will do in the developement of this new life either at home or abroad we cannot anticipate. In fairness, we think, that party cannot insist upon our taking part in national politics while we are denied national representation. It cannot call upon us to support a policy which it has not declared. But we do recognize its right to call upon us to close this strife upon fixed conditions, to accept the *facts* which it has established in virtue of success and so to prepare and fit the State for the full and free exercise of the powers to which we will be restored.

Holding these opinions, we who hold them, have urged upon such of our fellow citizens as could register, to secure their right to vote, to vote for the Convention, to elect as far as they could the best representatives who were qualified, and in the Convention to endeavour earnestly in a fair and just spirit to frame such a Constitution as would protect the rights of all without sacrificing the interests or character of the State.

But we are met by two difficulties. The minority which differs with us and is composed of men whose characters are above reproach, whose ability and influence are beyond question say to us—Your effort is hopeless. We desire peace as much as you do. We are as willing as you can be to restore our relations to the Union and do our duty to the whole country as obedient and faithful citizens, but look at the facts around you and say whether we will be allowed to do this without consenting and aiding to establish, not the equality of the negro before the law but his absolute supremacy.

On the other hand we find the black vote of the State united and organized, bound together by pass-words and secret oaths and directed by men whose only hope of power and profit is the perpetuation of this hostility between the races and who to perpetuate it, advocate legislation against all the established interests of society. To some, to a

large extent, universal suffrage has produced this state of things, but not entirely and more as a means than an end. For I will venture to say and in proof [of] the assertion I appeal to the letter of Gen Sickles[4] to Senator Trumbull, to the recent report of Gen Scott, the Commissioner of the Freedmans Bureau for this State[5] and to the experience of all, black and white, engaged in agriculture—that if the races were left to themselves under the controul which the present Milit[ar]y Government exerts or the impartial administration of the laws which a restored State Government would enforce, there would be no insuperable difficulty in the way of a complete understanding. The relations of black and white have been most kindly. Negro labour has been wanted, it has been well paid and as a general rule where judiciously directed, it has worked well and the causes of complaint on either side have diminished and are diminishing.

But it is equally undeniable that the natural influence of capital on labour, of employer on employed, that influence which in the developement of civilization has always existed and must always exist in every society where public and private prosperity go hand in hand, has been utterly destroyed, that negroes who will trust their white employers in all their personal affairs, whose every day conduct manifests nothing but kindness, are entirely beyond advice or influence upon all political issues. And this is owing to the secret teaching of the Union League and to the claim made by its leaders that it is the Representative of the Republican party. It teaches the freedman to be quiet now because the Conveniton will make him all powerful hereafter. It tells him that the Republican party means him to controul the white man and for that reason has given him a vote and taken it away from his white employer—that it means him to use his power of legislation to confiscate by taxation and thus secure lands which the party cannot give—that it pays the school master who teaches and the orator who excites him—that it has given him his freedom and the power to use it and that he will be untrue to himself and faithless to his benefactor, if he does not use it in his interest. Above all it impresses upon him the conviction that we, the white men of the South, are his natural enemies, that *you* so consider us and that you have deprived us of the commonest right of citizenship and made us aliens in our own homes for his protection.

Now it needs no prophet to predict the consequences of such a policy when put into active operation.

But these consequences are entirely unnecessary for the objects which the Republican party professes in its policy of Reconstruction. When the Reconstruction Acts shall have been executed and the Southern States restored, the Republican party will have ach[i]eved all that is positive in its creed. In the future there will be differences and divisions but they will be rather upon the application of principles than upon their truth. No party can live upon dead issues. No party which has a national policy can in the future desire to divide the black and white vote of the South by a line of colour. No such party can wish to assume before the country the responsibility for the confusion and

[4] General Daniel E. Sickles, military commander, March 21–August 31, 1867, of the district made up of North and South Carolina.

[5] Robert K. Scott, afterward "carpet bag" governor of the state, 1868–1872.

disorder (to use mild terms) which must inevitably follow such a distinction, for negro supremacy is one of those inventions which will surely return to plague the inventor.

You know—every man in this county, white and black, knows that this is in no invidious or offensive sense, but as a fact the white mans government. You and they know that the spirit of independence which settled it, the courage which won its liberty and has maintained its existence, the brain which devised its constitution, the enterprise which extended its territory, the capital which freights its ships, ploughs its fields, digs its mines and builds its railroads—the arts and the science, the effort and the achiev[e]ment which make the sum of its civilization, belong to the white man. This civilization you cannot intend, you cannot desire to destroy. But you cannot destroy it in ten States without deteriorating it in all. You cannot be more willing than we are that the freedman shall enjoy all its advantages, that he shall be made part and parcel of it in so far as he can contribute to its perfect developement but in your interest and in ours, indeed in his own, he should not be permitted to endanger it, and that at the South this civilization is in danger I do not think the most sanguine can deny.

Remember this fact which you have recognized by your action. For two centuries we have held this people as slaves. Whatever may have been the inherent defects of the system, whatever may have been the shortcomings of those who administered it, we had in that time so improved the character and so developed the intelligence of the negro, that you, having the power, declared he should no longer be kept in this state of dependance but should be made a free citizen of the Country in which his life had become incorporated. We have acquiesced in your decision. But in carrying it out, perhaps I should say, in order to carry it out, you have taken them out of our hands, freed them from our controul and by your policy of disfranchisement and suffrage have destroyed that influence over them which the change in itself would not necessarily have disturbed, certainly not to such an extent. Further, by the system of Reconstruction, the Military Government of the Southern States, the Freedmans Bureau and those other agencies which altho strictly they are mere party instrumentalities, are yet in view of your Congressional power, even stronger than Government officials, you have undertaken to adjust their new relations and to direct their new power. Surely therefore upon you the responsibility of this crisis rests. We have too much at stake not to desire your success and I admit our obligations both as wise men and good citizens to render you all the assistance in our power in adjusting these relations so as to promote the best interests of the whole country. With some knowledge of the opinion and feeling of this State, with no slight acquaintance with its interests and condition, I think I can say honestly that we have endeavoured to do our duty in this respect and it is a cause of thankfulness that so far both white and black have by temperance and justice avoided the collision which seemed iminent. But I cannot be blind to the fact that the dangers and difficulties are increasing, that as the elections approach, the public mind—I refer to both white and black—is becoming excited and apprehensive—that vast power is placed under the controul of ignorance and passion, and that bad men are preparing to use it recklessly for selfish and sinister purposes.

These dangers and difficulties I have endeavoured to describe to you with no exaggeration and I am sure in no spirit of vindictive or even hostile criticism. We can do nothing, you can: for the influence which was once ours is now yours. Some things you cannot do for some things can never be undone. But there are two things in your power to do, both plain and practical, the meaning of which would be clear to the comprehension of the dullest voter in the land.

1. The organization of the black vote of this State upon the avowed and distinct basis of race and colour, which you have solemnly disavowed as a principle of the Republican party, is due and depends entirely upon the secret association of the Union League and its carefully concealed teaching. That League could not live a day without you—its strength is its undisputed claim to represent you. This claim you can disallow. You can teach the freedman that the freedom you have given him is that which walketh at noonday and not in the darkness—that the privileges which you have conferred upon him need no password to admit him to their enjoyment, that the oath of allegiance to the Constitution is not a secret pledge of servile obedience and that the laws you make for the whole country are sufficient protection for all its citizens. You can teach him his duties as well as his rights, that he has been given the one in order that he may discharge the other, and that when you declared that the negro should no longer be a slave you did not mean that hereafter he should be master.

2. But to do this you must do another thing, you must relieve the disfranchisement which you have imposed. I do not mean to deny your right to impose disfranchisement as a punishment to the individual nor do I complain of its harshness. But this is not individual punishment. In this State at least, it is the destruction of society. It excludes, not from honours and offices the few whose ambition and influence you may hold responsible for the late civil war, but it shuts out from the discharge of all those civil duties which are necessary to the very existence of political society, the whole body of the capital, the experience, the intelligence and the character of the State. This may seem to you exaggeration, but if you will consider the unanimity of the white people of this State during the late war, the universal application of the disfranchising penalty which is the consequence, the complete almost absolute power which is given to the coloured population in the coming convention which must controul the Constitution to be framed, and which will scarcely be diminished in the succeeding legislative elections, I think you will admit that unity and organized action of the coloured vote of the State must result in the exclusion of the capital, wealth and intelligence which make the life and strength of society, from all participation in that government which controuls their interests and which really cannot exist without their support.

The freedmen themselves see and feel this. They see the white men upon whom they know they are still dependant for occupation whose capital runs the rail roads and keeps open the shops and pays the wages of their labour—deprived of the right to vote and excluded from the offices which they have always filled and if they cannot exactly comprehend the reason, they feel at least that you mean them to be distrusted. And the class so marked by you is so extensive that the negro is scarcely to blame for too large a generalization when he concludes that you mean to subordinate the white race to him, and that

you mean him to conduct the State Government which you have given him the power to controul.

Do not misunderstand me. I am not denying your power to disfranchise nor have I a word to say about "the magnanimity of a great government" etc. What I mean to say is simply this, that such a disfranchisement as you have applied to us, is the disorganization of the State and places the controul of the State in the hands of the freedmen. If that is your intention, then I have nothing more to say. You have effected it. But I do not believe it is your intention. In imposing this disfranchisement I believe you have looked too intently upon our relations to the Federal Government and have overlooked the fact that a penal policy which you thought liberal in its limited exclusion of certain classes from Federal honours and offices becomes a stringent and destructive policy when applied to State offices. If you wish these Southern States restored, you very naturally wish them to be restored with changed opinions and altered feelings but just as certainly you do not wish to receive them back with their State Governments utterly disorganized and their means of social and industrial prosperity completely destroyed. Now the United States Government may be administered strongly if not wisely with the exclusion of the disfranchised classes, but no State Government can be administered at all especially one where that disfranchisement covers all the influences which contribute to make public opinion, public wealth, public character.

But I have said enough. You have written to me kindly—the best return it seems to me which I can make is to write to you frankly. I need not tell you that I have endeavoured earnestly to reconcile and heal our differences upon the basis of your own settlement. I can say with equal truth that wiser and stronger and better men than I am are striving to do the same thing and that even those who differ as to the means desire the same end.

A truer word was never spoken—let me add, by a truer or better man, than when referring to the condition of the South at the time of Gen Lees surrender, Gen Hampton said,

"I have no hesitation in asserting that the Southern States would then have been brought back into the Union with more of 'loyalty'—to use a favourite expression of the North—than had existed among them for forty years past, had the North proved itself to be as magnanimous as it had shewn itself to be powerful".

I am afraid that you are making the same mistake now which you made then, that as you misunderstood then the spirit in which we accepted the consequences of Gen Lees surrender, so now you misunderstand the spirit in which we have accepted the conditions of the Reconstruction Act. For the party controversy and the passion which marked its passage we are not responsible and it ought not to be applied to us as a party measure to meet party exigencies.

I am aware that discussion—public discussion especially, can do no good—discussion is controversy and controversy is passion. What we —what the whole country wants is authority not argument.

But I have written to you earnestly and at this length because it seems probable that Congress will meet before the Reconstruction Acts are executed and that the condition of the South will naturally and necessarily occupy their attention. Your ability, your position, your professed and I believe sincere desire to restore the integrity of these

United States justify me in hoping that you will give calm, just, and wise consideration to such an effort as I have now made to place the truth of that condition before you

Respectfully
Wm Henry Trescot

To Hon:
Henry Wilson

Let me say that this letter has been written simply to you and has been put in this shape[6] only that the reading of so much Mss. might be as little troublesome to you as possible.

[6] Twenty foolscap pages written on only one side of the paper, and stitched together at the top.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Source Book for Social Origins: Ethnological Materials, Psychological Standpoint, Classified and Annotated Bibliographies for the Interpretation of Savage Society. By WILLIAM I. THOMAS. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press; London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1909. Pp. xvi, 932.)

THE bulk of the book consists of forty-seven selections from the best ethnological literature dealing with savage and prehistoric man. The selections are grouped under seven heads, *viz.*: "The Relation of Society to Geographic and Economic Environment", "Mental Life and Education", "Invention and Technology", "Sex and Marriage", "Art, Ornament, and Decoration", "Magic, Religion, Myth", and "Social Organization, Morals, The State". To each of these parts is appended a carefully prepared bibliography of the subject. The number of references varies from eighty-three to two hundred and sixty-five. Six supplementary bibliographies are added, one for each of the principal geographic areas of the globe, and, finally, a list of one hundred "best books" classified under the foregoing thirteen heads. All told, the fourteen bibliographies embrace two thousand titles and constitute an admirable survey of the best ethnological materials. To each of the seven groups of selections the author adds a few pages of pithy comment which indicate the trend of the best opinion on the subject.

Professor Thomas insists upon a psychological interpretation of the data regarding savage man and does not believe that societies are thrown into very divergent paths in consequence of their developing in unlike geographic environments. Since the operations of the mind are everywhere the same, early human society everywhere exhibits the same general pattern. Nor does he perceive any broad contrast between the workings of the savage mind and those of the civilized mind. He rejects Spencer's hypothesis that the nature-people are nearer than we are to the subhuman type of mentality. Our efficiency is due not to sheer superiority in mental power, but to the possession of an improved technique and of an accumulated stock of knowledge and ideas. Making proper allowance for the low state of knowledge and the paucity of materials to work with, the interest and ingenuity of the savage are of absolutely the same pattern as those of the modern scientist or inventor. The invention of the bow and arrow impresses the author as quite the greatest intellectual feat the race can boast.

In respect to education he brings out the fact, usually overlooked,

that nearly all savage education is moral and designed to promote the solidarity of the group. It is not, as with advanced peoples, a means of transmitting a precious indispensable fund of exact knowledge and key-ideas.

In the peculiar and elaborate sex code recently brought to light among the Australians the author sees a specialized product of a particular people rather than proof of earlier promiscuity. Practices often cited as survivals of marriage by capture are interpreted as conventionalized expressions of female coyness or as magical devices for averting ill-luck. Nor does he accept the assumption that the further back we go in human culture, the worse the woman is treated by her mate.

Spencer's "ghost theory" of the origin of religion is rejected. Belief in invisible agency, and consequently in spirits, would exist if there were no such things as sleep, dreams, and death. Both magic and religion are expressions of the logical faculty of a mind working unscientifically. Nature-worship springs up in the human mind quite as naturally as ancestor-worship. Whether worship is directed towards ancestors, nature, animals, plants, or the symbols of reproduction, is a matter determined in the history of thought in particular regions.

Averse as he is to dogmatizing, the author leaves as open questions some points popularly supposed to be settled by a particular theory. Frequently he finds merit in opposing theories, since each may explain how a certain practice or institution arose in a particular tribe or under special conditions. The psychology by which he interprets savage man is altogether more living and adequate than that which passes among most ethnologists. One readily sees that Professor Thomas has a kindly feeling for the nature-man and finds him quite as human and normal as the culture-man.

In every respect the book is done as well as the existing state of knowledge will permit, and it will undoubtedly do much to promote the study of this branch of sociology.

EDWARD ALSWORTH ROSS.

What have the Greeks done for Modern Civilisation? The Lowell Lectures of 1908–1909. By JOHN PENTLAND MAHAFFY, C.V.O., D.C.L., of Trinity College, Dublin. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909. Pp. xi, 263.)

WE may repeat of Professor Mahaffy's books what Aristotle says in effect of the Platonic dialogues: All are interesting and ingenious, but it is hardly to be expected that all should be equally good. The present volume, like its numerous predecessors, is discursive, trenchant, dogmatic, abounding in the *obiter dicta*, the anecdotes, the allusions that mark the man of wide experience, varied studies, and many hobbies; full of sententious saws and modern, especially Irish instances, sup-

ported by cross-references to the author's *Rambles in Greece, Social Life in Greece,* and *History of Greek Literature*—and never dull.

It does not quite keep the promise of its title. It is merely a rambling, readable, and suggestive commentary on certain aspects of Greek life and letters, with occasional obligato and perfunctory recurrence to the thesis that all that is best in modern culture is derived from the Greeks, and that all civilizations which attempt to live by the secondary inspiration of Latin alone will inevitably degenerate. But despite the subdivision into chapters entitled Greek Poetry, Greek Prose, Architecture and Sculpture, Painting and Music, Science, Politics, Philosophy, there is no thorough systematic treatment of any topic and little endeavor to trace the actual lines of historic influence.

After some general characterization of Greek poetry, we pass to a few specific illustrations of its influence on the poetry of the moderns. But the instances cited are too trite and obvious to be of much interest except to an audience entirely virgin to the subject. The one new suggestion is that the scene in which Faust's suicidal purpose is checked by the sounds of Easter morn was suggested by a "parallel passage" in the *Argonautica* of Apollonius of Rhodes. But even if we grant that Goethe was familiar with Apollonius, it is not probable that he thought of him in this connection. Professor Mahaffy exaggerates the resemblances of the two scenes when he says "But with the dawn . . . the sounds of men react upon her troubled spirit and cause her to put aside her dread resolve." On the contrary, it is the fear of death and the "thronging soft and delicate desires" of life that stay Medea's hand, and after her decision to live and rescue Jason is taken she waits impatiently for dawn to arrive.

Of the remaining chapters, those that deal with architecture, sculpture, music, poetry, and science, though also unsystematic, are the most interesting and the richest in concrete detail. The chapter on Greek prose proves that Herodotus was a poet, to the confutation of Aristotle, traces the long periodic sentence of Cicero, Milton, Jeremy Taylor, Burke, Ruskin, and Gladstone back to the teaching of Isocrates, and approves Dionysius of Halicarnassus's censure of the contorted style of Thucydides. The final chapter, on philosophy and theology, is too thin and perfunctory for consideration.

There are some inadvertences that would pass in lectures but should have been corrected in revision for the press. Tennyson would have cut off his right hand sooner than say "Bury the great duke with a *nation's lamentation.*" It is not probable that Byron's

> "Keen were his pangs, but keener far to feel
> He nursed the pinion which impelled the steel"

is "straight from Aeschylus". It is more likely that it is straight from Waller, or from any one of half a dozen secondary sources. Byron certainly did not possess "a minute knowledge even of fragments of Greek poetry". Of the Greek drama he knew little more

than the *Prometheus* and the *Medea*. It is an exaggeration to say that Herodotus could easily learn to read a modern Athenian newspaper in ten days. A Greek scholar of to-day, familiar with Lucian and Plutarch, can do it because he not only knows the Greek vocables but the French, German, and English newspaper phrases on which the modern Greek is modelled. The oration on the Crown is, as Professor Mahaffy of course knows when he stops to reflect, precisely the one great Greek speech that *does* end with a "sounding peroration". It is not in the *Sophist* but in the *Euthydemus* that Plato travesties the subtleties of two professional educators.

PAUL SHOREY.

Geschichte der Römischen Kaiser. In two volumes. Von ALFRED VON DOMASZEWSKI, Professor an der Universität Heidelberg. (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. 1909. Pp. viii, 324; iv, 328, maps.)

THIS is a history of the Roman emperors and in no sense one of the Roman Empire. It is not to be compared therefore with the work of Schiller, or the concluding volumes of Duruy, or the briefer books by Jones or Bury. In a short preface the author expresses his purpose with sufficient clearness. He says he desired to revivify the personalities of the Roman Caesars. "Durch das Nachdenken langer Jahre erwuchsen diese Kaiser der Römer in dem Gefängnis des Bücherzimmers zu lebendigen Erscheinungen. Da sassen sie nun auf den Borden, den Stühlen, selbst an meinem Schreibtische, bis mir die gespenstige Umgebung zur Qual wurde. So habe ich denn geschrieben, um mich selbst zu befreien." The result is the present pair of handsome volumes, embellished with a few well-chosen portrait plates.

An examination of the work, however, does not bear out the implied suggestion that here is a well-balanced series of biographies. In fact one is led speedily to conclude that the clearness of the author's "apparitions" are largely in proportion to the literary excellence of his informational material. Where Suetonius, Tacitus, or Cassius Dio sharpen the visions, his narrative is a long one; where the less classical Herodianus or Vopiscus take up the main story, the account becomes very attenuated. How markedly this is the case is soon explained by saying that two hundred and forty pages are given to Augustus and only six to Aurelian. It is perfectly true that Augustus enjoyed a far longer reign than Aurelian, that he introduced much wider constitutional changes, and that we know a good deal more about him; but Aurelian surely need not have been damned to relative insignificance just because he came after the writers of the Silver Age, and such a modern author as Homo has had no trouble in filling a goodly volume with the story of his great reign.

Again the book has been prepared under the scheme of assigning a

separate section to every emperor—mighty or puny—and this has led to such things as giving a special heading to Aemilianus, although he is dismissed with only fourteen lines! (II. 296), while to Gallus is granted only about the same short shrift. On the other hand, Didius Julianus is not permitted inclusion among the emperors at all; he is treated as a mere interloper (II. 243) between Pertinax and Septimius Severus, although he probably had as much following as several of the accepted third-century Caesars.

There is only a very perfunctory attempt made to dwell on the constitutional changes under the several emperors, except with Augustus, in whose case a well-written chapter is devoted to *Die Neuordnung des Reiches* (I. 177–211), giving a good though not brilliant summary of Augustus's political machine. Also in dealing with such a personage as Hadrian we have a few pages (II. 190–192 *et passim*) referring to the administrative innovations in his reign. There is, too, no adequate discussion of the fearful causes of disintegration, which were so banefully at work in the third century. This is remarked not so much in animadversion as in regret that with fairly ample space and more than ample material Professor von Domaszewski did not attack one of the most interesting problems that can confront an historian.

But taking the work for what it claims to be; taking the more pretentious sketches as expert verdicts upon the great leaders of the Empire—the volumes are rewarding indeed. Especially the part on Augustus—the major fraction of the first volume—is an extremely well-written piece of work, beginning the story substantially at the murder of Julius the Dictator and tracing step by step how his young heir with the youthful Agrippa matched wits and skill against the Liberators, Antonius, and many more, overcame all obstacles, and achieved the mastery of the world. It will be unfortunate if this portion at least is not translated into English. It would probably have wider acceptance in the reading public and would rest on a deeper scholarship than the standard biographies of Firth or Shuckburgh.

The treatment of the age of Augustus by Professor von Domaszewski naturally leads to a comparison with the treatment of the same subject by Ferrero. It is not unfair to the Italian to say that the German narrator if not always so vivacious gives a keen impression of sticking closer to the facts—in short of being far more accurate and far less subjective. The account of the battle of Actium (I. 154–157) is an excellent example of clear, vivid narration, bringing to bear the results of modern investigation upon a great event, yet untinged by a desire to say something startling for the sake of attracting attention. It is worth noticing that Professor von Domaszewski does not consider the Antony-Cleopatra romance a matter to be relegated to the rubbish-heap of legend. Thus he says explicity (I. 103), after describing the coming of Cleopatra up the Cilician Cydnus, and her meeting with the Triumvir, "Bald war sie durch den Liebeszauber, den sie atmete, die Herrin

seiner Sinne geworden, und nach der zwingenden Gewalt ihres Willens lenkte sie die Uebung der Macht in seinen Händen", and more in like strain.

The judgment of the author on most mooted points seems in the main sound and well-considered. Sometimes an opinion appears a little extreme, as when he says (II. 244), speaking of the accession of Septimius Severus, "Es war der schicksalsschwerste Augenblick in der Geschichte Roms." He goes on to argue that Severus was in temperament an Oriental and practically undid the Empire by bringing Oriental despotism and degeneracy into the West. This is surely putting it over strongly. Many things pulled down the Western Empire besides the over-masterful personality of this great African.

The plan of the work precludes foot-notes and references. It is needless to say, however, that the scholarship is of the ripest. To those to whom history is a mere record of dust-covered institutions these volumes will mean little; to those to whom history is—in the words of a great American teacher of medieval history—"the continuous record of human experience", this work will have a high interest, and a value far outweighing any inequalities.

William Stearns Davis.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Histoire de Charles V. Par R. Delachenal. Tome I., 1338–1358; Tome II., 1358–1364. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1909. Pp. xxv, 475; 494.)

This work is a valuable addition to the list of monographs upon the reigns of French kings, such as have been produced in recent years by Cartellieri, Lehugeur, Boutaric, and others. The author, who is already known for several minor contributions in the same field, has now undertaken a greatly extended plan, of which the present two volumes on the years of Charles's minority and regency are but the first installment.

It is indeed time that a new study of the subject be presented, for while Charles V. has ever been a favorite theme of historians, no adequate investigation of his reign in the light of modern scholarship has yet been made. Strange to say, the author does not find the current traditions and opinions concerning "the wise king" and his prominent contemporaries far wrong in their trend, so that his work is not so much a correction and reshaping of existing views, as it is an elaboration and clarification of the material in detail. Even the course of his narrative runs in conventional lines, taking up the characters and episodes of the history for the greater part in their familiar order.

In technique the work bears the stamp of the École des Chartes, with its comprehensive and lucid citation of authorities, among which are

many revisions of original texts as well as some newly edited. For undiscovered documents diligent search has been made not only in the national and departmental archives of France, but also in the richer collections of England, and to a lesser extent in the Vatican Library. It is in the combined use of English and French sources, especially in the field of diplomatic relations, that the author has been most successful in bringing new material to light. For the internal history of France, however, in the way of documentary evidence it cannot be claimed that great advancement has been made. From the lack of Chancery and Exchequer records, the historian is still mainly dependent upon the chronicles, among which those of Froissart remain as prominent as ever. While no statement of this chivalric chronicler can be relied upon without corroboration, his literary art still serves to furnish many a picturesque tale and dramatic scene.

Disclaiming any plan of a complete history, M. Delachenal follows closely the thread of events with which the dauphin was associated. Personalities are foremost, among which that of Charles the Bad is the most clearly drawn. As heir to several counties and castles, as King of Navarre, and as a possible claimant to the crown of France, in all the war and politics of the time, Charles of Évreux maintained against the house of Valois an almost dynastic rivalry. With various claims unsatisfied, he readily drifted into an alliance with the English, the negotiations of which in 1355 he is proved to have carried on at the same time that he was making terms with John II. His treachery and double dealing would have an ethical bearing, were it not matched by others on every side. Without many similar defections among the French barons and provinces, anticipating in a measure the struggles of the Great Feud, the English would have proved an enemy "little redoubtable".

The most controversial theme which the book presents is found in Étienne Marcel. In him Delachenal sees nothing of the "generous soul", "the grandest figure of the fourteenth century", who would have founded "representative government" in France, as have historians of republican sympathies. He is described rather as the scion of a bourgeois family of superior lineage, and the representative of a mercantile group which had profited much under the extravagant court of John the Good, and which became disaffected under the stricter régime of the regent. After the example of Van Arteveldt and the Flemish communes, with the arts at once of a demagogue and a diplomat, he was seeking the domination of his own special class in Paris, and of the commune of Paris over the country at large. His alliance with Charles the Bad, his appeal to the Flemings, his assassination of the king's marshals, his complicity with the Peasants' Revolt, are accounted among the mistakes which led to his downfall. It is unfortunate that most of our knowledge of this man and his cause comes from the hostile and often incorrect accounts of the Grand Chronicles.

The diplomatic relations with the English present a mass of experimental truces and treaties. Among the conventions prior to 1360 is found one of the year 1358, which was evidently the basis of the treaty of Brétigny, and is an explanation of the quickness with which that instrument was finally drawn. The persistence with which Edward III. insisted upon his title to the crown of France is taken to indicate on his part a more serious purpose in this direction than most writers allow. That the ransom of the King of France was placed at the highest possible figure, is shown by the arduous efforts of the government in raising the money and by its delay in making even the first payment.

The deficiencies of the book lie most patently in its over-emphasis of individual action and its lack of historical atmosphere. While institutions in their completeness may well be left to a different kind of history, more must be told of the king's council, the dauphin's council, the estates, and other political forces, properly to understand the field of action. Even the financial questions which were vital are not so fully described as are the raids and marches of free companies. The proof-reading, too, may be criticized in many points, particularly among the quotations in English. A single diagram of the field of Poitiers suggests the comment that a work of this size might well contain many more illustrative pages.

JAMES F. BALDWIN.

The New Cyneas of Émeric Crucé. Edited with an introduction and translated into English from the original French text of 1623 by THOMAS WILLING BALCH. (Philadelphia: Allen, Lane, and Scott. 1909. Pp. xxxi, 364.)

AT Paris in 1623, there was published a little book to show the princes of that day, with a sweet reasonableness, how to bring about universal peace and freedom of trade. The author's name as given on the title-page was Em. Cr. The advanced and humane views advocated were occasionally referred to by later writers, they interpreting Em. Cr. to be Émeric de la Croix. The book became extremely scarce. At the present time only two copies are known, one in the Bibliothèque Nationale, the other in the library of Harvard University. In 1890, Professor Nys discovered the author's real name to be Émeric Crucé through an ancient anagram in his honor.

Of this book, called the *New Cyneas*, the work under review is a reprint (painfully copied from the Harvard example) and a translation. So that for the first time the "pacifist" scholar may study a scheme for the general settlement of international disputes published earlier even than Henry IV.'s *Grand Dessein*, as given in Sully's memoirs and from which Sully may possibly have drawn his idea of arbitration.

Now although this feature of the book is of most interest to us, it occupied but little space in the *New Cyneas*; nevertheless the whole

spirit and plan of the author's work depended upon it. Given universal peace, the counsels of perfection advocating freedom of trade, religious toleration, just and fair treatment of resident aliens, uniformity of coinage, weights and measures, and other such desirable things naturally follow.

The arbitration plan consisted of an assembly of ambassadors to sit at Venice. When any question arose the members representing the contestants should "plead there the grievances of their masters and the other deputies would judge them without prejudice". How should this judgment be explained? Crucé is not quite clear on this point. All the great mechanical plans for peace, it will be recalled, except Kant's, have provided for the enforcement of their decisions by force in last resort. Crucé somewhat lightly says "that if anyone rebelled against the decree of so notable a company, he would be disgraced in the eyes of all other princes who would find means to bring him to reason". But later he makes his princes swear to accept as law what the majority of the assembly decreed "and to pursue with arms those who would wish to oppose it". This vital point is apparently of less importance in Crucé's eyes than the labelling of the princes in the matter of precedence—Pope first and Grand Turk second—and the suggestion of dodges to settle or evade this delicate question amongst the members.

In the rest of the book Crucé preaches the whole duty of princes, with childlike simplicity, with detail and illustration a trifle wearisome, with a good sense and even an economic soundness which are admirable. Thus he declares duelling inevitable so long as offenses against the person or the honor of an individual are lightly punished; explains the working of Gresham's law and advocates a uniform 12–1 ratio of silver to gold; even seems to anticipate a universal system of weights and measures like the metric. Early marriages, the excesses of republics, the evils of luxury, simplicity among the clergy, the praise of learning, the value of craftmanship, and many another topic is touched upon. It might almost be a presidential message of 1905.

The book is delightful in type and paper, but the typographical errors are a little disconcerting, *e. g.*, "The Republic of Pluto", "pacific council" meaning advice, "Aegian Sea". The translation by striving after quaintness, and through too great literalness, is sometimes unintelligible, and there are positive errors also. In this respect the second half of the book improves upon the first.

For the conception and the execution of this work, the hearty thanks of scholars are due to Mr. Balch.

T. S. Woolsey.

The Cambridge Modern History. Planned by the late Lord ACTON, LL.D., Regius Professor of Modern History. Edited by A. W. WARD, Litt.D., G. W. PROTHERO, Litt.D., and STANLEY LEATHES, M.A. Volume VI. *The Eighteenth Century.* (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. xxxvi, 1019.)

WHEN a twelve-volume work has reached its eleventh volume it is possible to deduce a formula for reviewing it, especially when successive volumes remain so true to type as do those of the *Cambridge Modern History.*

One may begin by pointing out that the subdivision among a larger number of collaborators than is necessary results in such a parcelling up of interrelated facts that much material appears without relation to other facts which make it historically significant and that no point of view can be maintained for any length of time. Lord Acton's hope that the readers should not know where one contributor laid down the pen and another took it up seems to have been interpreted that contributors were not to know what their collaborators covered or omitted. So one may go through the list of charges so frequently brought against this "monumental" undertaking. There are the usual minor mistakes, errors in pagination, and bibliographies that contain such illuminating and helpful suggestions as that of the *Königliches Geheimes Staatsarchiv* in Berlin and similar collections in Paris. These bibliographies are, as in previous volumes, undiscriminating check-lists of books which taken as a whole contain innumerable repetitions of titles, and considered by chapters exhibit the most unexpected omissions and inclusions. Certain bibliographies by their fullness, *e. g.,* those contributed by Mr. Chance, and those accompanying Professor Daniels's chapters on Prussia by their apparent limitation to works used, have each their special merits.

Let it be granted that it is the privilege of largely conceived works to have such shortcomings and it follows that it is not wholly just to be censorious because the *Cambridge Modern History* has made full use of its privileges.

This volume is entitled *The Eighteenth Century* and by this is meant the years 1715–1789. In the introduction which is perhaps the distinctly synthetic part of the volume, the editors point out that volume VII. treated all American history and volume VIII. on the French Revolution reached back to gather in those elements which explain the Revolutionary movements. It may be added that volume V. on the age of Louis XIV. reached forward to include Russia to the death of Peter the Great and Sweden to the death of Charles XII., besides treating certain scientific and religious movements which have significance not as products of the seventeenth century but as genetic influences in the eighteenth.

The chief interest of the volume is in international relations. The

chief emphasis is on Great Britain and France. To this phase Dr. Ward and Mr. Chance contribute the account of the Hanoverian succession and the foreign policy of George I. to 1721; Mr. Temperley, the Age of Walpole and the Pelhams; Mr. Terry, Jacobitism and the Union; Mr. Armstrong, two chapters on France and Spain under the Bourbons to 1746. Professor Lemoine's chapter on the Reversal of Alliances and the concluding years of Louis XV. follows two chapters after those on the War of the Austrian Succession and the Seven Years' War on which Mr. Atkinson and Professor Emil Daniels collaborate. The concluding chapter of this group on England from 1756 to 1793 is assigned to Professor Michael (Chatham), Mr. Riggs (the King's Friends), and Mr. Griffin (peace and the rise of the younger Pitt). A group supplementing those on French-English matters would include besides those on the Silesian wars already mentioned in the first of which Professor Daniels gives a connected account of Frederick William I., a weak chapter on financial experiments and colonial development and much more satisfactory ones on Ireland and on India to the trial of Hastings. Outside these groups are the chapters by Mr. Bain on Poland, Sweden, and Russia under Anne and Elizabeth, Mr. Reddaway's account of Denmark, 1730–1794, Italy and the Papacy by Mrs. Vernon, Switzerland by Professor Schollenberger (satisfactory), and the Rev. George Edmundson's rather arid chapter on Portugal and Spain, 1750–1794, to which he adds three pages on Brazil in the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Three great rulers of the century are given separate treatment: Joseph II. by Professor Hubert, Catherine II. by Dr. Hötzsch, and Frederick II. after 1763 (and his successor) by Emil Daniels, with a five-page supplement on Prussia and Poland, 1763–1797, by Dr. Hötzsch. These three chapters are, on the whole, better than the average of the volume and in view of the scarcity of trustworthy material in English on continental European history in this century they are welcome as substantial summaries.

Mr. A. L. Smith's chapter on English Political Philosophy in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries is illuminating but Professor Vaughan's chapter on the Romantic Movement, considered as an independent contribution, is decidedly unsatisfactory. It shows no sense for the genesis of Romanticism and but little for contemporary and contributory movements. The bibliography falls far below the standard of the series. Its inclusion of school texts and omission of the sound work of American scholars, *e. g.*, Phelps, Farley, Beers, and Reynolds, and of editions of authors mentioned in the chapter, are noticeable defects. The substitution of a chapter on the efforts at legal reform and codification would have been a much more satisfactory and enlightening contribution to the history of the eighteenth century.

If any chapters be selected for commendation it is not because they agree with any opinions of the reviewer but because they have opinions with which one may agree or disagree, because, to quote Lord Acton's

directions to contributors, they "supply help to the student not material to historians" and are, in approximation at least, "not a burden to the memory but an illumination to the soul".

It seems to me that Mr. Temperley has written an admirable account of the age of Walpole and the Pelhams. Walpole seems almost like a personality. Sufficient space is taken to develop his main measures and to relate them to the prevailing mercantilism. Though the account is favorable to him, his shortcomings and the ineffectiveness of his system to meet changing colonial conditions are freely exposed. The dictum that politically the colonies had little to complain of before "the crucial year 1750" may not be accepted by those who attach some importance to the prevailing unsatisfactory conditions between appointed royal governors and elected provincial assemblies. The chapter on England (1756–1793) by Michael, Rigg, and Griffin, may be designated as one which meets the purpose for which it was written. Professor Michael's view of the elder Pitt is without the shadows cast on his motives between 1763 and 1765 by the biography of Ruville. That the three writers should occasionally lose their way in the maze of party factions and misplace the affiliations of a statesman (*e. g.*, Newcastle should be substituted for Bute, p. 419) is less a reason for criticism than the rigid adherence to a somewhat antiquated interpretation of British colonial taxation after 1763 (p. 432) and the failure in this and Mr. Temperley's chapter to throw any definite light on the institutional history of the cabinet in the eighteenth century.

That these twenty-four monographic chapters give no adequate survey of Europe on the eve of the Revolution, no unified view of an age that had greatly conceived, greatly sinned, and greatly failed, is not a harsh judgment. Indeed, the editors, if I read their introduction aright, feel that they are presenting here not the eighteenth century but only volume VI. of the *Cambridge Modern History*.

Guy Stanton Ford.

Bernstorfferne og Danmark: Bidrag til den Danske Stats Politiske og Kulturelle Udviklingshistorie 1750–1835. Af Aage Friis. Volume I. *Slægtens Traditioner og Forudsætninger.* (Copenhagen: Det Nordiske Forlag. 1903. Pp. 447.)

Bernstorffske Papirer: Udvalgte Breve og Optegnelser vedrörende Familien Bernstorff i Tiden fra 1732 til 1835. Udgivne af Aage Friis. Volumes I. and II. (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel. 1904, 1907. Pp. xvi, 818, 95; xii, 708, 86.)

The Bernstorff Papers certainly are among the most important Scandinavian publications of recent years; their importance is not confined to the history of Denmark but extends to the whole field of European history in the eighteenth century.

The Bernstorff family gives a typical instance of the extreme

internationalism reigning in the period next before the Revolution. In those days it was an almost daily occurrence that men of the upper classes passed from the service of one country to that of another, regardless of ties of kindred and nationality; at least in continental Europe patriotism in the modern sense of the word did not yet exist, or existed only in very rudimentary form. Many a gentleman then might well have taken the same device as one of the Bernstorffs chose for himself: *Patria ubique*. Very few, if any, of the wandering politicians of the eighteenth century reached such a lasting influence and position as the Bernstorffs, suddenly rising from the fameless life of Mecklenburg gentry.

The first man of that family to obtain an important position was Andreas Gottlieb Bernstorff (1649–1726), the most remarkable statesman of the Brunswick-Lüneburg countries in modern times. He was the prime minister of the Elector of Hanover from 1709 until his death, and when the Elector, 1714, went to England as King George I., Bernstorff accompanied him as his leading councillor; he was, indeed, prominent in English politics, the head of the "Hanoverian Junta", until the awakening national jealousy of the English nobility drove him away, 1720. He it was who, by the Family Statute of 1720, laid the economic as well as the moral foundation of the great work of his descendants. His grandson, Johann Hartwig Ernst Bernstorff (1712–1772), found Hanover too narrow a field for his ambition and went, 1732, into the Danish diplomatic service; the united kingdoms of Denmark and Norway ranged in those days still among the powers of Europe, and as Danish secretary of state for twenty eventful years (1751–1770) this first Scandinavian Bernstorff played a prominent part in European politics. In 1758, he drew his nephew, Andreas Petrus Bernstorff (1735–1797), into the same service, and this younger member of the family, perhaps its most splendid representative, became also Danish secretary of state for a period that revolutionized not only Denmark, but all the world (1773–1780, 1784–1797). These two Danish ministers indicate the zenith of the Bernstorffs in importance as well as in ability; but their star, although declining, has still kept itself visible on the political firmament throughout the whole nineteeenth century. One of the sons of A. P. Bernstorff, Christian Günther Bernstorff, succeeded his father as secretary of state for Denmark (1797–1810) and, in conformity to the traditions of the family, changing his country, accepted the offers of the King of Prussia, whose secretary of state he was for the years 1818–1832. A nephew of his was the prominent Prussian minister Albrecht Bernstorff (1809–1873) whose life, by Dr. Ringhoffer, appeared recently in English (American Historical Review, XIV. 584–586), and whose son last year came as German ambassador to the United States.

Dr. Aage Friis, of Copenhagen, won his doctor's degree in 1899 by a highly interesting book about the activity of A. P. Bernstorff

during the years 1772–1780, founded upon much new material; later, he has extended his researches and has brought forth from private and public archives a vast mass of hitherto unknown documents, concerning especially the two great Danish Bernstorffs. In 1903, he published the first volume of a large work (in Danish and German) about the Bernstorffs and Denmark, the second volume of which has been announced for 1910, and in 1904 he began publishing the series of Bernstorff Papers, planned in seven large volumes, of which the first two have already appeared, while the third is announced for 1910. This series also exists in both Danish and German editions.

The account of the work of the Bernstorffs in Denmark will in a great measure cover the political, social, and intellectual development of the Danish people in the whole period 1750–1835; the Bernstorff family furnishes a most pregnant instance of the peculiar interweaving of German and Danish society in those days and represents, in Denmark, that spirit of social reform that animated all Europe of the eighteenth century. Dr. Friis's first volume gives only the introduction, the rise of the family, and its diplomatic beginnings until J. H. E. Bernstorff becomes Danish secretary of state, 1751, and A. P. Bernstorff goes into Danish service, 1758; it concerns itself chiefly with the elder Bernstorff and his diplomatic activity in Germany and France (1733–1750). The author evinces great ability in depicting the social background; his style is a little broad, but brisk and richly colored, and we are justified in looking forward to a most interesting work.

The Bernstorff Papers do not include, except to a very limited degree, properly diplomatic or official documents; they give mostly letters of a more or less private character. Most of these are written in French, some parts in German, very little in Danish. Mr. P. Vedel published in 1882, in two volumes, the *Correspondance Ministérielle du Comte J. H. E. Bernstorff, 1751–1770,* and in 1871, the confidential correspondence between J. H. E. Bernstorff and Choiseul, 1758–1766. But this is not to say that Dr. Friis's publication is of less importance. The first volume contains correspondence between J. H. E. Bernstorff, his brother in Germany, and the latter's son, A. P. Bernstorff, covering the period 1740–1772 by more than nine hundred letters. The second volume gives the correspondence of J. H. E. Bernstorff with fifty-nine different persons, mostly high Danish officials from the king downward, but also such foreigners as Choiseul, Madame de Pompadour, Voltaire, Klopstock, and others, altogether more than six hundred letters from the years 1732–1772. The next three volumes are intended to bring forth the correspondence of A. P. Bernstorff, the two last volumes a selection of the papers of Christian Günther Bernstorff and his brother, Joachim Frederik Bernstorff.

The letters of J. H. E. Bernstorff and A. P. Bernstorff throw an interesting light on the personal and political development of those two great statesmen; especially the instructions which the older minister gives his nephew for his travelling abroad illustrate clearly their

moving principles. They were indeed both among the first practical politicians to grasp the modern ideals of international relations; repeatedly the elder Bernstorff urges upon his disciple a morality in politics quite contrary to the then prevailing ideas and imbues him with dreams of peace which, in after years, the younger Bernstorff endeavored to realize in his work for the rights of neutrals—therefore, in the year 1780, he felt himself in a condition to write to Benjamin Franklin as to a fellow-worker for international justice (see the *Writings of Franklin*, ed. Smyth, VII. 324).

The Bernstorff correspondence presents to the student a remarkable international gallery. It gives many interesting glimpses into social and political life in Italy, France, and England, as well as into country life in Germany. I think American historians will be most strongly interested in the new material given about Choiseul. He is very often mentioned in both volumes, and in the second volume are printed forty-seven letters from him to J. H. E. Bernstorff, most of them from the years 1750–1756. During his stay in Paris, 1744–1750, Bernstorff formed an intimate friendship with Choiseul, then young and unoccupied, and more than once, in his letters, the future French leader addresses the older friend as *mon maître*. Bernstorff distinguished the powers of the young loafer, "homme vif, satyrique et agissant, mais plein de sens et d'esprit, fait pour jouer un grand rôle dans le monde, ou pour périr à la peine" (letter of 1755, I. 141). The friendship of the two statesmen was of no small political consequence, and kept them firmly together until a rupture finally occurred in the year 1770. Of paramount interest is the detailed report of the Danish representative, Martin Hübner, about his negotiations with Choiseul at the end of 1759 respecting the war with England (II. 277–297); Choiseul planned to send Hübner to London as his secret peace agent, and on that occasion we learn what conditions he then thought of for ending the war. Hübner is himself a remarkable man, advanced, and an able scholar in international law. In a letter from London, 1754 (II. 271–273), he gives a pointed account of the intellectual and political conditions of England, and here he expresses the same idea that in the following year, Governor Shirley and the young John Adams commented upon, that England would be able to preserve her American colonies as long as she could maintain her mastery of the seas. The correspondence does not give many other references to America; I notice that Choiseul, 1750, speaks about the "prétensions des Anglois en Amérique" (II. 627), and some information may be found concerning the Danish West Indies (see the indexes under the names Pröck and Roepstorff). The two big volumes are still somewhat inaccessible, because the indexes, conforming to German practice, only comprehend personal names; I hope that the editor, in the last volume, if not at an earlier juncture, will add a subject-index in the good English-American way.

HALVDAN KOHT.

Sheridan. From New and Original Material; including a Manuscript Diary by Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire. By Walter Sichel. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909. Pp. xviii, 631; ix, 549.)

Mr. Walter Sichel has put infinite diligence and care into the preparation of these two bulky volumes on Sheridan. He has collected a vast amount of material, much of it new to students of English history in the days of George III. He has discovered and given to the public as an appendix to his book, a diary of Georgiana, duchess of Devonshire, written during the critical period of the Regency debates in 1788–1789. He has also printed a large number of hitherto unpublished letters of Sheridan, his wife, and many of their friends and relatives. He has devoted nearly two hundred pages to a psychological analysis of Sheridan's own character and the character of the age in which he lived. He has traced the ancestry of the Sheridans and the collateral branches of the Sheridan family. He has given a long and detailed history of the first Mrs. Sheridan and of the whole remarkable Linley family. The rest of Mr. Sichel's 1177 pages are devoted to the story of Sheridan's life and achievements, his political and social triumphs and disasters, his friends and admirers, his successes and his failures. And yet the result, so far as concerns a real understanding of Sheridan himself, is disappointing. There is a great deal about Sheridan, but, amid it all, the man Sheridan disappears. Mr. Sichel indulges in much characterization. He uses many superlatives; but at no time does he place Sheridan in a simple and straightforward setting before his readers and allow them to make his acquaintance for themselves.

Some exception might also be taken to the balance of Mr. Sichel's book—that is, from the point of view of the student of English history and politics. For instance, over a hundred pages are devoted to the romantic story of Elizabeth Linley's elopement with Sheridan, to the duels which followed, and the subsequent marriage of the youthful pair. It is not until the end of the first volume is reached that there is any mention of Sheridan's political career. There can, of course, be no complaint of Mr. Sichel for giving an adequate treatment of Sheridan as an actor, a dramatist, and a theatrical manager. These were essential parts of his career and his dramatic work will always be considered by many his great achievement and his most important claim to immortality. But in Sheridan's own opinion, political success was a higher step on the ladder than success on the stage; and the disappointments of Mr. Sichel's second volume are great in proportion to the importance that the reader attaches to Sheridan's part in English politics.

As much as Sheridan valued the friendship of the Prince of Wales, it can hardly be imagined that he himself would have been satisfied with a biography which devotes several chapters to this subject, which even belittles Sheridan's friendship with Fox for the sake of enhancing the

friendly relations between Sheridan and the prince, and at the same time dismisses in a line some of Sheridan's most important work in the service of the nation. In spite of his pathetic affection for the corrupt roué who during the later years of Sheridan's life was at the head of the state, Sheridan was a true democrat. He was full of enthusiasm for humanity, and his alliance with Fox was not a merely superficial arrangement, due to both being thrown into opposition to the government of Lord North and his Tory successors. It was due to a real agreement between Fox and Sheridan on political principles. Both stood for popular rights and liberties. Both opposed the American war and defended the French Revolution. Both desired reform at home, religious liberty, justice to Ireland, emancipation of the slaves throughout the British Empire, and more sympathetic justice for the masses in England. But with Mr. Sichel, these deeper principles are passed over in the mass of trivialities and intrigues. Differences between Sheridan and his political friends are accentuated, and Sheridan's service to the nation is subordinated to his services to this or that politician or ministry.

One of the causes with which Sheridan identified himself was the reform of the Scottish burghs. On this subject he accumulated a vast amount of material, and between 1787 and 1794 he made twelve speeches in Parliament upon it. Yet in the record of his political life, Mr. Sichel devotes exactly one line to Sheridan's efforts to obtain this reform, although in the early chapters of his book in analyzing Sheridan's political activities he had given the whole of five lines to the same subject. Sheridan's sympathies with the people, his warm indignation in cases of wrong and oppression, apparently call out no answering spark from Mr. Sichel. The whole incident of Sheridan's heroic intervention on behalf of the prisoners in Coldbath Fields, and his speeches on the subject, are dismissed in two lines of a foot-note. If the student of English political development desired to give Sheridan due credit for the help he rendered to the people in the long battle for liberty against the combination laws, for justice for the agricultural laborer, and for the freedom of the press, he would not find in all the eleven hundred pages of Mr. Sichel's biography three lines to help him in his search.

A. G. P.

The Life of W. J. Fox, Public Teacher and Social Reformer, 1786–1864. By the late Richard Garnett, C.B., LL.D., concluded by Edward Garnett. (London and New York: John Lane and Company. 1909. Pp. xiii, 339.)

It is for his share in the agitation for the repeal of the Corn Laws that William Johnson Fox is now chiefly remembered. In the six years that preceded repeal in 1846, Fox was as busy with his pen and as frequent in his appearances on public platforms as Cobden or Bright.

William James Linton, the engraver, himself an ardent Chartist, describes Fox as "the virtual founder of that new school of English Radicalism which looked beyond the established tradition of the French Revolution, and, more poetical, escaped the narrowness of Utilitarianism: a man wiser than his compeers, who, but for lack of boldness, had been the royal leader of the English democracy". Fox began life as a bank clerk, but having from early life been especially susceptible to religious impressions, he early left banking to become a Congregational minister. During his first pastorate, however, at Fareham, in Hampshire, he went through a period of storm and stress and emerged as a Unitarian. This change compelled him to leave Fareham and after a short stay at Chichester he took up in 1812 the pastorate of Parliament Court Chapel in Bishopsgate, London. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Unitarian ministers exercised an enormous influence on English thought—an influence altogether out of proportion to the numerical strength or social importance of the sect. Almost every newspaper or periodical of Liberal opinions was either edited by a Unitarian minister, or reckoned one or more such ministers among its regular contributors. The two spheres were not incompatible. The religious teacher wrought in the same spirit as the political and social reformer, and the spirit of inquiry that led a man to embrace the heresy of Unitarianism was likely to lead him to become a Radical in politics.

A Radical of the Radicals Fox certainly was. During his fifteen years in the House of Commons, as member for Oldham, he was the constant supporter of every movement for religious liberty, for popular education, for a wider franchise, and for women's rights. Before he entered Parliament, as an orator and in the columns of the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Daily News*, and earlier still in his conduct of the *Monthly Repository*, he had advocated the cause of the people against the feudal and aristocratic government that then held England in its grip. And yet, nothwithstanding all his services by his pen, and by his eloquence on platform and in Parliament, William J. Fox was in danger of being forgotten. Dr. Garnett's book will do for Fox what Mr. Graham Wallas did nearly twenty years ago for Francis Place—it will secure for him a permanent place among the little group of Radicals, Chartists, and Reformers who, in spite of mistakes and extravagances, made of England a democracy.

Besides the service that Dr. Garnett's book has done for historical students in giving Fox his rightful place in English political development, the book is valuable for its glimpses of James and Harriet Martineau, of Condem, Dickens, and Forster, of Macready and the Brownings, and of other men and women who were prominent in the world of politics and of literature in the middle years of the nineteenth century. It is only to be regretted that Dr. Garnett did not live to finish the work he had so well begun. The final chapters and the

revision of the book for the press show traces of haste and carelessness. Misspellings and grammatical errors are not infrequent, and the construction of the sentences is sometimes awkward and involved. In spite of these minor defects—defects which a careful reading of the proofs might easily have eliminated—the *Life of W. J. Fox* is a substantial contribution to the political and economic history of England in the years between the battle of Waterloo and the death of Lord Palmerston.

The Great French Revolution, 1789–1793. By P. A. KROPOTKIN. Translated from the French by N. F. DRYHURST. (London: William Heinemann; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909. Pp. xi, 610.)

JAURÈS has given us a series of volumes on the Revolution from the socialist point of view and now comes Kropotkin, the Russian prince and revolutionist, with a volume presenting the communist conception of the great upheaval. It is with the rôle of the masses and with the great economic changes that he is chiefly concerned, matters that have not received in the past the consideration that is due them. As a result, the histories of the Revolution have been chiefly political histories from which one can learn but little concerning the abolition of feudal rights of the confiscation and sale of land, and of the action of the masses of the people during the period 1789–1794. And yet, to Kropotkin, these things appear the fundamental facts of the Revolution. "The insurrection of the peasants for the abolition of the feudal rights and the recovery of the communal lands which had been taken away from the village communes, since the seventeenth century, by the lords, lay and ecclesiastical, is the very essence, the very foundation of the great Revolution. Upon it the struggle of the middle classes for their political rights developed. Without it the Revolution would never have been so thorough as it was in France. The great rising of the rural districts which began after the January of 1789, even in 1788, and *lasted five years,* was what enabled the Revolution to accomplish the immense work of demolition which we owe to it. It was this that impelled the Revolution to set up the first landmarks of a system of equality, to develop in France the republican spirit, which since then nothing has been able to suppress, to proclaim the great principles of agrarian communism, which we shall see emerging in 1793. This rising, in fact, is what gives the true character to the French Revolution, and distinguishes it radically from the Revolution of 1648–1657 in England." This is the thesis of the book. How successful is the development of it?

If the old books emphasize the political side of the Revolution and the work of the upper classes, this book, in the attempt to restore the balance, devotes undue space to the economic side and to the work of the masses. It is probable that the method was consciously followed and,

under the circumstances, was justifiable. The volume should be looked upon as a work dealing especially with the action of the masses and with the economic side of the Revolution, well fitted to supplement the older histories which treat too exclusively of the political side of the movement. There is no volume of the same size in English, nor in any other language, so far as I am aware, that gives as satisfactory an account of this very important and much neglected side of the Revolution. Members of the guild of historians will find it semi-scientific and will note many weak spots in the narrative. How could it be otherwise? The real reason that we have had no satisfactory account of the Revolution from the economic point of view has been that it was impossible to produce a satisfactory account in the present state of our knowledge. The popular uprisings, the destruction of feudal rights, the land question, and the communist movement, these are the subjects with which Kropotkin concerns himself, and yet so little monographic work has been done upon them that the historian is forced to form his synthesis from facts established by a study of the sources, a task that is impossible for any one man. Kropotkin is acquainted with most of the good monographs that have been written on his subject—he refers to them in foot-notes—and has used a goodly number of printed sources, but he has not frequented the archives and he was not able to make use of the monographs and sources, considerable in number, which have been published in the last three years. The specialist will find here little that is new, will shake his head over many daring constructions, and will find places indicating that Kropotkin is not as well informed as he should be, but everything considered, it must be acknowledged that with all its faults the book is full of hypotheses which are worth testing and which will open the eyes of students of history who are not acquainted with the monographic work that has been done on the economic side of the Revolution. The volume was well worth translating into English and should be read by every teacher as a help to a better understanding of the great French movement of a hundred years ago.

FRED MORROW FLING.

The Love Affairs of Napoleon. Translated from the French of JOSEPH TURQUAN by J. LEWIS MAY, with numerous portraits. (London and New York: John Lane Company. 1909. Pp. xii, 378.)

Napoléon Adultère: Suivi du Dialogue sur l'Amour par Napoléon Bonaparte. Par HECTOR FLEISCHMANN. (Paris: Albert Méricant. 1909. Pp. viii, 288.)

THE first epoch of interest in Napoleonic studies, which practically began with the translation of the remains of the emperor from St. Helena to the Hotel des Invalides in 1840 and ended with the fall of

the Second Empire thirty years later, was characterized by an adoration of his remarkable achievements especially in war. The second epoch, which began with the centenary of the Revolution in 1889 after a score of years of almost complete neglect, is curiously marked by an intense interest in the personality of Napoleon and even of his worthless relatives. The first striking evidence of this new form of interest was the publication in 1893 of *Napoléon et les Femmes,* the first volume in M. Frédéric Masson's monumental series of Napoleonic studies, which has won for him a chair in the French Academy. M. Masson had been librarian in the Foreign Office and had already made his reputation as an historical student when he began his series of masterpieces in historical literature. The historical student became merged in the literary artist, and he chose to write *ex cathedra* and to omit the absolutely essential citations of authorities. Later investigators are thus left unnecessarily in the exasperating position of having to use M. Masson's books without being able to verify properly the accuracy and impartiality of statement except by the almost impossible repetition of M. Masson's researches. While M. Masson has an established reputation as a master in historical research and authorship, his imitators have scarcely proven worthy apprentices in either art. To the historical student their works afford an insignificant amount of new information and to the general reader they have naught to recommend them except their unsavory character. Useless in the original, their translation cannot be condemned in sufficiently strong terms. Students, authors, and translators who care to serve humanity rather than pandor to it will find abundant legitimate occupation in studying Napoleon as a statesman instead of as a lover. The illicit demand which required twenty-one editions of M. Masson's first volume within four years also called forth the quasi-biographical volumes of the Corsican Turquan, whose *Napoléon Amoureux d'après les Témoignages des Contemporains,* published in 1897, has now been translated by Mr. May. M. Turquan does cite authorities but they are usually the gossip and trash of Constant, the Duchesse d'Abrantès, Mme. Récamier, Mme. Rémusat, and others. The latest indiscretions are from the pen of a youthful Belgian dramatic writer and theatrical manager, M. Hector Fleischmann, who, oddly enough, shows a genuine appreciation of historical scholarship and criticism. His citations of authorities are copious and are often of a higher character than those of M. Turquan. His discrimination is shown in turning down, with a decisive foot-note or a passing reference, trivialities which M. Turquan details at length. M. Fleischmann's work is of much higher grade than his disgusting title would indicate. After all, the most useful book for the student remains M. Charles Nauroy's *Les Secrets des Bonapartes* published in 1889.

Over Bonaparte the general and Napoleon the emperor no mistress ever held sway for a single moment. No act of public significance either in war or in peaceful statecraft testifies to the existence of a

mistress of Napoleon. The Valois and the Bourbon kings with their ancient lineage and their assured position lost no prestige because of the well-known influence of their avowed mistresses; but Napoleon Bonaparte, the Revolutionary usurper and the parvenu emperor, thoroughly understood that such derelictions as were condoned in Louis XIV. would overwhelm him with ridicule. Moreover, both of his marriages were unfortunate. In spite of his loyal and ardent devotion, Josephine's irregularities were the gossip of Milan and Paris before 1796 had closed. The divorce, impossible for the youthful aspirant to power, scarcely escaped being ridiculous in the triumphant emperor of 1809. His second wife, the mother of his one legitimate child, the King of Rome, too obviously recalled her great-aunt, the hated "Autrichienne", and her scandalous desertion in 1814 has justly made her infamous. Josephine proved an unsatisfactory link with the ancient nobility of France and Marie Louise was a useless link with the ancient dynasties of Europe. These two women whose relations with Napoleon were of vast personal import had little influence upon the soldier and ruler which the serious historian must take into account. A single paragraph will almost suffice for such recital of Napoleon's relations with other women as the careful biographer or historian will wish.

Soon after he reached his twentieth year, Bonaparte began to consider the various women he met with an eye to the selection of a wife. Several roused his momentary fancy but he paid more serious court to Mlle. Colombier, Mlle. de Lauberie de Saint-Germain, and Mlle. Désirée Clary. The lover, rejecting or rejected, later honored the successful suitors of these women, making the first, M. Garempel de Bressieux, a baron of the Empire, the second, M. Montalivet, a count of the Empire and Minister of the Interior, and the third, Bernadotte, marshal of the Empire and Prince of Ponte Corvo. Bonaparte's infidelities as a husband were the direct result of the incorrigible derelictions of his first wife, Josephine, and every one of his *liaisons* which is reasonably authenticated belongs to the period between the campaign of 1798 in Egypt and the divorce in 1809. Mme. Fourès during the Egyptian campaign, Mlle. George of the Comédie Française and Mme. Duchâtel during the Consulate, Mme. Grassini, Mme. Gazzani, Mlle. Denuelle de la Plaigne, and Mme. Walewska during the Empire, each held sway for a brief period in his affections. Each of the last two bore him a son, the only illegitimate offspring of recognized Napoleonic parentage; and their birth certainly had some weight in determining Napoleon to divorce Josephine. Count Léon (1806–1881) dragged out a ridiculous and inconsequential existence, but the second, Count Walewski (1810–1868), held numerous appointments under the Orleans Monarchy and the Second Empire, being Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1855 to 1860. True enough two of these mistresses were Italians, and one a Pole, true likewise, there were aspirations toward independent national existence in Italy and in Poland, but absolutely no proof has been adduced

that Napoleon's relations with these women had any political significance whatsoever. Besides these seven women who might be regarded as mistresses, a considerable number of women afforded the emperor momentary distraction either in careless frivolities or in brutal lust. It serves no purpose to know their names or number. It is difficult to conceive why M. Turquan includes between the covers which hold the accounts of these immoralities many pages of idle gossip about the Duchesse d'Abrantès, Mme. Récamier, Mme. Rémusat, and even Napoleon's adopted daughter, Stéphanie de Beauharnais, to none of whom does he dare to impute any relation with Napoleon worse than indiscreet. M. Fleischmann has called attention to the existence of a group of women who tried to throw themselves at the unwilling Bonaparte by his chapter on the most redoubtable of them, Mme. de Staël, while several of M. Turquan's cases properly belong in this group. M. Fleischmann also devotes a chapter to the refutation of the antiquated libel of incestuous relations with Pauline. The known correspondence between Napoleon and Pauline, as well as his incessant efforts to enforce upon the members of his family some respect for the decencies of life if not for the moral law, all go to disprove this slander.

These books being ruled out on the score of possible historical or biographical importance, it remains to inquire whether they have any justification as psychological studies. The answer is most emphatically, almost confessedly, in the negative. In the usurped position of First Consul, Bonaparte made it his programme to restore order not only in Church and State but also in society, which woefully needed it after the scandalous days of the Directory. He enforced by the rigid provisions of his Code and by constant exercise of his regulating influence an almost puritanic sanctity of the family. In conjugal love, he stated unequivocally his belief, and it was the ideal he sought in vain in each of his marriages, for he was false only to a wife who had repeatedly proven her infidelity. Love as a physical passion, as immorality, he always denounced as an evil, though no one of his own lapses rose above this level. Except in the case of Mme. Fourès, his irregularities of private life were rigorously screened from the public gaze, and never for a moment did Napoleon neglect the duties of his position or fail again to maintain its respectability. It was the very fact of his extreme care in these two matters that compelled the disappointed husband to reduce his love affairs to the sole object of gratifying his passions, though it is his mistresses, like Mlle. George, who defend him from the charge of brutality. Dire poverty afforded Bonaparte but the slightest opportunities of society, of meeting women, and of learning the ways of the world until his twenty-seventh year, so it is little wonder that M. Masson and M. Fleischmann find him "timide"—bashful, and that his foes called him brutal. Furthermore, it must be remembered in judging Napoleon's manners that he was a skillful actor, as Mr. Richard Mansfield has pointed out, and knew how to use both rudeness and courtesy

to suit his inscrutable purposes. Only a fellow Corsican, M. Turquan, could have been mean enough to depict Bonaparte as a woman's fool. Bonaparte made mistakes, even his marriages were such, but the master of men was ever supremely master of himself.

GEORGE M. DUTCHER.

Le Partage des Biens Communaux: Documents sur la Préparation de la Loi du 10 Juin 1793. Publiés par GEORGES BOURGIN, Archiviste aux Archives Nationales. [Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française, publiés par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique.] (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale. 1908. Pp. xxiv, 757.)

THIS book is concerned with one of the most important problems before those committees of agriculture and commerce, of the three French Revolutionary assemblies, whose published *procès-verbaux* were described in the last number of the REVIEW, pp. 380–381. It appears that the Constituent Assembly never seriously investigated the problem of the communal lands; perhaps because of the overshadowing magnitude of the cognate problem of the sale of the lands which were the product of the confiscation of Church property. And yet the amount of the communal lands was considerable, if we may trust an estimate, ascribed in one of the documents to Turgot, which places the area at eight million arpents and the annual income at eighteen million livres. As the subtitle indicates, the present volume carries the matter only to the passage of the law of June 10, 1793. The editor explains that a succeeding volume will show that the terms of the law were in the event modified. This was not due to any haste in preparing the law, for the committee of the Legislative Assembly began its inquiries in November, 1791, and the law was shaped according to the second of two carefully studied projects.

The volume includes: first, the replies of local official bodies to two inquiries sent out by the committee of the Legislative Assembly in regard to the best method of utilizing or dividing the communal lands; second, the reports and projects of the committee; third, several radical decrees, adopted by the assembly under the immediate impression of the events of August 10, 1792, and which ordered the division of the lands, but did not indicate the method; fourth, protests and petitions from local bodies and individuals, called forth by this hasty legislation and the troubles it had caused in the departments; and, finally, the reports of the committee of the Convention, with the text of the law of June 10.

Although these documents contain no statistical information concerning the condition and extent of the communal lands in different parts of the country, they are drawn from memorials or reports of official bodies representing a majority of the departments and make the situation

fairly clear, as well as illustrate the currents of opinion during two years belonging to the middle period of the Revolution. It is evident that the existing system was almost universally condemned for its failure to utilize adequately what was felt to be an important portion of the national resources. Differences arose mainly over the mode of division, whether this should have regard to the amount already possessed by members of the community or whether the more democratic principle of distribution *par tête* should be adopted. The work of the committee of the Convention did not differ essentially from that of the committee of the Legislative Assembly, although the language of the later reports is full of the Jacobinical phrase-making common in 1793. The text of the law provides carefully for the recovery to the communes of all lands which the seigneurs had, with or without warrant of existing ordinances, occupied at any time within forty years previous to August 4, 1789, reversing decrees of the Constituent Assembly which sought to safeguard acquired rights. The new law did not make the division of the communal lands mandatory, but permitted the inhabitants to decide whether they should be divided, leased, or sold. Neither the committee of the Legislative Assembly nor that of the Convention proposed to divide the woodlands. Both recognized that this would seriously endanger the prosperity of the country, for selfish owners would be likely to cut off the trees at once. The Convention, therefore, subjected the woodlands to the operation of the forest laws.

H. E. Bourne.

A Century of Empire, 1801–1900. By the Right Hon. Sir Herbert Maxwell, Bart., F.R.S., D.C.L., LL.D. In three volumes. Volume I., 1801–1832. (London: Edward Arnold. 1909. Pp. xix, 352.)

In the preface to this initial volume of a new work on nineteenth-century English history, the author, after noting the flood of monographs recently poured forth upon the period, writes:

> No human being of ordinary circumstances can draw understanding from such a multitudinous source. He may behold, indeed, this vast Sahara of information, this boundless contiguity of research, not likely to dwindle, rather to widen with the ages: but having his own garden little or large, to cultivate, what knowledge comes to him must be laid at its very pale, and in manageable supply, else he will have none of it. Can this be done, he will be so much the wiser—will even be the better gardener for it, nor are there lacking among his fellows those willing to work for him thus. It is no dullards' work to follow a clue through the legion manuscripts and private memoirs to which latter-day diligence has given access. In these, truth, elsewhere unattainable, certainly awaits a finder; but in matters historical we Britons have worn so long the coloured spectacles of Party, that the puzzle is to transmit a pure ray without sacrifice of sparkle.

It is with no sense of apology that the author admits himself one who wears "the coloured spectacles of Party". The volumes are prettily and appropriately dedicated to "The Hon. A. J. Balfour M.P., than whom no statesman has done more to preserve the dignity of Parliament, the dignity of debate, and the reasonable influence of party". Sir Herbert Maxwell has hoped, doubtless, to present truth "without sacrifice of sparkle", and may, perhaps, have feared to enmesh himself in the complicated and sometimes irreconcilable evidence of historical material. At least such is a natural conclusion after the unconvincing phrases of the ambiguous preface, and a reading of the book itself. There is abundant evidence that the work has been presented to the public without adequate examination of manuscripts and other sources, although there are a few citations of modern studies, and more of diaries and memoirs where the purely personal side of politics is being touched upon. No evidence exists that any material other than that published in England was known or used. In brief, we have here an old-style general survey, presented by a writer of lifelong acquaintance with inside British political gossip, himself a partizan, with intent to be impartial, but with no conception of modern historical requirements.

Yet the book has value. There is a real effort to break away from the insular prepossession in favor of home politics and to depict the character and significance of British activities in other than continental European relations. Thus Indian administration, the Spanish-American colonies, American expansion, are touched upon, yet, it must be confessed, in such fashion as to leave an impression of the author's unfamiliarity or indifference. By far the larger portion of the first half of the book is devoted to military history, and quite naturally so, but with nothing new or superior either in the matter or in the manner of the telling. Throughout the entire work, however, there runs the absorbing story, gossipy if you will, yet always vivid and entertaining, of political manoeuvre and intrigue. Sir Herbert Maxwell so emphasizes the force and power of the personal element in national history that his narration of the private relations, the petty jealousies, or, on the other hand, the more lofty ideals and motives of Castlereagh, Canning, Wellington, Peel, and others, gives a real life to his pen and real enjoyment to the reader. One certainly reads these portions of the work with the conviction that he is being admitted to an inner circle of intimate political friends, whose chief pleasure and business in life have been to know and discuss the game of politics as played by their leaders. Such narrations lead easily to judgments of men and their actions, and here one reads more cautiously, for in spite of the author's determination "to be watchful lest inevitable prepossessions stiffen into prejudice" (p. ix) the anti-Whig attitude is so plainly marked that the book at times more nearly approaches a polemic than a history.

In his characterization of men, it is amusing to note the author's vigor in controverting the liberal historians of an older time, as if these

had just uttered the last word. His especial abhorrence is Martineau, and, in less degree, Spencer Walpole, "blinking through liberal spectacles" (p. 262). So in the inevitable comparison of Castlereagh and Canning, he rises to a defense of the former, naïvely unconscious that Castlereagh's status was long since established, while Canning is portrayed with no apparent knowledge that any but Stapleton, "the most wooden of her [England's] writers" (p. 300), have given thought to the great foreign secretary. The author's "Let there be an end, then, to this exaltation of Canning at the expense of Castlereagh" (p. 276), is sublime. It would be unfair, however, to the writer not to add that his work offers a straightforward, readable account of English history from 1801 to 1832, careful and exact in its statements of fact.

E. D. Adams.

Correspondance du Comte de la Forest, Ambassadeur de France en Espagne, 1808–1813. Publiée pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine par M. Geoffroy de Grandmai$on. Tome I., Avril 1808–Janvier 1809; Tome II., Janvier–Septembre 1809; Tome III., Octobre 1809–Juin 1810. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1905, 1908, 1909. Pp. xlv, 456; 470; 492.)

It is gratifying to know that not all the credulous Europeans of the rationalistic eighteenth century who were drawn into the parlous game of American land speculation came out at the little end, with a life of regret in store. René de la Forest, as a young man of twenty-three, came to the United States with the Chevalier de la Luzerne in 1779 to serve in a modest way in the French legation. He remained here some fifteen years, as vice-consul in Savannah, as consul in Charleston and in New York. He had the sagacity to sell his properties in France before the crash of the Revolution and to invest his small capital in the broad acres of Virginia. These *vastes domaines d'Amérique* he later sold for an excellent sum, which he invested in 1803 in an attractive country-place in France. But this does not complete the *épopée*. When Talleyrand's career in France was interrupted by events which he could not control he came to America, as is well known. Here La Forest was able by reason of his experience to give the thrifty ex-bishop sound advice in regard to land purchases, and when the latter became Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1797 he appointed his obliging counsellor to a subordinate position. La Forest was launched and henceforth he sailed over prosperous seas. He accompanied Joseph to Lunéville to help make the treaty of 1801; he was sent to Regensburg to engage in the art of remaking the map of Germany; he was made ambassador to Berlin in 1803; he was ambassador to Spain from 1808 to 1813; he held the portfolio of foreign affairs in the provisional government of 1814. Louis XVIII. made him a peer of France, and Charles X. made him a minister of state. His is one of the Protean careers which enliven the history of France from Louis XV. to Louis Philippe.

His mission to Spain was the most important chapter in his career, and it is his correspondence during these years that is now fortunately being given to the world. That correspondence includes nearly nine hundred letters and bulletins, and is full of interest. The three volumes thus far published cover the period from April 9, 1808, to June 29, 1810. They are admirably edited with abundant explanatory notes by Geoffroy de Grandmaison, already favorably known by his *L'Ambassade Française en Espagne de 1789 à 1804* and his *L'Espagne et Napoléon (1804–1809)*.

La Forest was a diplomat of the old school. His letters are admirable in tone and style, measured, urbane, adroit, informing. He always has at hand the phrase that reveals and the phrase that conceals or suggests. His position was not an easy or a pleasant one. As Napoleon's accredited minister at the court of Joseph he was half ambassador, half spy. It is evident that his presence was not agreeable to Joseph. He did not have the confidence of the king, and the military men seem to have kept him in ignorance of their plans and acts. While his letters abound with military details, they are generally of minor importance, representing as they do second-hand information, and frequently mere rumors. The military side of Napoleon's Spanish imbroglio is, however, sufficiently well known, as is also the general opposition of Napoleon and Joseph, which grew out of the fact that the former's interests were European, the latter's Spanish. But the letters of La Forest are valuable as throwing curious and sharp side-lights on the political history of the time, a subject on which original material is very inadequate. La Forest sends home elaborate accounts of Joseph's entry into Madrid, of his receptions, appointments, circulars, of his appearance at theatres, churches, bull-fights, and of the attitude of the public. He describes the various activities of the king, the council of ministers, and the council of state, the introduction of the system of prefects, the abolition of the old military orders, and the establishment of new ones. He sends home the texts and analyzes the spirit of the decrees of Joseph on administration, on finance, on the army, on religious orders, on the conditions of sale of the confiscated property, on the abolition of crown monopolies, on the suppression of provincial tariffs, on the right of asylum in churches, on the creation of a stock exchange and commercial tribunals, on popular education, on the attempted introduction of the Napoleonic Code. He describes the financial distress of Spain and the attempts to meet it. He notes the divisions among the ministers of the king as well as among the generals. His letters abound with very discreet, yet pointed, criticism of Joseph, of his slowness, of his *bonté*, of his bestowal of lavish gifts, when the state was virtually bankrupt, of the influence of courtiers upon him, of his mildness toward his "rebels". Not a trace of sympathy or apparent comprehension of the inherent difficulties in the way of that monarch who ruled by grace of an imperious as well as imperial brother.

Never criticizing the emperor's conduct and always ascribing the failure of his beneficent policies to an ignorant and narrow-minded populace, a fanatical clergy, and *le machiavellisme d'Angleterre*, never betraying any sympathy with the Spaniards, La Forest yet contrives to weave discretely into his letters comments on the effects of imperial measures, which Napoleon might have taken as hints to change his conduct, had he desired hints from his emissaries. An excellent illustration of this is his account in the third volume of the feeling aroused by Napoleon's decree of Febuary 8, 1810, annexing northern Spain to France.

Not that La Forest was especially perspicacious. His is the conventional diplomat's point of view. Everything is a matter of manipulation and finesse. He did not at all appreciate the spontaneity and profundity of the popular wrath at Napoleon; it was simply the work of designing men who had objects of their own. His forecasts have a way of being belied. In 1808 he urges upon Napoleon the importance of Joseph's immediate arrival in Spain as certain to end the uprising. The Spanish people, he said, are most devoted to the doctrine of the *real presence*. But Joseph's first stay in Madrid was limited to ten days and ended in humiliating flight. La Forest expects everything from Napoleon's own coming. The Spaniards will then see the futility of opposition and the insurrection will collapse. Such did not prove to be the case. He expects domestic tranquillity as a result of the Austrian campaign of 1809, but it was not forthcoming. La Forest was certainly not a prophet nor was he proficient in *Völkerpsychologie* but he was an industrious diplomatist who, as he said himself, sought to show some wisdom and much zeal. His correspondence is an historical source of indisputable value, but not of the first rank, because he was not in the confidence of Joseph or his ministers, or the generals or even of Napoleon.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

Duchesse de Dino (puis Duchesse de Talleyrand et de Sagan): Chronique de 1831 à 1862. Publiée avec des Annotations et un Index Biographique par la Princesse RADZIWILL née Castellane. Tome III., 1841–1850. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1909. Pp. 530.)

THE last part of this third volume of the *Chronique* is of more direct historical interest than were the preceding volumes, for it embodies remarkably illuminating impressions of the larger incidents of European history during a period of extraordinary changes. The first part is valuable for another reason, because it reveals a further stage in the development of a singularly strong and beautiful character. What is called *le monde* is plainly losing its hold upon Mme. de Dino, although in 1841 she was only forty-eight years old. In March, 1841, she regrets leaving the shelter of her "home" at Rochecotte, remarking "La navi-

gation du monde est la plus difficile, la plus orageuse, et je ne m'y sens plus du tout propre; je n'ai plus de pilote et je ne sais pas, à moi seule conduire ma barque." When she reaches Paris, she finds that the "monde . . . me dégoûte, me blesse, m'agite et j'y vais chaque jour moins." A year later she hears of the death of the founder of the *Journal des Débats,* a friend of Talleyrand, and exclaims, "Et puis des vides! . . . toujours des vides! . . . Quelle solitude progressive!" This does not mean that her spirit is becoming feeble. In 1848, during the excitement of the revolution in Germany, when she learns that roving bands of peasants are threatening her Silesian estates, she hastens to Sagan, arms her tenants, and prepares to defend the place to the last extremity. Nor did the movement of affairs, when it rose to a level higher than the quarrels of the political coteries in the French Parliament, fail to awaken the old instinctive zest for combats. A visit to Vienna in 1842 reminded her of the triumphs of other days, and she exclaimed, "Vienne! . . . Toute ma destinée est dans ce mot! C'est ici que ma vie dévouée à M. de Talleyrand a commencée. . . . C'est à Vienne que j'ai débuté dans cette célébrité fâcheuse, quoique enivrante . . . Je me suis prodigieusement amusée ici, j'y ai abondamment pleuré." But it was the excitement of 1848, 1849, and 1850, when the old world seemed once more in dissolution, which drove from her thoughts, or at least from the record of them, that incipient disgust of the world. In its place there was a disgust with certain men, hatred of those whom she, with her Legitimist sympathies, regarded as demagogues and petty tyrants, and a deepening interest in the dramatic struggle of authority to regain its lost mastery, and in the conflict within the field of German affairs between Austria and Prussia.

The quality of the remarks scattered throughout the volume, their clearness, brevity, and wit; the sureness of stroke and touch in sketching the character of personages, seem to justify a statement of Talleyrand, which Greville records in his diary in 1831, that the Duchesse de Dino was "the cleverest *man* or *woman* he had ever met". Her characterizations of Mme. de Krüdener, of the unfortunate Duc d'Orléans, and of Chateaubriand, are good illustrations of what she seems to do easily. For Chateaubriand she had a genuine aversion. She commiserates Mme. Récamier because it had become her function to "calmer l'irritation d'un orgueil malade et de suppléer aux émotions du succès, qui ont été la seule affaire et la seule affection de la vie de M. de Chateaubriand". A few years later, when Mme. de Dino is reading the *Mémoires d'Outre-tombe,* where Talleyrand's memory is maltreated, she has "soubresauts nerveux". She confesses that her uncle has been a great sinner, but adds that she would prefer to present herself before the Eternal Judgment with his feeble conscience than with "cette autre conscience pleine d'orgueil, de malice, de fiel et d'envie".

Before the revolution of 1848 broke out Mme. de Dino had taken up her residence on her Silesian estates. She was still interested in

the fortunes of France, and the excerpts made from letters which she received reveal the manoeuvres among the monarchists to re-establish the throne and to forestall the coming of the Empire. The great stumbling-block was the failure of the Orleanists and the Legitimists to find a basis for fusion. But the correspondence in regard to the situation at Berlin, or the course of the revolution in general, is more instructive. Mme. de Dino was an enlightened reactionary, and one can discover how anxiously she and her friends, at Berlin and Vienna especially, scanned the heavens along every horizon from Naples and Buda-Pesth to Holstein and London, in order to discern the first signs of the final outcome. Her impressions acquire a tense interest as the year 1850 draws to a close, with the daily possibility of war between Austria and Prussia, at least up to the "Humiliation of Olmütz".

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Garibaldi and the Thousand. By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN. (New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. xvi, 376.)

MR. TREVELYAN has wisely chosen to write the life of Garibaldi by episodes. This enables him to produce several volumes, each of which is independent of the others, yet structurally so related to them that the reader who is interested in one will almost certainly read the rest. This method of treatment is well adapted to Garibaldi's career, which had no consecutiveness of detail, but shone in a series of exploits. In the biography of a statesman or ruler we look for more continuity wherein we can trace the evolution of his ideas and policies; but Garibaldi was a knight errant, and between one of his enterprises and the next, it mattered little what he was doing.

It is time that his heroic Sicilian Expedition should be told by a competent historian, for that was the most poetic achievement of modern times—an achievement so poetic, indeed, that it was immediately etherialized into a legend. So much has been written about it that the task of sifting is great. As in the case of our Civil War, scores of persons who took part in it have printed their recollections, or left their contemporary records—material which, for the most part, is uncritical where it is not avowedly panegyrical. The farther the Italians recede from Garibaldi, the more unreservedly do they apotheosize him as their national hero; and it must be added that latter-day Radicals eagerly seek to strengthen their current political movements by trying to make it appear that they are his followers. This also, it will be seen, renders it still difficult for any of his countrymen to write an objective biography of Garibaldi.

Possessing all the enthusiasm needed to do full justice to his hero's brilliant qualities, Mr. Trevelyan has the true historian's passion for facts which leads him to scrutinize heroism as soberly as if it were a plain, every-day affair. It would be hard to match in any recent biog-

raphy his constant reliance on details which, when taken singly, may seem commonplace, but which in their totality make up a picture that is far from commonplace. He knows everything about Garibaldi's dress, home, habits, and moods; he has visited Caprera and every spot in Sicily connected with the Expedition; he has interviewed the Garibaldini who survive; he has read the reports of those who are dead. So far as concerns knowledge of his sources, whether this be in printed book or in the land itself, he is thoroughly equipped, just as he is in those higher qualities without which no historian can excel—in fairmindedness, in veracity, and in the story-teller's gift. Evidently, therefore, we are justified in having great expectations of his Garibaldian prose epic—and we are not disappointed.

He plans to write the history of the Sicilian Expedition in two volumes. The first, which we have under review, brings the narrative down to the capture of Palermo at the end of May, 1860; the second, will complete the account of the conquest of Sicily, and then will describe the passage to the mainland, the triumphal march to Naples, the battle of the Volturno, and Garibaldi's retirement to Caprera. Probably Mr. Trevelyan will add by way of epilogue the story of Garibaldi's grievances, which culminated in his tragic attack on Cavour in April, 1861, for this is the real conclusion of the episode of the Thousand.

To link his earlier volume on *Garibaldi's Defense of the Roman Republic* with the present, Mr. Trevelyan relates the vicissitudes in the hero's life in America, his settlement at Caprera, his impatient waiting for some patriotic enterprise to turn up, his adherence to the National Society, and his rejoicing at being given the command of the Hunters of the Alps. With the opening of the Italian war of 1859, Mr. Trevelyan is on congenial ground. He describes vividly the operations of the Hunters in the mountains and along the lakes, making it clear that although Garibaldi's audacity might have been terribly punished, yet it actually succeeded, and contributed indirectly, by delaying Urban, to the Allies' victory at Magenta. The sudden stopping of the war at Villafranca left Garibaldi without an occupation. His brief service under Fanti, which ended in his resignation, and the feverish winter of 1859–1860, Mr. Trevelyan describes briefly but sufficiently. The last third of the book he devotes to the organization and sailing of the Expedition, and to its exploits from Marsala to Palermo.

The historical student will find throughout the volume a clear understanding of the interaction between the governmental and the revolutionary forces. He will be inclined to regard Mr. Trevelyan's word on many disputed points as final. Next to his love of narration, the author delights in the critical discussion of evidence, and his acuteness in cross-examination of this sort is remarkable. On some crucial matters, however, he hesitates to give a downright verdict. He leaves undecided the question of the alleged forgery of the "good news" telegram by which Crispi persuaded Garibaldi to start; but on the other hand he im-

plies that Cavour, whatever diplomatic prudence compelled him to say in public, gave the Thousand such help as he could. Mr. Trevelyan's statement of the attitude of the Sicilians, while it may not please those who are all enthusiasts *after* the victory, is unquestionably correct. Contrary to Crispi's assertions and to general belief, the islanders were not burning for a revolution: here and there small groups of agitators, mostly Mazzinians, were at work, but they neither controlled large bodies of the natives, nor were ready to bring Garibaldi much valid support when he came.

The final achievement of the biography is the lifelike portrait which it presents of Garibaldi. Mr. Trevelyan paints him as he was—a strange compound of great and little qualities, who, in spite of everything, had an almost supernatural fascination for his followers and held Europe spellbound by his exploits. To have achieved this, measures the skill of the biographer, who has neither whitewashed defects nor suppressed truths that might detract from his hero's unique prestige. Another historian might have emphasized other points in the story, but no one can say that Mr. Trevelyan has not produced by far the best book ever written on the subject—a work which, if its conclusion equals the present volume, is not likely to be superseded. As an example of the proper blending of biography and history, it may be commended to students of historical writing.

A word must be added on the accessories. Mr. Trevelyan provides many contemporary portraits of the principal persons and views of the places described, as well as five excellent maps. He has nearly a score of appendixes in which he discusses questions raised in the text. An ample bibliography contains the titles not only of printed material, including newspapers and magazines, but also of inedited manuscripts and of notes of conversations.

William Roscoe Thayer.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The German Element in the United States, with special Reference to its Political, Moral, Social, and Educational Influence. In two volumes. By Albert Bernhardt Faust. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909. Pp. xxvi, 591; xvi, 605.)

An adequate general discussion of German influence in the United States has been a desideratum for a long time. It is true that a number of valuable books have been published on various phases of the subject, such as the works of Seidensticker, Kapp, Löher, and Rattermann, the publications of the Pennsylvania German Society, and the various volumes of the *Deutsche Pionier*; but no one had succeeded in covering the whole field in a satisfactory manner. A new impetus was given to investigations along this line, when in March, 1904, three prizes were

offered by Mrs. Catherine Seipp of Chicago for the best monographs on the German element in the United States. In this contest the first prize of three thousand dollars was awarded to Professor A. B. Faust of Cornell University. The book before us is the publication in revised form of the manuscript submitted in competition for this prize.

In these two handsome, stately volumes, richly illustrated, we have for the first time a complete survey of the whole subject of German influence in the United States; and as we turn over the pages and note the extensive bibliography, the unusually complete index, and numerous foot-notes, we cannot avoid a feeling of respect and admiration for the indomitable energy and industry, the results of which are here contained.

The book is divided into two somewhat sharply differentiated parts: volume I. being largely historical; volume II. representing more in detail the *Cultur-historische* side of the discussion. Thus in volume I., we have an admirable general view of the successive waves of German immigration, such as the settlements in the Mohawk and Schoharie valleys, and in New Jersey; the more important immigration to Pennsylvania, and its overflow into Maryland, Virginia, and the two Carolinas; as well as the independent settlements of the Salzburgers in Georgia, the sparsely scattered German communities in New England, and the later migrations to the West.

Of course in this part of the book, the author found predecessors but he has done good service in summing up the main facts in a clear and interesting manner. One part of the first volume, however, that contained in chapters XII. to XV., under the general title of the Winning of the West is the result of independent research on the part of the author, who has done much to give due credit to the Germans in the work of defending and advancing the frontiers of the American colonies —a credit which has hitherto been largely monopolized by the Scotch-Irish.

The second volume is almost entirely the result of original investigation, and represents an enormous amount of work on the part of the author, who has ransacked newspapers, examined libraries, consulted experts, and corresponded with a large number of individuals. In this way he has brought to light a multitude of new facts concerning the influence of the Germans in the various phases of American civilization. Thus we have chapters on what they have done for agriculture, bridge-building, naval-architecture, lithography, and the various manufactures of iron, steel, glass, pottery, and musical instruments. Other chapters discuss the part taken by Germans in music and the fine arts, in literature and journalism, and in the political and educational development of the country, while a general survey is given of the various German religious denominations.

Yet these numerous facts are not scattered helter skelter throughout the book, but are arranged under appropriate headings. In fact, taking the second volume as a whole, we have not merely a discussion of the

German element on the various phases of American activity, but a genuine contribution to the *Culturgeschichte* of our country. Thus in the chapters on education, music, the joy of living, etc., the part played by the Germans is introduced by a general outline, brief though clear, of the whole history of the subject under hand.

One phase of the subject has been discussed by the author with a thoroughness and impartiality worthy of high praise, and that is the estimate of the number of persons of German blood in the United States. This is an exceedingly delicate question, and the most extravagant statements have from time to time been made, some going so far as to claim one-third of the population of the United States for the Germans. Professor Faust in his careful and cautious study of the Census reports and other sources has come to the conclusion that the number of persons of German blood is only eighteen million. This is probably as near to the truth as we can hope to come.

From the above brief review but a feeble idea can be obtained of the enormous amount of research and study embodied in these two volumes. The bibliography of more than eighty closely printed pages shows the extent of the sources laid under contribution.

In spite of the multiplicity of names, dates, foot-notes, etc., we have noticed comparatively few actual errors; in the note to volume I., page 112, the subtitle of the writer's book on the *German and Swiss Settlements of Colonial Pennsylvania* should be a *Study,* not a *Story of the so-called Pennsylvania Dutch*; the name of the well-known Lancaster County family Hershey is given in several places as Herschey, a form which I think never occurs. So also volume I., page 112, note, the name Gochenauer is given as "Goshenauer", and in volume II., page 40, "Echelburger" should be Eichelberger. On page 454, volume II., Professor Faust speaks of the name Blauvelt, as one which "points to a German origin". This name is not German but Dutch as the "w" in the first syllable of the original form, Blauwvelt, and the "v" in the second syllable indicate.

Yet these inaccuracies are but slight blemishes on a work that is worthy of the highest praise for its scholarly thoroughness, its impartiality, its logical arrangement, and the interesting style in which it is written. It will undoubtedly be the standard in its own field for a long time to come, and all students of the history of the United States will find in its pages, not only a storehouse of indispensable facts, but a model for the similar treatment of other racial constituents of our national life.

Oscar Kuhns.

The Expansion of New England: the Spread of New England Settlement and Institutions to the Mississippi River, 1620–1865. By Lois Kimball Mathews, Instructor in History in Vassar College. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909. Pp. xiv, 303.)

This study attempts "to untangle, from the complex skein of our national history, the one strand of the New England element", or in other words "to ascertain roughly what part New England has played as a frontier-maker;—how she has founded towns and institutions not only within her own borders, but far beyond the Hudson and the Alleghanies" (p. 9).

The first part of the work is an admirable description of the movement from the New England sea-coast to the interior. There are chapters on the beginnings of an American frontier, from 1620; the influence of Indian warfare upon the frontier, 1660–1713; the forty years of strife with the wilderness, 1713–1754; and events on the frontier, 1754–1781. These chapters are interesting and instructive. The research is thorough and the maps appear to be constructed on a sound principle (appendix A).

The second part deals with the movement of New Englanders into the West. Here is treated the beginning of the great migrations, 1781–1812, and the settlement of the Old Northwest, to about 1860. The final chapter sums up what the author conceives to be the results of two centuries and a half of New England pioneering. This part of the book is not so well done and it is doubtful if it adds much to what was already known of the general features of New England settlement in the West and New England influences in respect to education and local government.

The maps for the movement into the West are open to criticism and they may be said to illustrate the inconclusiveness of the second part of the book. The legend on these maps is (yellow) New England Settlement and (gray) All Other Settlement, but the author evidently does not intend that the markings shall be taken literally. It is doubtless the intention to show that there was some New England settlement in the portions colored yellow and the question naturally arises as to the extent of that settlement and the relation it bears to other settlement in numbers and influence. On the map showing New England settlement east of the Mississippi River before 1860 (frontispiece) the district about Cairo, Illinois, is colored yellow. The text tells us that south of Springfield, Illinois, only "a stray Connecticut or Massachusetts pioneer might be found", and the marking in this case appears to be based on the fact that one of the founders of Cairo was born in Hartford, Connecticut (p. 215, and n. 2). The northern counties of Illinois are shown as "New England settlement" and the text (p. 215) states that "the fourteen northern counties . . . were settled solidly by emigrants from

the states east of the Hudson River or from New York itself." It should be noted, however, that the foreign-born population of the five northern counties adjacent to Chicago was, in 1860, over sixty-eight per cent. of the whole. Southeastern Michigan is colored solidly yellow notwithstanding the fact that in 1860 the foreign population of four southeastern counties about Detroit was fifty-two per cent. of the entire population. For nine counties in the same part of the state the foreign population was thirty-three per cent.

This is enough to show that while the maps may be suggestive they cannot be taken literally. They do not appear to be worked out on the basis of a unit, such as the county, and the information they purport to furnish is, therefore, too general to be valuable. It is evident that the areas marked New England Settlement are not occupied exclusively by New Englanders, and it is probable, on the other hand, that New Englanders settled in places not indicated on the maps. As the maps now stand they tend to exaggerate the New England element in the Old Northwest, and they show how difficult it is to untangle the New England strand from the "complex skein of our national history".

Selections from the Economic History of the United States, 1765–1860. With Introductory Essays by Guy Stevens Callender, Professor of Political Economy in the Sheffield Scientific School, Yale University. (Boston and New York: Ginn and Company. 1909. Pp. xviii, 819.)

In the present volume Professor Callender has provided a convenient body of collateral reading, mostly from contemporary writers, which will help to a better understanding of our social and political development than the ordinary source-book of charters and laws. Especial value is given the volume by the editor's own comments, which preface each chapter of selections. For the historian those chapters will be of the greatest interest in which the relation of economic affairs to politics is traced.

"The influence of economic conditions upon our political affairs", writes Professor Callender, "has been enormous, and no correct understanding of American politics is possible without taking it into consideration" (p. v). This influence, he thinks, has not been given due importance by historians. "The true causal relation between the action of government and economic conditions is often reversed in the historical account. The latter are supposed to be the result of the action or non-action of government, when in reality they have been determined by other forces, and have had great influence in determining political action itself. This is an error that is the more likely to appear in American history, because the writers of it make large use of public documents and the utterances of public men, who are always interested in making the government receive the credit, or bear the blame, for

whatever of prosperity or economic depression accompanies or follows political action. Moreover, few of them have had the training necessary to accurately trace cause and effect in economic affairs" (p. 180).

Although the greater part of the book is devoted to a description of the economic life of the people at different stages of their development between 1765 and 1860, including such topics as colonial economy, internal commerce, transportation, manufactures, currency, the settlement of the West, and the organization of labor and capital, a large share is devoted to an economic interpretation of American political history. Economic depression and the reluctance to pay due to the unorganized and dispersed state of society account for the Revolution rather than denial of political rights or a stamp tax. "Economic conditions . . . wrecked the old Confederation; while prosperity . . . smoothed the way for the establishment of the new government and insured its extraordinary success." On the other hand, the tariff, in spite of the dominant rôle it has played in politics, is held to have had but a relatively slight effect upon economic development. The discussion of slavery contains some fresh and suggestive views: the scarcity of capital, rather than the institution itself, is held responsible for many of the economic evils usually ascribed to the latter. Professor Callender distinguishes carefully the various economic and social classes in Southern society, and pays special attention to the small non-slave-owning farmer. All in all, the volume will be found stimulating and informing, in spite of the strictures upon historical method.

A History of the United States and its People from their Earliest Records to the Present Time. By Elroy McKendree Avery. In sixteen volumes. Volume VI. (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers. 1909. Pp. xxxiv, 478.)

This volume of Dr. Avery's large popular *History of the United States* covers the period from 1776 to 1787—from the Declaration of Independence to the conclusion of the work of the Constitutional Convention. The military campaigns about New York, of Trenton and Princeton, of Brandywine and Germantown, of Saratoga, of Valley Forge, Monmouth, and Newport, of the struggle for the South and the closing scenes at Yorktown—these leading features of the war are treated of in one-half of the chapters devoted to the volume. One chapter is given to Foreign Relations and the French Alliance, one to European Complications and the Armed Neutrality, one to the Navy and the War on the Sea, one to the Finances of the Revolution, one to the Tories, and one to the New Governments, state and confederate, that were organized during the struggle. The titles of the chapters, sometimes figurative, are suggestive of large studies, but the content of the respective chapters is not found to be extensive, as the paper is heavy, the type is large, the margins are wide, and the maps and illustra-

tions are numerous. The brief chapter on the Loyalists of the Revolution contains fewer than three thousand words, and it is rather surprising to note that in the bibliography on that chapter Professor Van Tyne's well-known work on that subject is not named, though that author is made responsible in the body of the text for the statement that "fifty thousand loyalists were drawn into the military service of Great Britain." It seems that even a lazy reader of a popular history would be pleased to note in what work an authority on the subject has set forth his opinion. The chapter, however, sums up briefly the salient and most interesting features of the Tory controversy, without the addition of anything new. In the chapter entitled Peace there is a good summary of the peace negotiations of 1782, obviously written with a view of bringing out the interesting personal, not to say spectacular, features of that great achievement in our history. The chapter closes, while discussing the disbanding of Washington's army, with a rather unusual recognition of the services of negro troops in the Revolution.

The "critical period" of the Confederation is treated of under the title Disabled and Drifting. The chapter does not present a consistent constitutional study but consists rather of a miscellany of topics usual to the period, so that the reader will hardly be led to appreciate the real significance of the Confederation as a chapter in the growth of nationalism and union. Likewise in the concluding chapter entitled Building the Ship, the character of the problem before the Convention of 1787 and the permanent political and constitutional significance of the issues at stake are not sufficiently indicated to answer the needs and purposes of the serious reader, not to mention the inquiring student. The volume falls short chiefly on the constitutional side. The period covered by this volume is highly important for the consideration of the great central controversy of our history—the conflict between state sovereignty and nationality. The reader of Dr. Avery's volume will hardly obtain a due appreciation of that controversy. The formation of the Confederation—the account of which might lead to a narration that would be too dry and technical for the author's taste—is disposed of in this large work in a brief paragraph (p. 57); and the students of our national history will not greatly respect the dictum that until 1781 the Continental Congress "exercised the political power of the country and was recognized by all the colonies as *de jure* and *de facto* the national government". Maryland's services in the formation of the Union are not recognized. Reference is made to the fact that she was the last to ratify the Articles, while her important reasons are withheld from the knowledge of the reader. Toward the last of the volume (p. 399), in the chapter on Opening the West, it is mentioned that Maryland "held up the articles of confederation until she was assured that the western lands should become common property" for future independent states—an act that is regarded as a "perilous cutting away from the almost universal notion of supreme state sovereignty",

and "the first expression of an idea that has overwhelmed the theory of union on which the articles of confederation were based". The author speaks of the fierce indignation aroused against Maryland on this account, which led some to favor her division "between the neighboring states and erasing her name from the map". This is certainly not an adequate presentation nor an enlightening interpretation of one of the most important and significant controversies in the beginnings of our constitutional union.

In the Opening of the West there is a commendable account of the early United States land surveys, describing the work of Thomas Hutchins, geographer and surveyor-general, together with an exposition of the Geographer's Line and the reservation of section 16 for public schools. This account is accompanied by a finely executed map of the Seven Ranges made on the Geographer's Line running due west from the point where the west boundary of Pennsylvania intersects the north boundary of the Ohio River. North and south lines, six miles apart, were to divide the territory into the seven ranges, and east and west lines into townships.

The volume is richly illustrated and as a specimen of the bookmaker's art it fully maintains the standard set by its predecessors. In this respect it is a distinct credit to the author and the publishers. There are nearly four hundred illustrations, counting the maps, which are of uniform clearness and excellence, and the autographs, which are always interesting, while but few of the illustrations are fanciful. There are nearly fifty portraits, many of them of decided historical value, including, besides the frontispiece of Stuart's Washington, interesting portraits of Generals Sullivan, Schuyler, Kosciuszko, Wayne, Stark, Morgan, and George Rogers Clark, and of André, Vergennes, Paul Jones, Brant, Arnold, and Peggy Shippen.

Speaking again from the criterion of historical content, while the work does not present a very serious study of our political and constitutional development and while the proportions and interpretations of the author may be criticized, the volume, on the whole, may be said to have fairly accomplished its purpose—that of presenting in popular form, the salient, important, and significant personages, aspects, and events of the times with which it deals.

Cornelius Harnett: an Essay in North Carolina History. By R. D. W. Connor. (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company. 1909. Pp. 209.)

Mr. Connor has attempted neither a biography nor a history, but he has given us, as the title reads, an essay in the history of the Revolution in North Carolina, with the career of a leading actor in that struggle for its central theme. It is not a philosophical essay, but a brief and attractive narrative of the events in which Harnett took part. Within the limitations the author has given himself it is a very satis-

factory book and indicates ability to do larger and more detailed investigation in the best spirit.

The sanity of the treatment is manifested in its indifference to the myth of the Mecklenburg Declaration of Independence, which the good work of Hoyt and Ashe has discredited, making it possible for an accurate historian to ignore the thing without unpleasant consequences in the state of North Carolina. Mr. Connor's eighth chapter witnesses the gain from this achievement; for by reason of this elimination he is able to treat the early stages of the Revolution as an evolution, existing first as the idea of individual leaders, then as the expression of the will of county committees, and finally as the decision of a provincial congress. Formerly the assumed sporadic and impossible claim of the Mecklenburgers put the historian to fighting windmills when he might have been tracing historic developments. Mr. Connor is also to be commended because he has ignored a tendency, too common in the past to make it an important object to prove that this or that event was the first of its kind in American history. Such tuft-hunting is fatal to good treatment, and the history of North Carolina—the development of her institutions and the solution of problems as they have been presented—offers a better field of investigation.

Cornelius Harnett played an important part in the Revolutionary struggle. He was a wealthy resident of the lower Cape Fear region who seems to have imbibed deeply the spirit of resistance which was common in that section throughout the administrations of Johnston and Dobbs and which flared up again in the Stamp Act troubles. Boldness, strong individuality, and active administrative ability rather than constructive legal capacity seem to have been his best characteristics. He was one of the most aggressive inciters of resistance and as head of the newly established state government placed the defense of the movement on a better footing than it occupied under his successors. Later he was a member of the Continental Congress where he attracted no great notice; and he died in 1781 from exposure while a prisoner of the British force operating under Major Craige around Wilmington.

Mr. Connor's story deals with North Carolina history in this early part of Harnett's career. It is probably the best, most connected, and sanest presentation of the state's history in the critical years during which the change was absolutely made. Besides the biographical thread which runs through it, the study is chiefly institutional. Military affairs receive little attention, which is entirely justifiable under the circumstances. It is more disappointing, however, that we do not get a larger view of Harnett's private life. Also, the author's tendency to quote from writers who do not know as much about his subject as he himself is a minor fault in an otherwise very excellent piece of work.

John Spencer Bassett.

Minutes of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York: Albany County Sessions, 1778–1781. Edited by VICTOR HUGO PALTSITS, State Historian. Volume I., 1778–1779; Volume II., 1780–1781. (Albany, N. Y.: Published by the State. 1909. Pp. 430; 431–836.)

THE Loyalists in the state of New York during the American Revolution were relatively more numerous and more active than in any other of the thirteen colonies. The printed primary materials from which one may obtain their history consist of controversial pamphlets, the newspapers of New York City, memoirs and diaries of the leading Tories, and the published archives of the Revolutionary period. But a large quantity of sources and by far the most important portion for a complete treatment of the interesting Loyalist movement in New York, is still in manuscript. Most of these valuable documents are now in the hands of the state, in the capitol at Albany. Practically the only effort made to edit and publish any part of these manuscripts was under the administration of Mr. Hugh Hastings, state historian, preceding the incumbency of Mr. Paltsits. Mr. Hastings published the *Public Papers of George Clinton* in eight volumes which have been, with propriety, severely criticized in the AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

These two volumes are models of book construction. They are printed in large type on strong white paper and are durably bound in heavy buckram. The work makes a positive contribution to the printed sources on both the alertness and activity of the newly formed commonwealth, and also to the unique part played by the Loyalists or Tories. Of the mass of unprinted documents relating to the history of New York during the American Revolution, the "Minutes of the Commissioners for detecting and defeating Conspiracies in the State of New York" is the most important. Mr. Paltsits is to be highly commended for having taken up this work as his initial task.

The editing, so far as it goes, has been done with praiseworthy care and accuracy. Much valuable information, however, both biographical and political, as well as many explanations of obscure points in the text, might have been added in foot-notes as a fitting commentary on the text. For instance, to have given a summary on page 807 of the total amounts expended by the commissioners in carrying on their labors would have been an item of great interest.

In an introduction of fifty-two pages Mr. Paltsits has given an excellent brief explanation of the forces and policies which brought into existence this board of commissioners. He makes clear the origin of the inquisitorial machinery in New York, the legal status of these bodies, the scope of their powers, and the final transfer of their prerogatives to the established courts. Then follows in the second chapter a more specific illustration of the wide range of activities which devolved upon the commissioners. The methods employed in dealing with

the various classes of delinquents are fully described. The introduction is followed by a history of the manuscript itself, a full list of the commissioners, a schedule of the meetings held, and a record of attendance. In appendix I. are given the laws of New York relating to the powers and duties of the commissioners in dealing with the Loyalists and other offenders under their jurisdiction. Appendix II. is devoted to transcripts of the financial accounts of the entire body of commissioners which are believed to be substantially complete. In appendix III. are printed the first general commission to the commissioners in 1778, sample oaths required of Loyalists to prove their allegiance to the state, a certification of Tories, and an order of exchange of a Loyalist for a patriot prisoner. The work is illustrated by six fine facsimiles taken from various parts of the original minutes.

A third volume will constitute an analytical index. This volume has not yet come from the press. If the indexing is done in as thorough and as scholarly a manner as the editing of the text, this work as a whole will take a very high rank among the printed archives of the Empire State. It is a matter of congratulation to those interested in historical work that the great commonwealth of New York has secured the services of an accurate historian to discharge its serious obligation of preserving, arranging, and preparing for publication its wealth of historical material still unprinted.

ALEXANDER CLARENCE FLICK.

Report on "The Star-Spangled Banner", "Hail Columbia", "America", "Yankee Doodle". Compiled by OSCAR GEORGE THEODORE SONNECK, Chief of the Division of Music, Library of Congress. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1909. Pp. 255.)

THIS is a most important contribution to the history of American music. Although modestly stated as "compiled", the volume is much more than a compilation. In fact the expression of the author's individual views as to the relative popularity of "Yankee Doodle" and "Dixie" has caused some flurry of criticism in the press. We have no more careful investigator in the field of American music than Mr. Sonneck, and the subject he here undertakes certainly requires all his powers. In no field of music is there so much doubt and vagueness as in the evolution of great national melodies. "God save the King" has caused volumes of research and its origin has not been surely established yet. The "Marseillaise" has also caused many arguments. National music is far too often enshrouded in pseudo-history or in absolute fiction.

Mr. Sonneck has carefully sifted the false from the true and even if, at times, he has not discovered the history of the song, as for example in the case of "Yankee Doodle", he has at least cleared the field of its many errors, for which future historians will thank him. Incidentally also, he has given most interesting side-lights upon some of

the lesser characters connected with the creation of the songs. Dr. Beanes, who was the occasion of Francis Scott Key's expedition to the British fleet, Johannes, or Philip, Roth, connected with "The President's March" which led to "Hail Columbia", Dr. Schuckburgh who has been considered the founder of "Yankee Doodle", Gilbert Fox who first sang "Hail Columbia", all these stand out as living characters and not mere shadows upon the historic page.

In "Yankee Doodle" Mr. Sonneck has had the assistance of one of the most indefatigable investigators of America, Mr. Albert Matthews of Boston, whose researches in this matter still remain unpublished, but are generously and freely placed at the disposal of investigators.

Let us briefly sum up the results of the search for the origin of our national songs. "The Star-Spangled Banner", written by Key, was probably composed by John Stafford Smith, in England, as a drinking song.

"Hail Columbia" was composed as "The President's March" probably by Philip Phile, although this claim is not yet free from doubt and the very name of Phile is not surely ascertained. Philip Roth (first name doubtful) also remains a claimant to the honor of having composed this melody. Joseph Hopkinson wrote the words.

"America" is fortunately taken quite out of the field of doubt. It was written to the tune of "God save the King", by Samuel F. Smith, then a theological student at Andover, for a children's Fourth of July festival at Park Street Church.

"Yankee Doodle" remains enshrouded in mystery. There is some doubt as to whether Dr. Schuckburgh wrote the words which brought the tune into notice in America. There are dozens of variants of these words. The tune cannot be traced to its origin. Mr. Sonneck begins to think that the modern form of the melody is a composite made up of two different tunes of different epochs. Absolutely nothing has been ascertained regarding the origin of the melody, and here the amount of careless statement, of invention and unreliable "recollections", is disheartening. Yet Mr. Sonneck has at least disposed of many of the errors and cleared the field for further investigation.

Many excellent facsimiles adorn the book, a few misprints mar it, and it has an excellent index.

Louis C. Elson.

Robert Fulton and the "Clermont". By Alice Crary Sutcliffe, Great-Granddaughter of the Inventor. (New York: The Century Company. 1909. Pp. xv, 367.)

The writer of this book seems at times to feel her limitations on the technical side of her great-grandfather's life, but she has nevertheless produced a biography of singular charm and interest in an astonishingly brief compass. It is a model in its way. She has per-

mitted the inventor to speak for himself in numerous unpublished letters and drawings and, while keeping the central idea of the *Clermont* in view, she has touched upon his many activities in such a way as to show the gradual growth of his ideas on steam-navigation.

The successful voyage of the first steamboat on the Hudson was a matter of tremendous significance to America. It opened the way to the navigation of the western rivers and thus to the development of a great territory. . Its importance as the beginning of an epoch was such that Robert Fulton's association with other interests has been largely lost sight of. He was in the first place a successful portrait-painter and next an engineer with a genius for invention, and always a business man who combined common sense and good judgment with extraordinary power of imagination. These qualities are very strongly brought out in Mrs. Sutcliffe's biography, which is published at a particularly auspicious time. It reveals the man as profoundly endowed with a belief in peace among nations. His inventions were either for the promotion of commerce in a large way or for the purpose of making war so horrible that it must necessarily cease. The submarine and the torpedo were his chief concern at one period of his life and he seemed to have cared little what nation used them, always excepting his own country. He proposed going to the bitter end in warfare, when, in a letter to the French commissioners (p. 324), he wrote "Another mode would be to go with cargoes of bombs and anchor them in the entrance of rivers so as to cut off or blockade the commerce. 2 or 3 hundred, for example, anchored in the Thames or the Channels leading to the Thames would completely destroy the commerce of that river and reduce London and the Cabinet of St. James to any terms. No pilot could steer clear of such hidden dangers,—no one dare to raise them even if hooked by grapplings, as they could not tell the moment they might touch the Secret Spring which would cause the explosion and destruction of everything around them." This was a deliberate proposition to blockade London by planting torpedoes dangerous alike to peaceful traders and to those bearing arms.

The book reveals Fulton as another of the great Americans who began life on a farm under pioneer conditions with wholesome surroundings. He attended a country school and had little education except what he obtained for himself by hard study after leaving home at the age of seventeen. The early part of his life is admirably portrayed by his biographer in a brief chapter showing his growth from a boy of dreams into a man capable of carrying out great ideas. The two chapters on his life in France where he devoted a large part of his time to the problem of steam-navigation, called specially to his attention by Robert Livingston, are most interesting in bringing out the gradual adaptation by study and experiment of the steam-engine to the propulsion of a hull. Experiments were tried on the Seine with

only fair success, but nevertheless with the incidental advantage of giving the inventor definite data for the design of the *Clermont*. He did not approach the latter problem either by inspiration or guesswork. A ship was definitely planned on tolerably exact information. This method seems to have been typical of Fulton, and his great-granddaughter has represented him truthfully not only in what she has herself written, but also in what she has taken from his letters.* Another fact is frankly admitted. He was not the originator of the idea of propulsion by steam. Others had tried it and failed. He was the first to build and operate a steamboat successful commercially from the very beginning.

The nation owes him a debt of gratitude therefore as a designer and builder, a man with a rare combination of imagination, boldness, and technical knowledge. Mrs. Sutcliffe has indicated this so clearly by quotations from other writers that she leaves us in no doubt. One closes the book and its inspiring collection of Fulton's own productions with regret and with the wish that more were to follow.

Robert Y. Hayne and his Times. By THEODORE D. JERVEY, Second Vice-President of the South Carolina Historical Society. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. xix, 555.)

ACCOMMODATING himself to the dearth of intimate materials upon Hayne's life and the wealth of data upon the general history of South Carolina embodied in the newspaper files and pamphlet collections of the Charleston Library, Mr. Jervey has devoted his book more to the times in South Carolina and particularly in Charleston, and to the course of federal politics upon the state-rights issue, than to a detailed narrative of Hayne's doings. In fact the book is principally a chronicle of Charleston affairs from 1791 to 1839, with Hayne's career a recurring rather than a continuous theme. In many portions the account is colorless; but at many points a penchant of the author appears. He takes or makes very many opportunities to lay stress on the meritorious deeds of Charles Pinckney and to quote laudatory notices of William Lowndes, and, on the other hand, to make derogatory remarks concerning Calhoun. The author is a Charlestonian of the strictest loyalty and tends to celebrate Charlestonian talent and merit as represented in Pinckney, Lowndes, and Hayne. He characteristically considers that Calhoun, a non-Charlestonian, has been magnified at Hayne's expense and that it is part of his duty to right the wrong. In several matters Mr. Jervey points out errors in Hayne's views, but in the great instance of variance between Hayne and Calhoun in 1830–1832, as to the basis of state sovereignty, he labors zealously but without happy result to support Hayne's position. Hayne in his reply to Webster spoke of the federal compact as made and existing between the several states and the central government, with sovereignty vesting in each of the parties. Calhoun, rejecting this,

contended that the states alone were sovereign and in creating the union had established the central government as an agent which possessed no sovereignty. Mr. Jervey (pp. 293–295) says that this would have been the case had the states by their action of 1787–1789 established a union *de novo,* but that it was not true in fact because what had been done in 1787–1789 was merely to revise and make more perfect the "perpetual union" already existing by virtue of the old Articles of Confederation. To support this view he cites the resolution adopted by the South Carolina assembly in 1787 appointing delegates to the Philadelphia convention, which authorized them to join in the revision of the Articles, to be effective upon the approval of the central government then existing and of the several states. "This", says Mr. Jervey, "seems to bear out the idea of the constitutional compact which both Webster and Calhoun thought erroneous, when advanced by Hayne; namely, that the general government was a party to the compact." As a matter of fact, however, the delegates from South Carolina and the other states did not use their authority to make the existing compact more perfect, but to draft a radically new constitution, ignoring the amending machinery of the old and providing for the new to become effective upon its ratification by nine states. The Congress of the Confederation, furthermore, did not ratify the new constitution, but merely referred it to the several states for submission to conventions. Accordingly, if the compact theory of the Union is to be held at all, and states' rights based thereon, it must be Calhoun's theory of a compact between the states, and not Hayne's theory of a compact between the central government and the several states.

The high lights in Hayne's career as given by Jervey are his several speeches in the Senate, in 1824 on the tariff, in 1827 on the Colonization Society, and in 1830 in reply to Webster, his gubernatorial proclamation of 1832 in reply to Jackson's threat of coercion, and his championship of the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad project in the closing years of his life. Each of these principal episodes the author treats in the main admirably; but in several instances he overstates his case, as when he endorses Hayne's neck-or-nothing policy in promoting the Louisville, Cincinnati, and Charleston Railroad on the ground (p. 531) that if the plan had succeeded and the railroad had been built its operation would have made the Northern and Southern people so much better acquainted with one another that the Civil War might well have never occurred. This argument is hardly short of fantastic. Again (pp. 80, 81), he exaggerates the importance of the repeal in 1818 of the law which had prohibited the importation of slaves from other states into South Carolina. The federal censuses show that the average rate of increase of the negro population in South Carolina between 1810 and 1860 was substantially smaller than that of the negroes in the United States at large. This indicates that South Carolina was in that half-century more of a slave-exporting than a

slave-importing state, and that a prohibition of slave imports would have had no appreciable influence upon the ratio of increase of her negro population.

The style of the book is unpolished and the narrative overladen with details and digressions. But the amateur quality of the work is itself not unattractive. The book affords a relief from the monotony of that school of American historical writers who walk ever in trodden paths. The author has rendered a valuable service in describing South Carolina developments and in presenting the career of one of her truest sons, eloquent, upright, devoted, and lovable. We shall hope for further historical work from Mr. Jervey's pen.

ULRICH B. PHILLIPS.

Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the Year 1907. Volume II., Part I. *Diplomatic Correspondence of the Republic of Texas.* Edited by GEORGE P. GARRISON, Ph.D., Professor of History in the University of Texas. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1908. Pp. 646.)

TEXAS was for a time the most critical diplomatic battlefield of Christendom. The publication of her correspondence has therefore been a historical desideratum of no little consequence, and one has great reason for thankfulness in taking up the first of the two volumes which are to present it, edited by a scholar better qualified than any one else for his task and put forth by the American Historical Association in excellent form. The contents of the volume are in general the correspondence with the United States down to the close of 1842; and among the subjects upon which light is thrown are the internal condition of Texas, the characters and purposes of her public men, her relations with the government and the Federalists of Mexico, her southern and her northern boundary difficulties, her Indian troubles, the moral and material assistance drawn from the United States, the Santa Fé expedition and its sequel, the questions of postal arrangements with the United States and fugitives from justice, American relations with Mexico and action in behalf of Texan independence, the treaty of amity, navigation, and commerce with this country, political conditions here, the motives and aims of our statesmen, and—above all other subjects—the questions of recognition by this government and annexation to our Union. After a chronological list of the documents, an introduction which indicates how official relations between the two countries were established and whence the documents have been obtained, and a needful list of the oft-changing Texan officials, comes a very useful Calendar of Correspondence Hitherto Printed. Here it was doubtless found difficult to adopt a logical rule of inclusion. One finds, for example, a letter from ex-President Jackson to an anonymous American (p. 39) and a note from the Mexican minister to Calhoun (p. 45), but not Webster's highly im-

portant despatch of July 8, 1842, on the affairs of Texas (*House Ex. Doc. No. 266*, 27 Cong., 2 sess.), the letter of the Texan consul at New York, January 4, 1844 (Jones, *Memoranda*, p. 303), on the prospects for annexation, nor even that from Miller, special secretary of the Texan legation at Washington, April 28, 1844 (*ibid.*, p. 345), on the same subject. Donelson's note to Allen, April 16, 1845, is entered twice (p. 45); and, if one looks up the reference for Terrell to Eve, October 15, 1842 (p. 32), one finds Van Zandt to Webster, December 14, 1842, which is substantially the same thing but might not be recognized as such by the inquirer. Then follows the Correspondence Hitherto Unpublished, which forms the body of the volume and presents countless illustrations of the editor's fidelity and scholarship. With propriety he has omitted some documents of slight significance and occasionally cut out a paragraph of the same character; but it is a question whether certain important documents which, though in print, are beyond easy reach should not have been given. For instance, the investigator is referred (p. 30) for the instructions to the Texan minister at Washington regarding annexation, January 20, 1842, to the (Houston) *Telegraph and Texas Register* of November 26, 1845. That newspaper is not to be found even in the Library of Congress, and most American historians could perhaps find this document most easily by going to the Public Record Office in London ("Texas", vol. XIV.). On the other hand, Henderson to Hunt, December 31, 1836, is here given (p. 161) without mention of the fact that it was printed in Texas in 1845. As the editor states, it was not practicable to make the file of correspondence quite complete, and that is of course to be regretted. It would have been well, had it been feasible, to institute a wide search for the missing documents. Collinsworth and Grayson's propositions for the annexation of Texas, addressed to the American government on July 16 [14], 1836, might, for instance, have been found among the Jackson papers. Misspelled words are in some cases followed with "[*sic*]" and in other cases are not, so that in quoting a passage containing one of the latter an author would be a little in doubt how to write it; and one notes that W. D. Jones, American consul at Mexico, appears (p. 213) as M. D. Jones. In a work of such magnitude and difficulty a few slips are of course inevitable.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

Virginia's Attitude toward Slavery and Secession. By BEVERLEY B. MUNFORD. (New York and London: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. xiii, 329.)

MR. MUNFORD has endeavored to show just why Virginia cast her lot with the Lower South in 1861 rather than remain in the Union and escape the awful devastation which surely awaited her if she took up the Southern cause. In part I. he states his case; in part II. he endeavors to prove that Virginia did not secede in order to extend or even

save slavery as an institution; in part III. he shows that the motive was certainly not a wanton desire to destroy the Union; and by process of elimination he comes in part IV. to his thesis, which is that Virginia was forced out by the attitude of President Lincoln and his administration; in short the proclamation of April 15 was the compelling motive.

In the different sections the author draws upon the better known sources of American and Virginia history, quoting freely from the writings of the "Fathers" to prove that the best thought of Virginia was against slavery from the beginning. There could be no difficulty in showing that Washington, Jefferson, and the rest all hated the institution and strove manfully to abolish it. To show also that the second generation of Virginians was equally solicitous to check the ravages of the slave-system might also be possible; but to go on to the eve of the Civil War contending that nobody of influence and power in the Old Dominion favored slavery shows a lack of knowledge of the subject or the field which is a little disparaging to the author's claims. Yet this is just what Mr. Munford attempts to do.

The slave-trade and the status of the free negro are discussed with the result that there was, in the opinion of the author, no breeding of slaves for the Southern market; and the free negro was almost an impossibility both in the South and the North, while to send all the slaves away to Africa was economically almost out of the question. Time wore on and brought the crisis of 1861 and when the national government endeavored to enforce its authority at the point of the bayonet Virginia independently of the whole slavery trouble cast her lot with the party, the Lower South, whose rights were being trampled upon. This is the story. It is calmly and confidently told; but many important facts and conditions are omitted entirely.

First of all, Virginia was a divided camp from 1760, the western counties being hostile to the eastern and hostile likewise to slavery. The constitution of 1776, contrary to the wishes of Jefferson and others, recognized slavery by so distributing power in the legislature as to secure to the East—a minority of the population—permanent control of the lawmaking power of the state. The populous West endeavored in 1829–1830 and again in 1850 to break the hold of the East upon the community. The East, now fully in the hands of a comparatively small group of slaveholding monopolists, withstood all attack and actually strengthened her power with the passing decades. This arrangement was denounced by Jefferson and many others who foresaw the natural consequence to the state but without avail. There is no reference in the volume before us to these conditions and yet they are vital to the story.

Nor does Mr. Munford so much as mention, in his discussion of the charge that Virginia was a slave-breeding state, Governor William B. Giles's published statement (in his book dated 1829) that 6000 slaves were exported from Richmond and Norfolk each year; and he ignores the active and effective propaganda of Thomas R. Dew (after 1832) in defense of the business of raising negroes for the Lower South.

This is not saying that the author is wrong in his contentions, but that he has overlooked some very important matters and failed to explain the attitude of men, who, like H. A. Wise in 1855, promised their hearers that negroes would sell for $5000 each if Kansas were made a slave state—men who were very popular in Virginia then and whose memories are still green throughout the South. The book is too much of a defense to be final or convincing.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

John Brown. By W. E. BURGHARDT DU BOIS, Ph.D., Professor of Sociology, Atlanta University. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1909. Pp. 406.)

A NEW and shorter "Life of John Brown" which emphasized the deeds of its hero without dwelling too much upon the great cause has been needed, and this work from an eminent negro educator fills this want to some extent. Hitherto it has been impossible to treat the leader of the raid on Harper's Ferry except as a saint doing God's work or as the vilest of criminals. Victor Hugo compared him to Jesus of Nazareth while Carlyle accounted him only a mischief-maker; Robert E. Lee characteristically passed judgment upon him as "Captain John Brown". Of course Professor Du Bois could not be expected to speak as any of these—a negro judging the most ardent friend of his race. Devotion to the subject of his investigation, hero-worship, perhaps sensationalism, are the terms which most aptly describe the style of this new Life. This may be seen in the chapter headings: the Vision of the Damned, the Swamp of the Swan, the Black Phalanx, the Great Black Way, etc. In addition, each chapter begins with a quotation from the Bible, some of which run: "Remember them that are in bonds as bound with them", "And his fellow answered and said, This is nothing else save the sword of Gideon the son of Joash, a man of Israel."

Aside from this enthusiastic approval, there is much that commends the book. It is an abbreviation of Sanborn's rather tedious work and it presents the facts of Brown's career though in a loose and unconvincing manner. A considerable part of the total space is devoted to the development of the man, his restless roving from place to place, seeking apparently some sudden turn of fortune which should reveal him to the eyes of the world. The Kansas tangle and the bloody work at Osawatomie are treated fairly well. But the main theme is of course Harper's Ferry which is seen simply as the work of God in human hands, as the first battle of the righteous North against the wicked South.

One is surprised, however, to find the author of *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade* stating (p. 84) that the runaway slaves of Georgia founded a state in Florida to overthrow which cost the United States $20,000,000, or (p. 85) that Toussaint had given Louisiana to

America (the United States). And it is amusing to note with what emphasis Professor Du Bois relates (p. 246) that a certain negro leader was presented to Emperor Faustin I. of Haiti! These and other similar passages indicate a biassed judgment which causes the reader to doubt the value of certain statements about the unfair decisions of the judge who tried Brown, or of the assertion that the South was determined that "no American of Negro blood shall ever come into the full freedom of modern culture."

However, the book is worth while; it is a brief if somewhat inaccurate story of John Brown and his work; it gives to the old Puritan a background and social environment which one likes to have in convenient form; and the account is well written, which cannot be said of all our historical works. Finally, one likes also to know what an eminent and representative negro thinks of the man who so willingly and persistently gave his life to the great cause of emancipation.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

The Correspondence of Jonathan Worth. Collected and Edited by J. G. DE ROULHAC HAMILTON, Ph.D., Alumni Professor of History in the University of North Carolina. In two volumes. [Publications of the North Carolina Historical Commission.] (Raleigh: Edwards and Broughton Printing Company. 1909. Pp. 1313.)

JONATHAN WORTH, who was destined to be an important official in North Carolina during the Civil War and in Reconstruction, was born in Guilford County, a part of that Quaker community which stoutly opposed Secession and made itself a centre of resistance to the Democratic party both before and after the war. He was several times elected to the legislature before the war, in 1862 he was elected state treasurer, and in 1865 he became governor of the state, holding the position until the end of 1868. His letters are very numerous in this important period. They also deal with the political conditions in North Carolina in the decade before the Civil War. In politics Worth was a Whig, always opposed to the extreme Democracy, and going into the Know-Nothing organization when the cause of the Whigs seemed lost. He opposed Secession until it was a reality, and then preferred to serve the new government in a civil rather than a military capacity. He lived at the state capital from his assumption of the office of treasurer until the end of his governorship, a period of six years, and during this time had the best opportunity to know the inside phases of the state's business. His letters—there are more than nine hundred in these years—are marked by a lack of reserve and a directness of utterance which make them both pleasant reading and valuable historical sources. There are also two hundred and fifty letters written by important personages to Worth or to other men during this period. Altogether it is a most valuable contribution to the documentary history of the South.

Worth is especially interesting from his connection with the Peace movement in North Carolina. He supported Holden in the movement which in 1863 returned five Peace men to the Confederate Congress, and which in the following year caused apprehension that it might carry the state and take it out of the Confederate control. He declared in his correspondence that the old union would be better than two separate governments, but he thought that a vast free negro population would make a "country unfit to live in". Although a supporter of Holden he was by temperament less radical and went against him in 1865, when Holden was trying to guide the state through the first months of President Johnson's reconstruction. He was accepted as the opposition candidate and carried the autumn election. As governor for two years it devolved on him to recommend many pardons and to be a mediator between the state and the Washington authorities. His correspondence at this time is exceedingly interesting.

Governor Worth's letters are the most important collection of documents published in North Carolina since the completion of the large but still unindexed *Colonial and State Records*. They have found a good editor in Professor Hamilton, and it would be a neglect of duty not to commend the good judgment of the North Carolina Historical Commission who in this worthy work continue the service to history which was so eminently shown in their publication of Professor Coon's *Documentary History of Public Education in North Carolina*.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

A Political History of the State of New York. By DEALVA STANWOOD ALEXANDER, A.M., LL.D. Volume III., 1861–1882. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1909. Pp. iv, 561.)

THE political history of the Empire State has seldom lacked life, color, and dramatic interest. The singular prominence of the City and the easily fluctuating majorities in the state have naturally concentrated attention upon New York politicians and their doings. Of this public regard they have not been unmindful. And so it has happened that, while the political history of the state has not been free from the battles of the office-hunting kites and crows, there has always been much striving of a nobler sort, and New York political leaders have readily transferred their parts to the larger national arena. In the last forty-five years the Democratic party, the party of opposition, has nominated for the presidency only two men who were not New York leaders, and the Republican party has given second place on its national ticket to a New York candidate in six out of eleven elections. Probably the most exciting episodes in the whole story lie within the two decades that form the horizons of Representative Alexander's third volume.

During the Civil War there was no other statesman anywhere in the North, faithful to the traditions of the Democratic party, who could

compare in ability and character with Horatio Seymour. He alone maintained the succession of Van Buren, Marcy, and Wright, and transmitted it to his loyal follower, Tilden, the last heir of the old Democratic Bourbon régime.

Seymour was the only Democratic leader in whom Lincoln's sagacious eye discerned the possibility of successful leadership. He said to Weed, "Governor Seymour has greater power just now for good than any other man in the country. He can wheel the Democratic party into line, put down rebellion, and preserve the government. Tell him for me that if he will render this service for his country, I shall cheerfully make way for him as my successor."

Within the Republican party the radical antagonism to the more cautious policies of Lincoln and Seward found its most vigorous and influential advocate in the editor of that party oracle, *The Tribune*. The deep lying differences between Greeley and Weed, and the left and right wings of Republicanism which they respectively commanded, differences which, despite superficial similarities, were real differences of ideals, nourished that furious ambition which finally brought Greeley to the presidential campaign of 1872, and to his grave. The rage of the factional contest over Johnson's policies had already extinguished Greeley's old enemy, Seward. When in 1868 Andrew D. White and Ezra Cornell were arranging a programme for the annual commencement of Cornell University, President White suggested that Secretary Seward be invited to deliver the address. Mr. Cornell replied, "Perhaps you are right, but if you call him you will show to our students the deadest man that ain't buried in the State of New York."

Even more absorbing, though better known, is the tale of the rise of Tweed's Tammany to power within the Democracy, to the day when Tweed named the city government, controlled judges, made John T. Hoffman governor by fraud, bought a legislative majority, and owned Democratic state conventions. Then follows the story of the struggles out of which gradually emerged the subtle Tilden, as the conservative champion of reform and the foe of Tammany Hall. Here is revealed Tilden the opportunist, the willing co-laborer with Tweed until after the latter's thefts were exposed, the enemy of the Canal Ring after other men had made it notorious, the promoter of economies which others had made possible, the advocate of reform who was besmirched by the "cipher" disclosures, a shrewd adviser but a hesitant and time-serving politician. This chapter of New York Democratic politics culminates at Washington in the most uncertain presidential election the nation ever knew, and, later, at home in the fierce revenges of Kelly and Tammany upon Tilden and his friends.

Side by side with this Democratic rivalry runs what was afterwards known as the Stalwart-Halfbreed feud in the Republican party, with the mantles of Seward and Weed falling upon Conkling, and those of Greeley and Fenton upon the friends of Blaine. These two decades

saw the rise and fall of Conkling, a masterful leader, a man of colossal egotism, violent temper, and magnificent energy. That chapter of New York Republican politics culminates also at Washington with the resignation and subsequent final downfall of Conkling, the murder of Garfield, and the wreck of his administration.

Mr. Alexander describes at length the concluding events in the political career of Roscoe Conkling. Of the circumstances attending the nomination of Chester A. Arthur, he gives what is evidently the version of General Stewart L. Woodford, and it will undoubtedly win acceptance.

Our author gives Senator Depew's account of the first election of Thomas C. Platt to the Senate in 1881, as the compromise candidate of the friends of Governor Cornell and the Independents.

Gentlemen who supported Thomas C. Platt in order to split the machine were indeed deceived. Mr. Alexander accepts apparently without question Mr. Platt's recent assertion that the dramatic resignation of the two senators and their appeal to the New York legislature was his policy in which Conkling meekly followed him. It may be true, but it needs other confirmation than the unsupported word of this veteran hero of intrigues. Such a tale comports with no known quality of Roscoe Conkling.

The author is always generous in his treatment of Platt. Nevertheless his tendency to amiability does not lead him to try to hide the insidious working of the "spoils" poison in party management, the worst curse of all our local politics. His narrative does justice to the defects as well as to the strength of Conkling, who might be called the heroic figure of the volume.

It is evident that Mr. Alexander has written this book with enjoyment. It is pleasant to note the easy narrative and intimate touch of the eye-witness and personal acquaintance. The story is well told and is nowhere dull. Nor can the story be found elsewhere within a single pair of covers. The rise and fall of the Tweed gang and the history of Tammany Hall have been variously described, but the bulk of this subject must be searched out in archives, memoirs, letters, reminiscences, and newspaper-files. It would not be just to say that the author has mastered all these available sources, or even the major part of them. He has used the files of three or four New York City journals, but there is little perception of newspaper influence or even of political activity anywhere outside of the metropolis and the state capital. Even such a metropolitan editor and political force as Charles A. Dana is not mentioned often enough to give him a place in the index. The local political organizations outside of New York City are virtually ignored. The reader of this volume would scarcely suspect the existence of political centres in Buffalo, Rochester, Syracuse, Troy, or even in Brooklyn. The semi-obscure influences that, like the Canal Ring, controlled political actions, come into Mr. Alexander's lime-light only if they strongly affected men and issues of national importance. The result is that we

have a brilliant review of party conventions and of local and national election-periods throughout twenty-one years, while the intervals are occupied by brief interesting analyses of a multitude of leaders, Morgan, Depew, Seymour, Fenton, Tweed, Hoffman, Greeley, Tilden, Folger, Conkling, Cornell, Platt, Curtis, Hill, Arthur, Manning, and many others. There is a good index which covers the three volumes thus far published. A few evidences of hasty proof-reading appear. Judge Charles J. Folger is introduced in the text as "Charles A." and the index makes him "Charles G." Also throughout the volume the Havemeyers are called "Havermeyer".

Diplomatic Memoirs. By JOHN W. FOSTER. In two volumes. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909. Pp. 333; 339.)

COMPLAINT is often made that under the usages of our government there is no prolonged diplomatic career open even to a man by nature thoroughly fitted for it. If that is the rule, a striking exception to it is furnished by these *Memoirs.*

Mr. Foster, bred a lawyer, served as an officer with Indiana troops through the Civil War. In 1872 he was appointed, though not at his own request but at the instance of Senator Morton, minister to Mexico, where he served seven years. He represented us twice in Russia, once as minister and once as ambassador extraordinary on a special mission, and twice in Spain. He was afterwards offered by President McKinley first the mission to Turkey and then that to Spain, but declined both offers.

Moreover, he was Secretary of State in the last months of Harrison's administration. Prior to that he was employed by Secretary Blaine during his illness to assist in the reciprocity negotiations with foreign powers under the McKinley tariff.

He was the agent of our government in the Bering Sea Arbitration and in the Alaskan Boundary Arbitration and prepared the case to be submitted to each of the international tribunals. He was a member of the Anglo-American commission which attempted in 1898–1899 to settle the difficulties between us and Canada. He took an active part in securing the annexation of Hawaii.

He was called to Japan to aid Li Hung Chang in negotiating the treaty which closed the war between China and Japan in 1895. He was also appointed to represent China at the First Hague Conference.

Mr. Foster's residence in Mexico covered the period of Lerdo's presidency and the triumph by force of arms of Diaz. He says "During my seven years' residence in Mexico I often visited the polling places on election days, but I never saw a citizen deposit a ballot and rarely did I find any person at the polls besides the election officers." He was in St. Petersburg at the time of the assassination of Alexander II. and in Spain in the troublous times of Alfonso XII.

He had therefore ample materials for graphic pictures of life at foreign courts. He is especially happy in his sketches of the statesmen whom he met. Among them were in Mexico Lerdo and Diaz; in Russia Gortschakoff, De Giers, DeWitte, Ignatieff, Dufferin, Nigra, von Schweinitz; in Spain, Cánovas, Castelar, Sagasta, Rampolla; in Japan, Ito; in the Bering Sea Arbitration, Sir Charles Russell, Sir Richard Webster, now Baron Alverstone, Baron de Courcel, and Marquis Visconti Venosta. Equally felicitous are his chapters on the presidents and secretaries of state whom he has known.

While practising his profession in the intervals of diplomatic service, he was engaged in the trial of cases of international controversy. He has for years been the counsel of the Mexican government and of the Chinese government in their relations with this nation.

In reviewing his diplomatic work, one may say that he showed great tact in maintaining cordial relations with Mexico, especially in the revolutionary disturbances in that state, and in the embarrassments caused by the reluctance of our government to recognize Diaz. In Russia his chief business, like that of most of our ministers in recent years, seems to have been in securing facilities for American Jews to travel in the empire. In Spain he succeeded after the usual delays in that country in negotiating a reciprocal treaty with Cuba. But owing to the election of Mr. Cleveland the treaty was not ratified. That fate is an illustration of the peril to which any treaty is exposed which is negotiated at the close of one administration, when an administration of the opposing party is just coming into power.

One of the most interesting chapters in the *Memoirs* is that which sets forth the obstacles to our success in the Bering Sea Arbitration. It proved that the translation of the Alaskan archives, which were relied on to sustain our claim that Russia had exercised authority over the Bering Sea as a *mare clausum*, was padded with forgeries by the Russian translator, and that argument had to be abandoned with a certain mortification. During the trial Russia and England made an agreement about the seals which greatly weakened our contention, although we had reason to suppose that Russia was to support us. Our argument that we had a right to the seals bred on our soil in the Pribyloff Islands, even when the seals were more than three miles from shore, did not commend itself to the European judges. Mr. Foster thinks our claim on this ground was not pressed with sufficient energy. It is, however, well known that many Americans did not from the outset think that Mr. Blaine's claims were well founded. We lost the case. Mr. Foster says he has since learned on authority, which apparently he credits, that all the early procedures in seizing and condemning the Canadian sealers were had without the authority of high executive officials and were instigated and directed by agents and attorneys of the American Sealing Company. If so, it was a great disgrace to all concerned.

The most important of all Mr. Foster's diplomatic achievements is his

co-operation with Li Hung Chang in negotiating the treaty of peace between Japan and China after the war in which Japan had been completely victorious. It required courage to enter upon this undertaking. The Chinese had thrown needless obstacles in the way by first sending negotiators of too low rank and bearing unsatisfactory credentials. The Japanese would not treat with them. Even the great Li could expect nothing but humiliating terms which promised official disgrace to him. A murderous attack on him by a half-crazy man, though it depressed his spirits, probably made the task of settlement easier. The description of the negotiations under these circumstances is perhaps the most thrilling passage in the *Memoirs*. It fell to the American to rally and sustain the spirits of the wounded Chinaman, to induce the Japanese to modify their first demands, and after the completion of the treaty to go before the Chinese authorities at Peking and persuade them that the wise thing was to advise the emperor to ratify the treaty, although the Russian, German, and French ministers were advising to the contrary. He also accompanied the son of Li to Formosa to aid him in the face of some danger in transferring that island to Japan. This he did in the most skillful manner. It is true that European powers soon compelled Japan to restore the Liaotung Peninsula to China. But it was quite unknown to the negotiators when they signed the treaty that such a rent in it was soon to be made by Europeans. No greater service has been rendered to China by any Western diplomat than this which Mr. Foster rendered in assisting in the negotiation of the treaty of Shimonoseki.

Historia de Nuevo León con Noticias sobre Coahuila, Téjas y Nuevo México. Por el Capitan Alonso de León, un Autor Anónimo, y el General Fernando Sánchez de Zamora. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by Genaro García. Tomo XXV.] (Mexico: Bouret. 1909. Pp. 403.)

To students of early Spanish activities on the hither side of the lower Rio Grande this book is of rare interest, for it contains something that they have been hoping might appear. Nearly a century ago the bibliographer, Beristáin de Sousa, mentioned a manuscript history of Nuevo León by Alonso de León which he had seen in the library of the Royal University of Mexico. This work long ago disappeared from public view (see José Eleuterio González, *Colección de Noticias para la Historia del Estado de Nuevo León,* Monterrey, 1885, p. 7), but is now fortunately brought to light by Señor García, who secured it from Canon D. Vicente de P. Andrade. The existence in a private library of this important document, formerly the property of a public archive, is only a single illustration of a practice which was once all too common in Mexico. But it is fortunate that it finally fell into the hands of so appreciative a scholar as Canon Andrade.

The work proves to be even of more value than had been suspected. The first half of it, entitled "Relación y Discursos del Descubrimiento, Población y Pacificación de este Nuevo Reino de Nuevo León", is by Captain Alonso de León of Cadereyta, whom Beristáin mistook for Alonso de León his son, the destroyer of La Salle's fort on Matagorda Bay and the *conquistador* of Texas. The author was a prominent citizen of Nuevo León, where he resided most of the time from 1636 till his death in 1661. His narrative brings the history of his province down to 1649, in an account occupying 188 pages, and is a welcome contribution to the history of the evolution of the northern frontier of Mexico, a process which we must understand in order to interpret aright the early history of the region on our side of the Rio Grande. The extensive information which De León gives relative to the native tribes will be especially welcome to ethnologists. In this connection it may be noted that the archives of the Ayuntamiento of Monterrey, Nuevo León, afford one of the best opportunities available for the study of the *encomienda* system in actual operation in a frontier province. For such a study De León's work will prove a valuable help.

It is the second part of the history, however, that is of most interest to students of early Texas. This consists of a continuation of De León's *Relación*, by an anonymous author, from 1650 to 1690 inclusive, and toward the end broadens in scope to embrace the history of Coahuila and Texas in that important period. It is dated at the end September 7, 1690, just after the expedition which established the first mission among the Hasinai or Texas Indians. Chapter XLII. is a reproduction of an account by Fernando Sánchez de Zamora of the discovery and settlement of Rio Blanco. The author of the continuation was someone who had been very close to the elder De León. He had access to official documents and used them with intelligence. His account greatly supplements what we have known of the younger De León's early life and of his *entradas* into Texas, in one of which at least (that of 1689), the writer took an intimate part. Indeed, if it were not for certain circumstances mentioned in the book, one would suspect that the author was the *conquistador* himself.

We have hitherto lacked definite information relative to the expedition made in 1680 in search of La Salle's establishment on the Gulf coast, but we are now given De León's complete diary of it, which shows that Father Massanet, our main authority heretofore, was incorrect in saying that this expedition crossed the Rio Grande (see his letter in the *Quarterly* of the Texas State Historical Association, II. 282). We now have access to four diaries kept by De León of his expeditions made during his search for the La Salle party and the occupation of Texas, only one of which was used in the preparation of what has been the standard account of De León's work. This but illustrates how rapidly the bibliography of early Southwestern history has grown within the last few years. We still have no diary for the expedition of 1687,

but our anonymous author gives us some additional light upon it. He also increases our knowledge of the details of the *entradas* of 1689 and 1690, and in the presence of this account it will now be necessary to examine again the sources formerly available. Just what the extent and importance of the new information may prove to be must be determined by a more careful study than can be made for the purposes of this review. Not the least interesting items in the narrative, however, are the rough map of the French settlement at Fort Saint Louis, the letter received by De León from L'Archevêque in 1689, and the poetical effusion—perhaps the oldest extant piece of verse written on Texas soil —composed at the same time by one of the Spaniards on the "Sitio funesto y triste" (pp. 330–336). The De León diary of 1690, which constitutes the last twelve folios of his manuscript, Señor García did not publish. Investigation recently made by the reviewer shows that it contains the paragraphs which are lacking from the copy in the Archivo General y Público.

Señor García prints the manuscript with the primitive spelling of the original (with editorial emendations in parentheses) but with modern accentuation. The brief introduction is very helpful, as are also the notes explaining words of Aztec origin. The title of the book, which is one affixed by the editor to the work of joint authorship, promises the reader notices of New Mexico, but these seem to be very few. Since the anonymous part of the work, which incorporates Zamora's account, is professedly a continuation of De León's *Relación*, it would have been better, in the reviewer's opinion, to give the title of that work to the whole book.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

MINOR NOTICES

Greek Lands and Letters. By Francis Greenleaf Allinson, Professor of Classical Philology in Brown University, and Anne C. E. Allinson. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909, pp. xvi, 472.) This book aims "to interpret Greek lands by literature, and Greek literature by local associations and the physical environment". The authors have a wide acquaintance with Greek literature and a keen appreciation of the charm of Greek lands. One cannot help wishing that their discretion equalled their enthusiasm. They try to crowd into less than five hundred pages most of Greek literature, some history, philosophy, and art, and much topographical detail. The effect is bewildering and far from that Greek sense of proportion and clearness of outline which is essential to a well-constructed piece of work. The authors have not cared to select; they often include too much for the Hellenist and too little for the ordinary reader. The Thucydides mentioned as an opponent of Pericles (p. 101) would ordinarily be mistaken for the historian. Iambe's share in the Eleusinian rites (p. 184) is also caviar to the general. Two pages are devoted

to obscure poets of Argolis while two hundred years of history and philosophy are crowded into half a dozen.

It may be captious to insist too strictly upon historical methods, but a glaring defect is the failure to give references, with little exception but that of classical quotations. Inscriptions and "modern writers" are frequently cited without further explanation.

The original part consists chiefly in translations of Greek authors. Some are very attractive, others are no improvement on already existing versions. An unfortunate rendering of *Oedipus Tyrannus* (ll. 1186 ff.) concludes

> "And from it my opinion moulding
> Naught mortal I congratulate."

For the deplorable habit of "modifying" versions no excuse can be found. Translators who have been thus treated may well feel indignant.

The style is charming and graceful, at its best in descriptions of scenery. Vivid pictures of lovely spots are recalled to us constantly. Sometimes a certain affectation obscures the meaning, or words are strangely used: "*the folly*" of Oedipus; Heracles searching for "rare fauna, flora and *other exhibits*". The flippant characterization of Hippolytus as "a somewhat intractable compound of a Jehu and a Joseph, wholly absorbed in colourless devotion to Artemis" and "an excellent whip" is hard to forgive.

In spite of defects, the book is stimulating and suggestive to those who care for things Hellenic, and the traveller in Greece will be grateful to the authors for having put into one convenient volume a mass of material hitherto accessible only in many. The illustrations are attractive and well-chosen.

A Formula Book of English Official Historical Documents. Part II. *Ministerial and Judicial Records,* selected and transcribed by a Seminar of the London School of Economics. Edited by Hubert Hall, F.S.A., of H. M. Public Record Office. (Cambridge, University Press, 1909, pp. x, 229.) In accordance with the arrangement followed in his *Studies in English Official Historical Documents* (see this REVIEW, XIV. 558–560), the second part of Mr. Hall's *Formula Book* is classified under (1) ministerial proceedings, including royal surveys, inquisitions, assessments, and accounts, and (2) judicial proceedings, comprising political, or statutory, and judicial inquisitions. Materials of this sort did not find a place in the works of the older writers on diplomatics, who limited themselves to charters and similar documents and were interested primarily in questions of authenticity; but in recent years a beginning has been made in the direction of a broader treatment which seeks to place official acts in their proper setting as part of administrative processes which must be studied as a whole if the real nature of the surviving record is to be understood. The exceptional richness of the English archives offers an excellent field for the application

of the newer methods, and Mr. Hall has rendered a real service to historical science in submitting to diplomatic examination a body of sources of such signal importance to the student of legal, agrarian, and constitutional history. Some of the documents here given have already been analyzed and subjected to a genetic treatment, as in Mr. Round's classic studies on the satellites of Domesday and the *cartae* of 1166, in Miss Putnam's investigations of the enforcement of the Statutes of Laborers, and in Mr. Hall's own editions of Exchequer texts; but most of the specimens are drawn from the Public Record Office and are here printed for the first time. Continental prototypes are illustrated by extracts from the capitulary *De villis* and the inventories of Charlemagne's estates (for both of which the later edition of Boretius should have been used) and by the Bayeux inquest of 1133, where the evidence for the connection and common date of the documents is stronger and more definite than Mr. Hall implies. The "Winton Book" (no. 19) should also have been more exactly dated. Curiously enough, Mr. Hall gives the impression that the extract given from the receipt roll of the Exchequer of 1185 (no. 52b) is unpublished, whereas it has been edited by himself.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

The Interdict: its History and its Operation, with Especial Attention to the Time of Pope Innocent III., 1198–1216. By Edward B. Krehbiel, Ph.D., Instructor in the University of Chicago. (Washington, Published by the American Historical Association, 1909, pp. viii, 184.) To this essay the American Historical Association awarded one-half of the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize for 1907. After such recognition it would be a work of supererogation to praise it.

The study is divided into two parts of about equal length: four chapters on the Actual Use and Effects of the Interdict, and an appendix of cases from 1198–1216. Of these, the second is far the more valuable. Over ninety "threats of interdict, possible cases, and actual cases of interdict" are given; about sixty are described more or less fully in the appendix. Unfortunately, many of these were partially discussed in the preceding chapters, and there are no cross-references, so that it is difficult to get together all the material for each one. For about one-third of the cases, Dr. Krehbiel gives no statement of the facts. His explanation is that "Whenever the sources furnish sufficiently interesting material, the case was narrated." Students will regret that he did not give as full information as possible instead of forcing them to supplement his study.

In the introductory chapters, the author discusses mainly the local general interdict; in a note on page 2, he mentions other cases, but does not employ exactly the terminology generally used by canonists. His method of treatment is indicated by the chapter-headings: the Origin and Theory of the Local Interdict, the Laying of an Interdict, the

Interdict in Force, Moderation and Relation of the Interdict. This method was undoubtedly selected because of its fitness for the special study of the pontificate of Innocent III. It is a question, however, whether, in the presentation of the history of an institution, the order of its evolution is not the most advisable. The author's plan sometimes leads to chronological confusion, *e. g.,* on page 50 events of the sixth and fourteenth centuries are brought together in the same sentence with no indication of their respective dates.

The reasons are not clear for the inclusion or exclusion of titles in the bibliography. It is not a list of works cited; there are omissions of books used in the preceding chapters; many works in the bibliography are not cited elsewhere. Why should the *Acta Sanctorum* be cited with a comment "not especially valuable for the present research"? For the *Corpus* no edition is given. The author cites and uses antiquated editions, *e. g.,* Labbe for the *Gesta Pontificum Autissiodorensium,* although Molinier warns against Labbe's edition of it as *mauvaise.* Lea's *Studies in Church History,* with its admirable although brief account of the Interdict, is omitted. The bibliography as a whole is not a satisfactory guide for the subject.

This is the first general presentation of the subject in English, and will prove useful. In the author's modest words, "to the history of the interdict, its fresh contribution is only a sifting and use of the materials for the time of Pope Innocent III." For this period he has discovered a large number of interdicts. Through his monograph and the sources which he cites, it is possible to gain a more complete understanding of the history of the Interdict in the period when it was being rapidly developed and the difficulties inherent in its use were becoming constantly more apparent.

Dana C. Munro.

La Question Franciscaine: Vita Sancti Francisci Anonyma Bruxellensis, d'après le Manuscrit II. 2326 de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique. Par A. Fierens, Docteur en Philosophie et Lettres, Attaché à l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome. (Louvain, Charles Peeters, 1909, pp. 122.) No one who has followed the trend of the various works relating to the life of St. Francis of Assisi, which have formed such a marked feature of recent historical literature, need be told how large a portion of these works is concerned with purely documentary questions. The present study, which originally appeared in the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (vol. VIII., nos. 1, 2, 3; vol. IX., nos. 1, 4; vol. X., nos. 1, 2), deals with an anonymous biography of St. Francis found in MS. II. 2326 of the Royal Library of Belgium. This *Vita Sancti Francisci Anonyma Bruxellensis,* to which Dr. Fierens attaches much importance, contains twenty-four chapters, and was written about 1400. In its compilation the author, whoever he was, drew mainly upon the *Legenda Major* of St. Bonaventure, the *Vita Secunda* by Thomas of Celano, the

Legenda Trium Sociorum, the *Speculum Perfectionis,* the *Actus Beati Francisci,* and the *Tractatus* of Bartholi, and in parts his Life represents little more than excerpts from these earlier sources. It includes, however, at least two hitherto inedited passages, which are not without interest; the first is a series of eleven prophetic utterances of St. Francis about the future of Christianity (pp. 106–110) and the second is a parallel between Christ, Jacob, and the Seraphic Patriarch (pp. 111–113).

Dr. Fierens's judicious introductory essay on the Franciscan Question (pp. 3–26), his detailed description of the Brussels manuscript (pp. 27–28), and his critical edition of the *Vita Anonyma* (pp. 31–115), disclose a rare spirit of research and a wealth of erudition regarding the sources of the history of St. Francis with all their large literature. Indeed, neither the title of his work nor its appearance would prepare the reader for the rich mass of information condensed in its pages. It is somewhat of a disappointment that Dr. Fierens fails to deduce any general conclusions as a result of his study such as might have been expected. As it stands, the text he publishes, however interesting to the erudite, cannot be said to throw much new light upon the Franciscan Question as a whole or materially to affect the opinions held by scholars about the early manuscript biographies of St. Francis himself.

Tractatus Fr. Thomae vulgo dicti De Eccleston, de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam. Edidit notis et commentario illustravit Andrew G. Little, Lector in Palaeographia in Universitate Mancuniensi. [Collection d'Études et de Documents, tome VII.] (Paris, Fischbacher, 1909, pp. xxix, 227.) Students of Franciscan sources—and their number seems to grow apace—have long felt the need of a new edition of Eccleston which fulfilled the requirements of modern criticism. The present one was worth waiting for. It would have been difficult indeed to find anyone better fitted than Professor Little to undertake the task of re-editing the *De Adventu* for he is not only a veteran in the field of Franciscan studies but also a recognized authority on all that concerns the "Coming of the Friars" into England. This his latest and most important contribution to the literature of the subject is a work of seasoned scholarship and forms one of the very best volumes that have yet appeared in the *Collection d'Études et de Documents.* And this is no mean praise.

In his introduction, Professor Little describes the Lamport, Cotton, Phillipps, and York manuscripts—the only four known manuscripts of Eccleston (pp. ix–xix)—and the more or less defective editions of his Chronicle published respectively by Brewer (1858) and Howlett (1882) in the Rolls Series, by the Franciscan friars of Quaracchi in the *Analecta Franciscana* (tome I., 1885), and by Dr. Liebermann in the *Monumenta Germaniae* (1888). He then sums up (pp. xx–xxvi) all that may be known with certainty or conjectured with probability of

its author. It appears from his prologue that Thomas spent some twenty-six years gathering the materials for his Chronicle, which extends from the arrival of the first friars at Dover in 1224 up to about 1258, when it seems to have been completed. It is a collection of notes and anecdotes rather than a finished narrative, but it portrays with extraordinary vividness the way in which the Franciscan movement took shape in England and thus opens up what Professor Little rightly calls "one of the most popular and one of the most attractive by-paths in English history". In spite of its absence of dates and of anything like chronological order, and notwithstanding its tendency to extol the English Province above all others in the Minorite Order, Eccleston's chronicle *De Adventu* is very accurate and reliable in all that relates to what has been called the heroic period in the history of the English Franciscans. Incidentally it throws not a little light on the trend of early Franciscan events and thought in general. Herein lies its value.

Professor Little has edited the text of Eccleston's *De Adventu* (pp. 1–132) with extreme care and with fine historical insight; the copious annotations and commentary leave nothing to be desired. The volume is enhanced by several valuable and interesting appendixes, which include the abbreviated chronicle of Peregrinus of Bologna (pp. 141–145) and a sermon on Poverty by Robert Grosseteste (pp. 178–187), and it is provided with a very full index (pp. 189–226). It is a matter of regret if not also of some surprise that the introduction is not set in the same large type as the body of the book and the appendixes.

The author of *Grey Friars in Oxford* has made us again his debtors by giving us the present work which is sure to find the warm welcome it so richly deserves with all serious students of Franciscan origins and of medieval history in general.

Chartularium Studii Bononiensis: Documenti per la Storia dell'Università di Bologna dalle Origini fino al Secolo XV. Publicati per Opera della Commissione per la Storia dell'Università di Bologna. Volume I. (Bologna, presso la Commissione per la Storia dell'Università di Bologna, 1909, pp. xii, 431.) In the documentary publications of recent years respecting the early history of the great European universities the University of Bologna has not taken the place which corresponds to its importance in the history of European learning. The octo-centenary of 1888 did indeed bring forth editions of university and college statutes and of the records of the German nation, but it produced no collection of sources comparable to the great *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, and no general study of the university's history worthy to replace or complete the biographical work of Sarti. In 1907, however, a commission was established to advance the study of the history of the university, and the first-fruits of its labors have now appeared in the opening volumes of a series of *Studi e Memorie* and of a general *Chartularium*. The editors of the latter work, instead of

adopting a chronological arrangement which would have involved a complete examination of all possible sources of information before publication could have begun, decided to print the documents as they were collected, exhausting each repository and series as they went and unifying the whole by a set of indexes at the end. The materials in the first volume have been drawn from the two principal registers of the commune of Bologna, the first of which had already been extensively used by Savioli, the records of the *podestà's* court, and the monastic archives of San Giovanni Battista and San Giacomo. The texts cover the period from 1159 to 1499 and consist mainly of judicial documents, conveyances, wills, contracts, responses of jurisconsults, and similar matter. These naturally contain a good deal which illustrates legal ideas and procedure, but in the majority of cases they yield little for university history beyond biographical information respecting various masters and students, and as a whole the collection does not throw much new light on the organization of the *studium* or the daily life of its members. The most interesting series is that of the *processi e sentenze*, where, besides the usual enumeration of assaults in which knives and sticks fly freely, there are some curious examples of theft of students' property. One man has driven off his room-mate and appropriated his possessions to the extent of a garment of "stanforte", a towel, a knife, and a volume of Boethius; a scribe set to copy the New Digest has decamped with the book and copying materials and seventeen lire besides. Unfortunately such documents are merely analyzed; if we may judge from the similar ones printed some years ago by Cavazza, they contain local flavor which would justify their publication in full.

Charles H. Haskins.

A Brief History of the Middle Temple. By C. E. A. Bedwell, Librarian to the Hon. Society of the Middle Temple. (London, Butterworth and Company, 1909, pp. 132.) This little book is not a systematic history of the Middle Temple, but rather a sketch of the important events connected with its origin and development. The chapter-headings are: the Origin of the Inns of Court, the Two Temples, America and the Middle Temple, the Restoration and After, the Middle Temple in the Eighteenth Century, the Middle Temple Library, Some Distinguished Members of the Middle Temple. Mr. Bedwell seems not to have used the society's manuscript records and deals for the most part with aspects other than educational. In this respect Mr. John Hutchison's account is better. It appears in the introduction to the printed records of the Middle Temple, which however extend only to 1703.

The chief reason why Americans should be interested in the Middle Temple and the other Inns of Court is because of the legal training received there, in part, by many of the most prominent lawyers and

leaders of the Revolutionary and Constitutional period. Mention is made of the four representatives from South Carolina who signed the Declaration of Independence, also John Dickinson, William Livingston, and John Rutledge. Among others who attended the Middle Temple, not mentioned by Mr. Bedwell, were Charles Carroll of Carrollton, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, and Thomas Pinckney.

The education which these men obtained undoubtedly influenced the discussion of the legal aspects of the Revolutionary and Constitutional period. The Middle Temple, however, does not deserve all the credit that Mr. Bedwell seems to think it deserves. The system of legal education at the Inns of Court had so far declined by the middle of the eighteenth century that much, if not most, of the actual study and instruction was in the offices and under the direction of lawyers not directly connected with the Inns of Court.

The book supplies a real need and is the best brief account which has yet appeared.

M. W. Jernegan.

The Last Phase of the League in Provence, 1588–1598. By Maurice Wilkinson, M.A., St. John's College, Oxford. (New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909, pp. vi, 84.) The author of this little work is already known for his researches in the history of the wars of religion in Périgord. The title is somewhat misleading. Instead of being a sustained study of what is implied, it is rather a collection of *documents inédits* knit together by an historical commentary. The documents have mostly been drawn from the archives in the prefecture at Marseilles, from the Palais de Justice at Aix in Provence, and from the Peiresc papers at Carpentras. In the early pages Mr. Wilkinson makes a slight endeavor to orient his reader, but the approach is so precipitate and the complexity of the subject so great that it seems doubtful if one not thoroughly acquainted with the earlier history of the Holy League would be able to follow things. The variant currents of League policy, the conflict of rival religions, feudal and national interests, the economic grievances of the province, the strife between the people of the towns and the rural democratic population—all these combine to make a play of forces that is intricate indeed. While there is good material in the book it has not been sufficiently digested. Better assimilation of the documents (most of which should have been relegated to an appendix) would have made the work clearer and more concise. There is no table of contents, the chapters are without title or characterization, and there is no index.

J. W. T.

Minutes of the General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches in England, with Kindred Records. Edited with Introduction and Notes for the Baptist Historical Society by W. T. Whitley, M.A., LL.D.,

F.R.Hist.S. Volume I., 1654–1728. (London, The Kingsgate Press, 1909, pp. lxxx, 152.) While this volume will be interesting chiefly to the members of the Baptist denomination, it contains some matter of value for the student of English religious history in general. The editor explains that "the title 'General Baptist' is used in three distinct senses at the present day": by the "hyper-calvinistic Baptists who adhere to the Confession of 1677, as revised in 1689 . . . to denote all baptists except themselves"; secondly, "as an abbreviation for the full legal title, 'the New Connection of General Baptists founded in 1770'"; and thirdly, to describe a body which traces its origin back to the reign of James I. and "still maintains a corporate existence under the title, 'The General Assembly of the General Baptist Churches in England'". The present work is concerned with members of the last-named body.

An introduction occupying nearly a third of the book describes their origin and early history, their beliefs, their organization, their geographical distribution, and the documents on which the text is based. It also includes a list of their messengers and leaders. The combination of Episcopal and Presbyterian features in their constitution is doubtless not commonly known; indeed, the editor informs us that the General Baptists drew their synodal system from the same root—the Continental Anabaptists. With another of his assertions, however, that "the General Baptists are an English outgrowth of the continental Anabaptists, acting on the Lollards" (p. ix), one is less likely to agree. No investigator has yet traced with any certainty the survival of Lollardy to the Reformation. A treatise by Murton in 1615 is cited as "apparently the first broad claim for religious liberty made by an Englishman" (p. xiv). In his attempt to show that the members of this sect had no "cant" Christian names and no great proportion from the Old Testament, Dr. Whitley omits to consider the faith of the parents who gave them (pp. xlviii–xlix). Some slips are to be noted: by the act of 1664 (p. 22) four persons did not constitute an illegal conventicle, but five, besides members of the family where the meetings were held, and (p. 24) the two Declarations of Indulgence were issued by James II. in 1687 and 1688, not in 1686 and 1687. It is certainly a curious commentary on the contemporary religious situation when the following question could be brought before an assembly in 1711: "Whether a pastor who Contends for Dancing, Cock fighting with Many other Vices altho. being Moderately Used be a Sufficient Cause for the Church to Deprive him Comunion" (p. 115).

A. L. C.

L'Église de Paris et la Révolution. Par P. Pisani, Chanoine de Notre-Dame de Paris, Docteur ès-Lettres, Professeur à l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Volume II., 1792–1796. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909, pp. 424.) This second volume, following the other within a year, brings the religious history of the Revolution down to 1796. Like the

first it is a history of the Revolution in its relations to the Church, written by a priest who has his prepossessions, yet is a trained investigator and conscientious historian. While the position that he occupies obliges him perhaps to vent his feelings, these do not seem to alter his method nor weaken his authority.

To follow through those troublesome times the members of the two clergies who were then ministering to the religious needs of the French people, M. Pisani has deciphered the registers of jails, gone over the reports of government agents, ransacked the papers of the secret police, and used some still unpublished diaries and speeches of prominent revolutionists. One of his interesting contributions relates to the fact that the Constitutional priests suffered more from the Terror than the non-jurors. Assuming new names, practising unexpected professions, disguised as lawyers, national guards, workmen, street peddlers, the latter were identified only by the faithful few, thanks to special and secret signs. Thus they succeeded in tendering their services to a clandestine congregation including prisoners in the jails and victims on the way to the scaffold. The author has been able to identify one hundred and fifty of these secret priests, only nine of whom were guillotined. Twenty-one Constitutional priests, on the other hand, suffered the death penalty, a very small proportion, by the way, of the total list of victims.

It was mostly from the petty annoyances and persecutions from the foes of religion that the Constitutional clergy had to suffer. They bore the brunt of the battle against the Church. The story of this onslaught, beginning with the adoption of the new calendar in October, 1793, and ending in May, 1795, when the law of Prairial returned to the parishes their houses of worship, is well and graphically told. Here too we find interesting figures as to the number of priests who in imitation of their bishop, Gobel, abdicated their functions, henceforth useless in a "state governed by Reason". M. Pisani discovered that out of the five or six hundred priests of Paris two hundred and sixty-seven renounced their vows. That is a minimum for he could not examine all the lists. As for the married priests he finds one hundred and sixteen, three of whom, "he blushes to say", were canons of Notre Dame.

The last part of the book, dealing with the individual fate of the various churches of Paris, is of less interest to the general reader. The conclusion that the author brings out with an emphasis that the necessity of the ecclesiastical *imprimatur* more than explains, is the final crushing of the irregulars, while the Church came out of the storm almost unshaken. From 1791 to 1796 the number of the "jurors" passed from 600 to 150. Such was the punishment of their "fatuity" and their "challenge to God".

O. G.

Nouvelles Lettres du C^te^ Valentin Esterhazy à sa Femme, 1792–1795. Publiées par Ernest Daudet. (Paris, Plon-Nourrit et Cie., 1909, pp. ii,

393.) The first volume of Count Esterhazy's letters was disappointing in that it did not throw the light on the vexed questions relating to Marie Antoinette and her coterie of friends which the count's *Memoirs* had led scholars to expect. From the present correspondence less was expected. Esterhazy was no longer in the position of one who could reveal secret history.

The letters for 1792 were written from St. Petersburg, whither the count had been sent after Pilnitz as the agent of Artois. They are essentially domestic in tone but the broader interest is not lacking. There is enlightened comment on political and diplomatic events, entertaining gossip on the life at the Russian court, and some excellent passages on the palaces and gardens. Austria's unfavorable attitude toward the *émigrés* (p. 43 *et passim*), the more sympathetic policy at Berlin and St. Petersburg, the suppression of the reforms in Poland, the progress of the Revolution in Paris, and like topics appear constantly. At times the comments are penetrating, as for example his shrewd guess in the letter of $\frac{12 \text{ July}}{30 \text{ June}}$ as to the real significance of the presence of the "Confédérés" in Paris, or his survey of conditions early in October.

For 1793 and 1794 there are only a few letters, the events of the period being sketched by the editor on the basis of the count's *Journal*. For the two years following, 1795 and 1796, there is a group of thirty-three letters, some quite long, written from Russian Poland, where Catherine settled several dilapidated estates on him. These often afford interesting glimpses of the conditions in Poland, of the management of Polish estates, and of the Russian administration. By way of appendix there is a sketch of the author's mission to Russia, a study of Potemkin, and a superficial description of the Russia of the period.

On the whole the letters are entertaining—often good reading—but they contribute little that is original or new to our knowledge of the period. The author seems to have been a most devoted husband, very popular with princesses and children, but not gifted with the larger qualities of the real diplomatist.

William E. Lingelbach.

Dessous de Princesses et Maréchales d'Empire, d'après des Lettres Inédites, des Documents Nouveaux, les Journaux de Modes et les Témoignages des Contemporains. Par Hector Fleischmann. (Paris, Librairie des Annales Politiques et Littéraires, 1909, pp. 285.) The character of this work would raise the question, even did the author not pose it in his preface and repeat it *passim*, of its right to exist, and also of the place and purpose of *Kulturgeschichte*. As its title-page alleges, the book is thoroughly documented and contains an excellent selection of illustrations, but the material set forth, though largely new, adds scarcely anything to the general store of information supplied by Henri Bouchot's *La Toilette à la Cour de Napoléon, Chiffons et Politique de Grandes Dames (1810–1815)*, published in 1895, Alphonse Maze-Sencier's *Les*

Fournisseurs de Napoléon Ier et des deux Impératrices (1893), and other earlier volumes. Josephine, Hortense, Marie Louise, Julie Bonaparte, Queen of Naples and of Spain, the Duchesse d'Abrantès, and the fortune-teller Mlle. Le Normand are the chief persons who appear in the book.

There is, especially at the present day, an intense interest in the history of the masses, their condition, their struggles, and their progress from generation to generation. In like manner vast importance properly attaches from age to age to the activities of the successive groups of men who have formed the vanguard in human development, the philosophers, the scientists, the authors, the artists of many sorts—in brief, the masses' teachers. Manners and customs, fashions and amusements of former times, arouse an interest which is real though the facts are of only the slightest value for historical purposes. The story of court life may be of interest and of real value provided it deals with a normal order and a consecutive development. Thus, the court life of the Ancien Régime, even in the last evil days before the deluge of the Revolution, commands its place in history. One reluctantly concedes, however, any such proper place in historical studies to the parvenu court of a revolutionary empire which did not survive the first decade of its existence. Napoleon, his ministers, his marshals, his soldiers, achieved their niche in history's pantheon, but the world has found no reason, and Mr. Fleischmann reveals none, for remembering the princesses and the marshals' wives of the First Empire. Too many of them were destitute of ability and character, and some of them were woeful social misfits even in that parvenu society. In biological phrase they were sports and not types of the ruling class in France; and a study of them is of no more legitimate interest to the historian than a study of freaks is to the biologist. Concerning the frivolities and extravagances of these temporarily exalted female nonenities, M. Fleischmann with difficulty finds enough facts to butter thinly his very thick verbal slices.

George M. Dutcher.

Giacomo Barzellotti's *Dal Rinascimento al Risorgimento* (Palermo, Remo Sandron, 1909, pp. xxviii, 493) is the second edition of an important volume of essays upon Italian character and history written with exceptional breadth of view and philosophical insight. The first edition, which was sold out shortly after its appearance five years ago, contained seven essays, of which one was a study of the religious views of the statesmen who made modern Italy; another was a study of the influence which the ideals and conditions of the Italian unification movement exerted upon the literature of the period; and two others, of which one was entitled, "Catholic Italy is it Christian or Pagan?", set forth with much force the writer's view that both the spiritual and the political traditions of Catholicism are the consequence and not the cause of the character of moral and civil life in Italy. These essays are all reprinted in the new edition, together with five which are new

and which give excellent appreciations of Giuseppe Mazzini, Pope Leo XIII., Ruggiero Bonghi, Giosuè Carducci, and Goethe's travels in Italy. The volume is a most valuable contribution to the study of psychological problems in the history of the Risorgimento of modern Italy.

Francis Joseph and his Times. By Sir Horace Rumbold, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.M.G. (New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1909, pp. x, 404.) Sir Horace Rumbold's latest work makes light and pleasant reading. It will not be out of place on any parlor table this winter, and we may wish it a good circulation in "the Booklovers Library". The first quarter of it is devoted to the history of Austria from the accession of Maria Theresa to that of Francis Joseph and consists of a sketch of the main events, enlivened by edifying comment and a number of not unpleasing anecdotes. When we come to the reign of Francis Joseph himself, though the detail is greater, the method is the same. The author has had the advantage of the personal acquaintance of some of the chief people he describes, and his tone, especially in speaking of the emperor, is one of generous appreciation. He does not even shrink now and then from a frank though mildly worded criticism. If he indulges in gossip, he can be trusted never to be indiscreet. On the whole, he would have done better to have confined himself closer still to personal matters, for his remarks on political questions are for the most part not profound. The book indeed can hardly be meant for the serious student, and such information as it offers the general public on the problems of Austria to-day is too superficial and one-sided to be of much value. But if Sir Horace betrays the natural prejudice of the retired diplomat writing about an aristocratic court where he was kindly received, he is always moderate and his narrative of events which is based, as he freely acknowledges, on such authorities as Friedjung and "that marvellous publication, 'The Letters of Queen Victoria'", is correct enough for a work of this kind.

Archibald Cary Coolidge.

Giovanni Cecconi's *Il 27 Aprile 1859* (Firenze, R. Bemporad and Figlio, 1909, pp. 103) is a reprint of an address delivered in Florence and published eighteen years ago. A few details of fact and a polemical preface have been added for the purpose of supporting the writer's defense of the discipline and incorruptibility of the Tuscan army, by whose defection the bloodless Tuscan revolution of April 27, 1859, was effected. Notwithstanding Cecconi's assertions the impartial historian will continue to believe that the ideals of Italian unity for some Tuscan officers were created with Piedmontese gold.

Lord Ii Naosuké and New Japan. Translated and adapted by Shunkichi Akimoto from *Ii Tairo to Kaiko* by Katsumaro Nakamura. (Tokyo, Printed at the *Japan Times*, 1909, pp. iv, 187.) This valu-

able summary of the life and times of Lord Ii, who concluded the first commercial treaties between Japan and foreign powers in 1858–1859, was prepared on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary, celebrated in July, 1909, of the opening of Yokohama as a trading port as a result of the treaties. The author of the Japanese edition, Mr. Nakamura, is the son of a vassal of Ii and a special student of Japan's early foreign relations. His knowledge of his father's lord and his studies in the archives of the Foreign Office at Tokyo have been condensed into this little book, which may perhaps be regarded as an introduction to a larger work that is expected from his unusual attainments and his facile pen.

Without the Japanese edition at hand, it is difficult to judge from the present English adaptation exactly how much is Mr. Nakamura's original contribution to our knowledge of Ii. This subject has been treated in several Japanese works of merit, one of which, by Mr. Shimada, has been condensed in English into H. Satoh's *Agitated Japan* (Tokyo, 1895). The present work contains, among other matters original in English, an instructive account of the "Morrison" affair, a quotation from the diary of a vassal of Mito, and a particularly good interpretative view, supported by citations from his own words, of Ii's foreign policy before and after his accession to the position of the grand councillor to the Shogun.

On the other hand, it is obvious that Mr. Nakamura's Japanese work has suffered not a little through the English adaptation, which Mr. Akimoto confesses to have been done "in a great hurry". It abounds with such inaccurate statements as the author could not have tolerated and the translator would have avoided had they had the opportunity to revise the work together. We are told, for example, that Nobunaga was bent upon "extirpating Buddhism from the Empire"; that Masamune was "a Christian daimyo"; that Portuguese missionaries regularly brought in arms, engaged in commerce, and worked for the political aggrandizement of their country in Japan; and the like. There are the usual misstatements as to the annual income of a lord, and as to the clan. All these errors may be rectified in a new edition. Such brief but instructive descriptions of the tea ceremony (p. 66), of the arrangement of buildings around a castle (p. 89), and of the official organization at the Edo Castle (pp. 125–126), as are contained in the work, may well be multiplied to the great profit of the foreign reader.

K. Asakawa.

A Catalogue of the Publications of the Scottish Historical and Kindred Clubs and Societies, and of the volumes relative to Scottish History issued by His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1780–1908. With a Subject-Index. By Charles Sanford Terry, M.A., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. (Glasgow, James

MacLehose and Sons, 1909, pp. xii, 253.) This handsome and useful publication has been prepared with all the judgment and care which anyone familiar with Professor Terry's *Index to the Papers relating to Scotland* would naturally expect. It will be of inestimable value to students to have for the first time a complete and detailed catalogue of the material "contained, and not infrequently concealed in the volumes of Scottish Historical, Antiquarian, Archeological and kindred Clubs and Societies". Beginning with the earliest, founded in 1780, over fifty such organizations are included. While primarily concerned with Scotland their publications contain much of importance relating to England. The societies are arranged in alphabetical order, each accompanied by a brief explanatory head-note on the date of its founding, its aims, and, when it no longer exists, on the period of its duration. Wherever necessary the contents of a particular volume are described, and in the case of "Miscellanies" they are given in full. By a judicious use of varied type the task of the searcher is made as easy as possible. The subject-index appears to be beyond criticism. In a few instances where the significance of a society's name is not obvious perhaps a word of explanation might have been added; there are, many, for example, who might not connect the Aungervyle Society with Richard de Bury. Also one wonders why the Roxburgh Club was omitted.

A. L. C.

Sir Henry Vane, Jr., Governor of Massachusetts and Friend of Roger Williams and Rhode Island. By Henry Melville King. (Providence, R. I., Preston and Rounds Company, 1909, pp. vii, 207.) Dr. King, the venerable pastor emeritus of the First Baptist Church of Providence, Rhode Island, selects here from the life of Vane the passages bearing upon his intimacy with Roger Williams, touching only cursorily upon the career in general of the great statesman of the English commonwealth. He may be pardoned for a glowing admiration of his illustrious predecessor, and for beholding little but wisdom and virtue in Roger Williams's noble friend. While we feel that there are spots even in such suns, we are glad of the portrayal and welcome the book as an account of a connection fruitful for good both to England and America. We have space to discuss only two points.

Dr. King thinks it wrong to regard John Cotton as in any way the preceptor of Vane in Massachusetts. Cotton could rather have learned from Vane. Vane's education was in a high degree irregular and desultory. As a headstrong boy he was for a short time at Westminster School, then for a short time at Oxford. He came to some extent under court influences, then travelled widely, meeting a varied society, from Jesuits at Vienna to Calvinistic divines in the centres of Protestantism. While still immature, he was in close intimacy with Cotton, in Massachuestts, for nearly two years, proceeding soon after to intimacy with Pym, Hampden, Cromwell, the strong men of the Long

Parliament. Though self-willed, there is no reason for believing that Vane was not impressionable, and we may be sure Cotton impressed him. Cotton while in England had been a power in the Eastern Counties, impressing men greatly from Cromwell down. Though his course in his trying New England ordeal was disappointing, he did not lose his mastery over the minds of his generation. While in contact with Vane he wrote *The Keys* and *The Way of the Churches,* documents which to the founders of Independency in England were a starting-point and source of inspiration. We hold that Vane had many teachers and that Cotton, whom he knew while still unformed, must have been one. The influence of Cotton upon Vane was one among many, but we are not disposed to question the phrase "preceptor of Vane", upon Cotton's beautiful memorial in the First Church in Boston.

Dr. King takes Mr. C. F. Adams to task for saying that while in certain important contentions John Winthrop was wrong and Vane right, yet that the former was a safer governor for Massachusetts in 1637 than the latter. While not defending Mr. Adams's phrasing, we yet believe that the remark in general is true. History teaches nothing more certainly than that those who guide states must trim their sails to suit the wind when days are stormy. If it is not so, men of the class of William the Silent, Cromwell, and Abraham Lincoln stand discredited; while Winthrop, in power, perhaps in manful virtue, is by no means to be measured with Vane, his wariness and caution, borne of ripe experience were of more service in the crisis of New England than would have been the rash, ill-considered policy of the "boy governor", striving after absolute ideals while blind to the facts of human nature.

J. K. Hosmer.

Roger Williams: a Study of the Life, Times and Character of a Political Pioneer. By Edmund J. Carpenter, Litt.D. (New York, The Grafton Press, 1909, pp. xxxiv, 253.) We have been unable to discover that Mr. Carpenter's neatly printed and attractively bound volume contains aught of fact or suggestion, with regard to Roger Williams, that is new. The incidents of Williams's life have so often been recorded that one is inclined to wonder that they should again be made matter of biography. Lives of the founder of Providence Plantations have been written by Knowles (1834), by Gammell (1845), by Elton (1853), and by Oscar S. Straus (1894). Moreover, there are in existence Williams's own letters as collected by the Narrangansett Club (1866–1874), and as further collected by the Rhode Island Historical Society, not to mention scores of addresses and articles in magazines.

Yet all of the books named, save perchance the life by Straus, are out of print; and as for the addresses and articles, they too are largely inaccessible to the general reader. The merits of Mr. Carpenter's biography are a complete (hardly prolix) statement of Roger Williams's

career, a fluent narrative style, use of original sources, and fairness. No brief is held for Williams, and none against him. His early contentiousness, his early inconsistency, his defiance of the state of Massachusetts, not only in religious but in political matters, and his indefensible, well-nigh persecuting attitude toward the Quakers—all are mentioned; but so are his marvellous personal charm and, in maturer years, his absolute mastery of the principal of freedom of conscience in religion.

With regard to the form of government adopted by the Bay Colony, Mr. Carpenter does not hesitate to say "[it] was unquestionably a pure Theocracy". At the same time, he presents in extenuation of the Bay Colony's expulsion of its critic, the naïve argument that "it was not the fact that he held certain newe and dangerous opinions" which was his undoing, but that he "broached and dyvulged" them; as though the magistrates would or could have taken notice of opinions which had not been "broached and dyvulged".

Chapter I. is, we think, marked by an unnecessary balancing of pros and cons, on the question of the parentage of Roger Williams. The views of Mr. Henry F. Waters in favor of a London as against a Welsh origin have long been accepted. And had Mr. Carpenter read more widely with regard to the "Mary" who became Williams's wife, he would have discovered that Mr. Almon D. Hodges (*New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* January, 1889) has so far been supplemented by Mr. Clarence S. Brigham (*R. I. Hist. Soc. Pub.,* new series, VIII. 67–68) that the wife is now known to have been Mary Barnard and not Mary Warnerd nor Warnard. The aim of the biography, as stated by the author in his preface (an aim on the whole accomplished), has been "to produce a picture of the man himself, from which the reader will be quite capable of forming opinions, unaided by suggestions from the collector and compiler of the facts".

Irving B. Richman.

Calendar of the Sir William Johnson Manuscripts in the New York State Library. Compiled by Richard E. Day, M.A., Litt.D. (Albany, University of the State of New York, 1909, pp. 683.) About 6550 individual papers dating from October 26, 1733, to March 30, 1808, are here calendared in their chronological sequence. Notes are added when manuscripts have been printed in *Documents relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* or in the *Documentary History of the State of New York.* Reference is made also to duplicates in the State Library collection of New York Colonial Manuscripts. Although a few errors have been noted and it would have been helpful to have included references to books where others of these manuscripts have been printed, this work of comparison is well done and an excellent index increases the value of the *Calendar.*

Of the twenty-six volumes of manuscripts listed by Dr. Day all but one consist of papers in the possession of Sir William Johnson at

the time of his death in 1774 and deal with American colonial history before that date. The last volume contains official papers relating to the disbursements in the Indian Department during the superintendency of Sir William and of his son, Guy Johnson, with a few manuscripts of the American Revolution or of later date. The defects of the book are largely of publication and not of compilation. The calendar entries are crowded and the paper is poor. It is a question whether a description of a manuscript can be considered adequate which omits its length and neglects to state whether it be an original or a transcript. It is difficult to summarize twelve important manuscripts on a single printed page and not crowd the calendar entries. Whether or not it would have been wiser to have printed the work on a better paper, with a more durable binding and giving more complete summaries of the unprinted manuscripts, each user of the *Calendar* will decide for himself.

C. H. L.

The Taverns and Turnpikes of Blandford, 1733–1833. By Sumner Gilbert Wood, Congregational Minister in Blandford, Massachusetts. (Published by the Author, 1909, pp. vii, 357.) This is a chaotic but distinctly interesting bit of antiquarian history relating to one aspect of a Massachusetts hill-town during the century before the advent of steam-transportation. Blandford was one of the later frontier towns, settled shortly before the French wars on the rocky, rather barren ridges, worn into rounded hilltops by ancient ice-sheets, and carved more recently into narrow valleys by brawling brooks, which make up the greater part of the territory between the Connecticut and Hudson rivers. Here came a race of pioneers, largely Scotch-Irish in blood, who developed a community of farmers and graziers and, less than three generations after their first arrival, began a second migration into New York and Ohio. When the author of this work gives us in the future a detailed portrait of those settlers and the township they founded, it is to be hoped that he will follow a chronological method of presentation, for the topographical basis of the present volume really obscures its merits. Mr. Wood takes up each road and each tavern in succession, including under the latter heading every house, whether vanished or extant, in which at any time the sale of liquor was licensed, and traces its complete history. The result is to create a confused impression. Names of persons appear and reappear, deaths and land transfers are recorded before the individuals are fully dealt with, and the general descriptions necessary for a clear comprehension of the social forces at work to create all these "taverns" and turnpikes are not encountered until the middle and end of the work. The book is in reality marked by an appreciative and sound historical sense, and gives one a lively glimpse of a hard-drinking, litigious, land-swapping, and mortgaging community, with its economic life centring around the stage-roads to Albany and Hartford before the days of railways.

T. C. Smith.

Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1742–1747; 1748–1749. Edited by H. R. McIlwaine. (Richmond, 1909, pp. xxx, 427.) Proceeding backward in chronological order, the librarian of the Virginia State Library embraces in this seventh volume the five sessions of the assembly of 1742–1747 and the assembly of 1748–1749, the latter having had only one session, but that a busy one. The texts are obtained from the imperfect printed copies in the Virginia State Library and the Library of Congress, and from the remarkable series possessed by the late Mrs. C. W. Coleman. These texts are preceded by careful lists of burgesses and by editorial introductions. The workmanship of the volume is in the highest degree creditable and the contents are of much interest. The interval of more than two years between the end of the first session, June 19, 1742, and the beginning of the second, September 4, 1744, shows that the war with which Great Britain was at that time occupied no longer excited more than a languid interest in the colony. The actions of the second session confirm this impression. The third session, called together a year and a half after the conclusion of the second, because of the Young Pretender's descent upon England, is marked by an outburst of loyalty and the familiar phenomenon of an "association", but does not disclose any extraordinary revival of interest in the warfare. More interesting to the burgesses were their efforts toward jealous preservation of the traditional privileges of the lower house, modelled on those of the House of Commons. These are vindicated in several interesting cases of punishment of individuals and of conflict with the council. The most marked instance of the latter was the result of a fire which in 1747 consumed the capitol at Williamsburg, and of the strong desire then manifested by a majority of the House of Burgesses to remove the seat of government to a more central location. This movement, checked at the time by the action of the governor and the council, was not finally successful until 1779. The chief business of the second of these assemblies was the passing of the revised statutes of 1748. In the session of the spring of 1746 nine revisors had been appointed to propose repeals of obsolete statutes, and consolidations and revisions of those retained. It appears that of the eighty-nine resulting statutes passed in this final session only fifty-eight are printed in Hening.

History of the Battle of Point Pleasant, fought between White Men and Indians at the Mouth of the Great Kanawha River (now Point Pleasant, West Virginia), Monday, October 10th, 1774: the Chief Event of Lord Dunmore's War. By Virgil A. Lewis, A.M., State Historian and Archivist. (Charleston, W. Va., The Tribune Printing Company, 1909, pp. 131.) This is, we believe, the first attempt to write a complete history of Dunmore's War from the original materials now available in print. Although modestly entitled the *Battle of Point Pleasant,* the author covers in effect the entire event, except listing the Indian

massacres and forays that led to the expedition. The effect of the book is rather that of a series of chapters strung on a general theme for a thread than that of a connected and ordered narrative of an important episode in the winning of the West. In his desire to give the reader the benefit of the original accounts Mr. Lewis has inserted these in a somewhat surgical fashion, and in some instances—as for example the Orderly Book of Colonel Fleming—does nothing to show where the original ends and the author's comments begin. He is, nevertheless, very careful and accurate in his statements, has large knowledge of local conditions, and shows considerable historical acumen in his discussion of the traditions that have grown up around the expeditions, and the false motives that have too long been attributed to Lord Dunmore and General Andrew Lewis. There seems to be no accessible material that the author has not scanned. His extracts from contemporary gazettes, as well as his brief but satisfactory biographical sketches, are contributions of worth to the literature of the subject.

While Mr. Lewis distinguishes between primary sources written at the time of the action, and later descriptions of participants after their memories had been dimmed by the mists of time, we nevertheless think he relies too much upon the narrative of Colonel Charles A. Stuart, who, although he had been in the battle on the momentous tenth of October, 1774, did not commit his recollections to writing until more than a quarter of a century had passed. His is the only authority we have found for the flank movement up Crooked Creek that terminated the engagement, and we must consider it doubtful if not apocryphal, since vivid contemporary accounts make no reference thereto.

On the results of Lord Dunmore's War the author makes broad inferences, most of which, however, we believe will commend themselves to historical critics, and tend to place this frontier episode in its true light. Thus the beautiful monument at the forks of the Ohio and Kanawha to whose erection Mr. Lewis's zeal so largely contributed will justify its national character.

Some typographical errors in the book are unfortunate, such as the death of Dunmore in 1609, and the persistent spelling of "Boquet" for Colonel Henry Bouquet of the British army. In a work, also, whose genealogical value is considerable, the lack of an index is an error.

L. P. K.

The Evolution of the American Flag. From materials collected by the late George Canby. By Lloyd Balderston, Ph.D., Professor of Physics at the West Chester State Normal School. (Philadelphia, Ferris and Leach, 1909, pp. 144.) This little book is one of the most sensible of its all too common species—the pious effort of a reverent descendant to bolster the claims of an admired ancestor to some worthy but unauthenticated act. It is accurate, and reasonable, and even critical enough in relation to all matters treated except the one matter which

inspired the writing of the book—the Betsy Ross legend. There the author substitutes probability for proof, and second generation affidavits for contemporary and disinterested testimony (see appendixes D and G and pages 46–49). Except this collection of implicitly believed probabilities and the array of solemn affidavits by good souls whose intentional honesty one has not the heart to doubt, the book contains little if anything not contained in Preble's monumental *History of the Flag*, or even in that excellent little pamphlet by Charles E. Dana, *Notes on the American Flag and some Others*. Indeed Professor Dana, having apparently seen the material and heard the arguments offered by Mr. Balderston in this book, had so completely shown, two years before the book's publication how it failed to prove its point about Betsy Ross, that we wonder why the book ever appeared at all. And yet, leaving out the special pleading for Betsy Ross, the book is a handy and fairly reliable compendium of information about the American flags which preceded the Stars and Stripes and about the use of the latter during the Revolutionary War and since. As to the use of the Stars and Stripes at the battles of Brandywine and Germantown, the author is more conservative than Preble. He thinks there is no proof of the use, and remarks rather naïvely, after his own credulous attitude toward the Betsy Ross legend, that "Inferences are easily made, but we must not call them history, however ingenious and reasonable they may be." The book contains some interesting and some valuable illustrations.

C. H. Van Tyne.

In *The Tories of Chippeny Hill, Connecticut; a brief Account of the Loyalists of Bristol, Plymouth, and Harwinton, who founded St. Matthew's Church in East Plymouth in 1791*, by E. Le Roy Pond (the Grafton Press, pp. 92), are gathered together many of the facts, traditions, and conjectures concerning a group of Connecticut Loyalists, the principal of whom were James Nichols, Stephen Graves, and Moses Dunbar. Considerable documentary material, some of it from unprinted records, is interspersed through the book, but there is little attempt to give the account a critical character. The volume ends with a bibliography occupying two pages.

Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library. Volume V. Virginia Series, volume I. *Kaskaskia Records, 1778–1790*. Edited with introduction and notes by Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois. (Springfield, Illinois, Illinois State Historical Library, 1909, pp. l, 681.) This is the second volume of a series of documents designed to include "practically all the extant sources for the history of Illinois" during the period 1778–1790. The first volume, which appeared in 1907 (reviewed in the American Historical Review, XIII. 390), contained the records of Cahokia; the present volume the records of the more important centre, Kaskaskia. The general introduction to the two

volumes was printed in the first, although based in large part upon the material now published in the second. The introduction to the second volume deals more particularly with three problems or phases of the history of the period. The first of these, the relation of Thomas Bentley to the occupation of the Illinois country in 1778, Mr. Alvord declares himself unable to solve definitely; that "the conception of the occupation of the Northwest originated in the fertile brain of Thomas Bentley", seems to the editor to be supported by the evidence, but not to be established by unassailable proof. The discussion of the second problem, the part taken by Father Pierre Gibault in the submission of Vincennes, is substantially as in Mr. Alvord's introduction to the Gibault documents printed in this journal a year ago (AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, XIV. 544 ff.). The third part of the introduction relates to ecclesiastical affairs, a phase but lightly touched on in the first volume, and contains an account of the ecclesiastical organization of the territory, as well as sketches of the various priests, especially Fathers St. Pierre and De la Valinière.

The more than two hundred and fifty documents in this volume are drawn mainly from the Kaskaskia records, which it will be remembered were rediscovered by Mr. Alvord in 1905, after they had long been supposed to be lost, and the Menard collection, with a considerable number from the Haldimand papers, the Draper manuscripts, the Continental Congress papers, and the archepiscopal archives at Quebec. With the exception of those relating to ecclesiastical affairs, which are very conveniently grouped by themselves, the documents are in chronological order, but a superimposed system of chapter-headings enables the progress of events to be readily followed, and the important matters treated to be easily distinguished.

The documents include the record of Rocheblave's court of enquiry of September, 1777, letters of Thomas Bentley, Gabriel Cerré, Jean Bte. Laffont, Jean Girault, John Todd, John Montgomery, Colonel Mottin de la Balme, Philippe de Rocheblave, Timothé de Montbreun, John Dodge, Father de la Valinière, Major John Hamtramck, Father Gibault, Father St. Pierre, and many others, as well as memorials to Congress, land grants, petitions of individuals, appointments to office, court records, instructions, etc. The editorial work is of the high standard of scholarship which we have learned to expect from Mr. Alvord.

Historical Manuscripts Commission: Report on American Manuscripts in the Royal Institution of Great Britain. Volume IV. (Hereford, printed for H. M. Stationery Office, 1909, pp. xii, 533.) This fourth and last volume of the calendar of the American manuscripts in the Royal Institution in London covers the few remaining months, April to November, 1783, of the British occupation of the late colonies, that occupation being now limited to New York, St. Augustine, and

Penobscot. The most interesting of the papers are those which relate to the evacuation of these posts, and especially to the retirement of the Loyalists, the disbandment of those of the latter who were organized as military forces, the provision for those of them who were destitute, and the special arrangements made with respect to the German troops. A particularly interesting letter, given in full, is that with which the volume opens, a letter to Carleton from Captain William Armstrong, deputy quartermaster-general, whose business in connection with the conveying of certain stores and money to British and German prisoners of war in Pennsylvania and Maryland had taken him to Philadelphia, where he made good use of his opportunities of observation, the results of which are set forth in this communication. Like its predecessors, the volume is well made and fully indexed.

American Campaigns, by Major Matthew Forney Steele of the Second United States Cavalry, consists of lectures delivered at the army service schools at Fort Leavenworth. The author in a modest preface disclaims competent scholarship, and describes the book as printed simply to meet an immediate need for such a book in the service schools of the army; but historical students will be glad to have so intelligent a survey of our campaigns, with professional comments so illuminating. The work consists of two volumes, the first (pp. 731) of text, three-fourths of which is devoted to the Civil War and forty pages to the war with Spain. The second, consisting of 311 well-chosen maps and plans, will be especially valued. The work is published by the Military Information Committee of the second section of the General Staff.

Decisive Battles of America. By Albert Bushnell Hart, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Claude Halstead Van Tyne, George Pierce Garrison, Rear-Admiral French Ensor Chadwick, U. S. N. (retired), James K. Hosmer, J. H. Latané, Richard Hildreth, Benson J. Lossing, and others. Edited by Ripley Hitchcock. (New York, Harper and Brothers, 1909, pp. xv, 397.) Although this work is put forth as a companion volume to Creasy's *Decisive Battles of the World,* probably not the editor himself would regard it as quite deserving to rank with the classic of Creasy. It is a book compacted of selections from various sources, the work of the editor consisting mainly in selection, compression, and necessary adaptations, with synopses of intervening events. He contributes also a general introduction, occasional paragraphs and notes, and presumably he is the writer of the chapter on the battle of Manila Bay. It is scarcely possible in a brief review to discuss the validity of the selection of contests for their decisiveness, yet, while there would be general agreement with regard to a number of the battles singled out, one may question, for instance, the importance given to New England's contests with the Indians and whether Appo-

mattox has any proper place in the text at all. In the case of the Mexican War the editor practically waives the question of decisiveness and includes essentially the entire series of battles, on the plea, proper enough in itself, that "the story of the more significant battles in these campaigns is entitled to better acquaintance." Perhaps the opportunity of using the lively descriptions of John Bonner, which had lain embedded in *Harper's Magazine* since 1855, contributed to this decision. One is practically estopped from raising the question whether in some instances better analyses of the battles might not have been found, inasmuch as the editor was apparently limited to writings controlled by the publishers of this volume. Quite appropriately, so far at least as political significance is concerned, a considerable proportion of the material is taken from the volumes in the *American Nation* series. Besides Professor Hart's chapter on Territorial Concepts, the volumes laid under contribution are those by Dr. Thwaites, Professor Van Tyne, Admiral Chadwick, Dr. Hosmer, and Professor Latané. Three chapters are taken from Hildreth, one (Bunker Hill) from Lossing's *Field-Book* (some pages on Yorktown are condensed from the same source), and two from James Barnes's *Naval Actions of the War of 1812*. After all is said a book which gathers into small compass so much of the significant military history of America is very useful. Some oversights in proof-reading have been observed; for instance Lieutenant-Colonel John Laurens appears as "de Laurens" (p. 149), and Professor Latané's name is, through typographical errors, given at least three variations. Portions of the book are deficient in good maps.

Canal Enlargement in New York State: Papers on the Barge Canal Campaign and related Topics, edited by Frank H. Severance [Buffalo Historical Society Publications, XIV.] (pp. xvii, 446), is the second of the Buffalo Historical Society's volumes devoted to the narrative and documentary history of New York state's canals. The first was Henry W. Hill's *Waterways and Canal Construction in New York State,* which appeared a short time ago, and a third, containing journals, documents, official correspondence, etc., is now in press. Papers on various phases of the canal enlargement project are contributed by Frank S. Gardner, Gustav H. Schwab, Henry B. Hebert, General F. V. Greene, Colonel T. W. Symons, John D. Kernan, George H. Raymond, Howard J. Smith, and M. M. Wilner. Two documents of importance for the earlier history of New York's canals are printed in this volume. They are the Second Report of the Western Inland Lock Navigation Company, made by Philip Schuyler, in 1798, comprising the official history of the canal project since 1792, and New York's canal memorial of 1816, a document drafted by De Witt Clinton. The editor furnishes an Historical Sketch of the Board of Trade, the Merchants' Exchange, and the Chamber of Commerce of Buffalo, which occupies nearly one hundred pages of the volume and contains much material relating to Buffalo's commercial

activities. Reminiscences of Surveys of the Erie Canal in 1816–1817 is an interesting paper read before the Buffalo Historical Society in 1866 by William C. Young. The volume contains numerous illustrations and a copious index.

Thomas Cox. By Harvey Reid. [Iowa Biographical Series, edited by Benjamin F. Shambaugh.] (Iowa City, Iowa, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1909, pp. xv, 257.) The task of reconstructing a career from a few misty traditions and almost as few documentary fragments is not an easy one for the historian, however stimulating such an opportunity may be to the novelist. The author of this biography of Thomas Cox has gone about his task conscientiously and yet with industrious determination to present the career of Thomas Cox with a consequential completeness despite the fragmentary character of his materials.

Thomas Cox was born in Kentucky in 1787, was a member of the first legislature of the state of Illinois, became United States deputy surveyor in 1837 and settled in Iowa. From this point his career can be traced with somewhat greater definiteness, although the records are still scant. He was almost consecutively in the territorial legislature from the organization of the territory until his death in 1844, having been speaker of the house and afterward president of the council. Such records as exist have been supplemented by personal recollections. If the author has placed his imagination under proper historical restraint he has still, by the very nature of his evidence, been compelled to resort much to conjecture, and to statements of reasonable probabilities. The name of Thomas Cox upon a muster roll may be the sole basis for a chapter upon a campaign, yet what is thus supplied is history and not fiction. The reader is, however, often troubled by the feeling that he cannot find the man he is looking for, moving in the events described. Indeed the figure of Thomas Cox remains somewhat shadowy to the end. The book presents nevertheless interesting glimpses of early times in Iowa, and in its main purpose is not without result.

Stephen A. Douglas: his Life, Public Services, Speeches and Patriotism. By Clark E. Carr, LL.D. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Company, 1909, pp. xii, 293.) From the pen of Colonel Carr who has written so vivaciously about his Illinois contemporaries, readers of American biography have been led to expect, if not a sober account of Stephen A. Douglas, at least a book of entertaining personal reminiscences. But the amount of original matter in this sketch is so slight that almost anyone with the campaign biographies by Sheahan and Flint at his elbow might have put the book together. From first to last it is a panegyric. Indeed, so frequent is the use of superlatives that the reader can hardly make up his mind to take Colonel Carr seriously. We read of Douglas that "when he overthrew the Missouri Compromise line, that mighty barricade wall against slavery, he was

the most potential of Americans, dominating not only the Senate, of which he was the most conspicuous member, but the House of Representatives and, in so far as he desired, the executive" (p. 74). And again, in 1861: "As he stood before that vast assemblage in Chicago, Senator Douglas was the mightiest and most potential figure in the galaxy of American statesmen. . . . Such enthusiastic greeting, such rapturous applause, had never been accorded to another public man since the days of the fathers" (p. 141). On page 130, the author's imagination fairly runs away with him: "This meeting of Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, held while the rebel shot and shell were falling upon the walls of Fort Sumter, was the most momentous conference ever held upon the western hemisphere." This meeting, by the by, was held on Sunday evening after Fort Sumter had been evacuated. The reader who enjoys this blend of eloquence and history will find abundant opportunities to gratify his taste. Extracts from the speeches of Douglas form an appendix which doubles the bulk of the volume.

Something of Men I have Known, with Some Papers of a General Nature, Political, Historical, and Retrospective. By Adlai E. Stevenson. (Chicago, A. C. McClurg and Company, 1909, pp. xii, 442.) The period in the life of the ex-Vice President covered by these reminiscences of men with whom he came into contact or of whom he heard extends from his entrance into Congress in 1875 to his retirement from the vice-presidency in 1897, although he is frequently drawn beyond these limits. He has confined himself with a few exceptions to anecdotes and to personal sketches. A slight association is frequently sufficient to introduce a chapter or a subject. Remembrance that he once paid a visit to Bladensburg duelling-ground produces a chapter on the Code of Honor and a description of all prominent duels in our history; an introduction in Washington "nearly a quarter of a century ago" to the widow of Hon. John H. Eaton leads to the story of "Peggy" O'Neal and the Jackson cabinet; and a recollection of his *ex-officio* regency of the Smithsonian Institution inspires a sketch of James Smithson. Most of the chapters are born of associations in Congress. The fact that the Hon. George Q. Cannon of Utah occupied a seat in Congress across the aisle produces a chapter on the Mormon Exodus from Illinois. Contact with Hon. Frederick B. Wright, who had been in the Democratic National Convention in 1844, leads to the story of the First Political Telegram and the achievement of S. F. B. Morse.

Following these Congressional associations, the author turns to Illinois, speaking in a casual but interesting way of the Rev. Peter Cartwright, Robert G. Ingersoll, and Governor Reynolds. Scattered through the book are political-science essays on the history and working of the Senate and of the vice-presidency and a general chapter on the decline of oratory. Many of the chapters—perhaps a third of the book—are devoted to reprints of occasional addresses made by Mr. Steven-

son at the laying of corner-stones, unveiling of statues, and similar functions.

Faults of construction in the book are forgotten in the delightful spirit of the writer, the absence of harshness or malice. The anecdotes of statesmen are told with that flavor which has long made the author renowned as a *raconteur*; the unusual wealth of quotation recalls an apparently forgotten style of composition; and the concluding address made to a crowd of friends in his home-city reveals a tenderness of sentiment in the author worthy of a public appreciation.

The Columbia River: its History, its Myths, its Scenery, its Commerce. By William Denison Lyman, Professor of History in Whitman College, Walla Walla, Washington. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, pp. xx, 409.) That the author approaches his work with perfect sincerity is evidenced by the dedication to his parents who were pioneers of 1849 in the Columbia River country. Taking this evidence into account, the present reviewer began a study of the bulky volume with a genuine sympathy. His disappointment was swift and severe. The book is not satisfying to read nor is it easily reviewed. The trouble lies with the author's diverse aim. The title is comprehensive enought to include almost anything intimately or remotely connected with the Columbia River. At the threshold the author declares that "this volume is designed to be a history and description", and later in the preface he forestalls criticism by saying that "his treatment of the subject has been general rather than detailed, and popular rather than recondite", and that "the book is rather for the general reader than for the specialist." And again, "frequent reference in the body of the book to authorities renders it unnecessary to name them here."

It is not possible in the present age to produce literature worthy the dignified name of "history" with any such diversity of purpose as that. Professor Lyman, though aiming at "historical accuracy", frequently quotes from other writers in the most offhand way. On page 207 there appears: "Of this Mr. Osborne says" and there follow three pages of fine print without any indication whatever of when, where, or how Mr. Osborne said it. Nearly every other quotation is similarly inserted. The author evidently has a grudge against explanatory foot-notes. There is not one in the volume. In the absence of that convenience some other should have been provided, for there are many intelligent people, even among general readers, who still have respect for sources.

The "commerce" of the subtitle is casually mentioned as the narrative proceeds. Chapter x. gives a racy account of early steamboating on the river and chapter xii. gives five pages of summary in most general terms. There is no quarrel with the author's less serious "myths", "scenery", and "side trips". These are by far the best parts of the book. They comprise a welcome addition to the literature of the Pacific Northwest.

The book is most attractively published and is sumptuously illustrated with ninety-three pictures, two-thirds of which are full-page. There are also two useful maps, one of the Columbia River and surrounding country, and the other of the entrance to the river.

EDMOND S. MEANY.

The *American Addresses at the Second Hague Peace Conference*, delivered by Joseph H. Choate, Horace Porter, and James Brown Scott, edited with introductory notes by Professor James Brown Scott, have been published for the International School of Peace by Ginn and Company (Boston and London, 1910, pp. xlviii, 217). The editor introduces the volume with a note, six pages in length, on formal and informal addresses at the conference, and follows this with addresses delivered in this country by Mr. Joseph H. Choate, General Horace Porter, and himself, concerning the work of the conference. The most notable of the addresses at the conference are by Mr. Joseph H. Choate on Immunity from Capture of Private Unoffending Property of the Enemy upon the High Seas, by General Horace Porter on the Limitation of Force in the Collection of Contractual Debts, and by Mr. Choate on the International Court of Prize, an address which suggested the lines on which the court was actually constituted. On the general subject of international arbitration there are numerous addresses by both Mr. Choate and Mr. Scott. The most considerable of these are the American Project for a Permanent Court of Arbitral Justice, by Mr. Choate, and the Elements entering into the Composition of an International Court of Arbitral Justice, by Mr. Scott. Added to these is Mr. Scott's elaborate Report to the Conference recommending the Establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice. An appendix contains the texts (ten in all) discussed at the conference. The editor has furnished helpful explanatory notes introductory to the principal addresses.

The National Gallery of Art: Department of Fine Arts of the National Museum. [United States National Museum, Bulletin 70.] By Richard Rathbun, Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1909, pp. 140, and 26 plates.) In this excellent specimen of book-making, illustrated with remarkably good plates, Mr. Rathbun tells the history of almost seventy years' progress toward the creation of a national gallery of art in Washington, and describes the chief treasures thus far accumulated. As long ago as 1840, the National Institute was founded with the collection of works of art as one of its objects, and the formation of a gallery of art was one of the purposes of the Smithsonian Institution declared in 1846 in its act of incorporation. Mr. Rathbun tells the story of the Institute's acquisitions, of their passage into the hands of the Smithsonian Institution, and of the additions made to the latter—casual and far from constituting an artistic collection, yet including some meritorious objects.

Down to 1903 there had been little approach to the ideal of a national art gallery. In that year Mrs. Harriet Lane Johnston, niece of President Buchanan, died, leaving a small but valuable collection of paintings under such terms of bequest that a judicial decision awarded them to the custody of the Smithsonian Institution and drew public attention to the legal position of the latter as a national gallery of art. The noble gifts of Mr. Charles L. Freer and Mr. William T. Evans followed, the former, aside from its Whistlers, consisting chiefly of choice examples of Chinese and Japanese art, the latter of American paintings. These have raised the collection to a high level of importance, and justified a more special organization. The effecting of this organization, the adoption of the designation National Gallery of Art, and the recent plans for temporary housing of the collections, furnish the occasion for the present interesting book, which records without exaggeration what has hitherto been accomplished, yet inevitably gives suggestive glimpses of an inspiring future.

The Bureau of American Ethnology has issued as *Bulletin 38* (pp. 288) the first of a contemplated series of volumes relating to the natives of the Hawaiian Islands. This volume bears the title *Unwritten Literature of Hawaii: the Sacred Songs of the Hula,* collected and translated, with notes and an account of the *hula,* by Nathaniel B. Emerson, A.M., M.D. "The *hula*", we are told, "was a religious service, in which poetry, music, pantomime, and the dance lent themselves, under the forms of dramatic art, to the refreshment of men's minds. . . . As to subject-matter, its warp was spun largely from the bowels of the old-time mythology into cords through which the race maintained vital connection with its mysterious past. Interwoven with these, forming the woof, were threads of a thousand hues and of many fabrics." About fifty pages of the volume are devoted to an historical and descriptive account of the *hula,* its religious setting and ceremonies, its support and organization, including an account of the *halau* or hall of the *hula.* Many of the songs are given, accompanied by metrical English translations, which show the usual limitations of translations but also show at times no small measure of poetical skill. There is a chapter on the music and musical instruments of the Hawaiians, and many specimens of music as well as the words of songs are given. There is much explanatory matter throughout the pages, and a glossary of terms is appended.

There is little in Francis Augustus MacNutt's *Fernando Cortes and the Conquest of Mexico, 1485–1547* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909, pp. xxi, 475) to call for critical consideration. There has long been opportunity for a new life of the conqueror of Mexico, and there continues to be urgent need for a work which will place within the knowledge of English readers the man, the circumstances of the country and the time, and the events as they appear to an investigator

trained in the methods of a modern historical school. Mr. MacNutt's translation of the despatches of Cortes, published in 1908, gave him familiarity with the principal source of information regarding the events of the conquest, and with a part of the material available for the reconstruction of the personality of the conqueror. He has found this preparation ample for the writing of the latest addition to the *Heroes of the Nations* series. The authorities cited in support of the text, such as an Italian version of Alaman's *Dissertations,* may all easily have been at hand in the Tyrolese *schloss* from which the preface is dated, and there is sufficient internal evidence to confirm the impression that the author's labors were performed at a distance from any incentive to critical historical work. Solis, Clavigero, Gomara, and Prescott are the preferred authorities, whenever the author was aware that later writers have ventured to suggest that the statements of the conquerors are not always to be taken literally.

The publishers have produced the book in a form to lead one to suspect that they are relying for their sales mainly upon those who will buy this volume because they already possess the previous issues of the series.

G. P. W.

La Revolucion de Ayutla, segun el Archivo del General Doblado. [Documentos Inéditos ó muy Raros para la Historia de México, edited by Genaro García. Tomo XXVI.] (Mexico, Bouret, 1909, pp. 264.) The total failure of Mexico in her struggle against the United States pointed many morals, and the reflective and patriotic among the public men of that country took them to heart. General D. José Joaquin de Herrera, who became President on the conclusion of peace, endeavored to carry out much-needed reforms, and in this policy he was followed by his Minister of War and successor in the presidential office, General D. Mariano Arista, an uneducated but able and public-spirited man. In the prosecution of this aim, Arista and his friends aroused the hostility of the clergy, the incompetent officials, the financiers accustomed to prey upon the national treasury, and the corrupt, insubordinate army. The consequence was a revolution which brought back to Mexico as dictator that evil genius of the country, Santa Anna, and placed in power the worst elements of the national life. This condition of things caused the extreme Liberals (*Liberales Exaltados*) to proclaim a "Plan" at Ayutla, March 1, 1854, and resulted the following year in the overthrow of the usurper. One of the leaders in the opposition to Santa Anna was General D. Manuel Doblado, who, though lacking in resolution and sincerity, was courted on account of his talents and influence both by the Liberals and by the Conservatives. Doblado left papers numbering more than 2000, many of which are of great value; and the volume in hand consists of selected documents, running from 1846 to 1855 though dealing principally with the Revolution of

Ayutla, with brief but very helpful explanatory notes here and there from the editor. It should be examined by all interested in the political evolution of Mexico, our war with that country, or the characters and aims of such national figures as Juárez and Comònfort. We are greatly indebted to the editor for this and many other labors of love in the field of Mexican history, where so much work of the kind needs to be done.

JUSTIN H. SMITH.

TEXT-BOOKS

The Study of History in the Elementary Schools: Report to the American Historical Association by the Committee of Eight. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909, pp. xx, 141.) This report is the result of four years' labor upon the part of a committee appointed in 1905 by the American Historical Association, and composed of James Alton James, chairman, Henry E. Bourne, Eugene C. Brooks, Wilbur F. Gordy, Mabel Hill, Julius Sachs, Henry W. Thurston, and J. H. Van Sickle. Two topics were assigned to the committee: the suggestion of a course of study in history for elementary schools, and the consideration of the most desirable preparation for the elementary history teacher. Each of the topics is treated separately in the report; there is outlined a course of study for eight grades which is almost in the nature of a syllabus, and there are supplementary chapters upon the preparation of the teacher, the method of presentation, typical lessons, illustrative material, and present conditions of history teaching in elementary schools not only of the United States, but of France, Germany, and England as well. The outline of the course of study is, however, the real crux of the report, for the character and extent of the teacher's preparation will be moulded in large degree by the character of the prescribed course of study.

The committee has accepted the view that some history shall be taught in every grade in the elementary schools, and has accordingly outlined an eight-year course of study. The course is based upon three fundamental principles: (1) that the plan should be adaptable to present conditions in the greater number of American schools, and not be in the form of ideal attainable in a very few schools, or by a future generation; (2) that the study of history should centre about American history, including not only events happening in America but those in the ancient or medieval or modern European world which have influenced American history; and (3) that a subject once taught should be taught thoroughly, and not thereafter be repeated. To the last proposition, all, probably, who have had experience of the deadening effect of repetition, will agree; upon the first and second, however, there is room for much difference of opinion.

The centring of the study upon American history is the most pronounced feature of the report, it is the one which has thus far been

most severely criticized, and it is that which will, if adopted, require the greatest reconstruction of courses of study and school programmes.

Accepting the point of view of the committee, it can be truthfully said that its work is well done. The course for grades one and two is confined to descriptions of Indian life and the treatment of national holidays. In grade three there are historical scenes and persons from different ages. The fourth and fifth grades take up scenes and persons in American history. Upon the sixth year the committee has expended its best thought, giving an extended analysis and detailed references to topics of interest to Americans from Greek, Roman, medieval, and English history, and closing with medieval trade conditions, the discovery of America, and the beginning of national rivalry for the new world. Grade seven opens with the permanent settlement of America by European nations and carries the story through colonial growth and rivalry to the close of the American Revolution. In grade eight the subject is continued into the national period and the course closes with a statement of the problems of the republic and with short analyses of recent changes in England, France, Germany, and Italy.

The committee has not only given a good analysis, but it has supplemented it with lists of books for teachers and for scholars. In addition, for the last three years it has indicated its estimate of the value of each of the principal topics. The plan is a decided advance over the courses of study in many of our schools, and it deserves to receive a wide adoption. Incidentally its adoption would necessitate two welcome changes, an increase in the efficiency of the teacher of history, probably by the establishment of the group or departmental system, and the creation of a series of better text-books.

A. E. M.

Outlines of General History. By V. A. Renouf, B.A. Edited by William Starr Myers, Ph.D. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1909, pp. xx, 501.) A single volume presenting the leading facts in the history of the world seems to be justified in this instance. The author intended it for use primarily in the schools of the Far East, especially in those of the Chinese Empire. Emphasis is placed on "those events and institutions a knowledge of which is most useful to persons interested in public reforms in the East". Throughout, there is a fair-minded presentation of the facts which "show the value of high ideals of the truth and the advantage of liberal institutions". The general content of most of the chapters is not essentially different from that to be found in other general histories except that Japanese and Chinese history is appropriately introduced and emphasized.

If the general purpose is kept in mind, we excuse the author, evidently an American teacher in Pei Yang University, when he devotes only three and four lines to the settlements at Jamestown and Plymouth respectively; a scant page to the formation, adoption, and analysis of

the Constitution of the United States; and only five and one-half pages to the discussion of our national history. The space thus gained is effectively used, however, as in chapter XXXI., in a résumé of the effects on civilization of such influences as the advancement of science, railway construction, telegraphs, telephones, and newspapers; of the progress of education and humanitarian movements.

While the influence of certain Mongol statesmen and philosophers receives due recognition there is no attempt to gloss the fact that the nations they represent have, up to modern times because of their isolation and conservatism, failed to partake in the movements which have revolutionized society elsewhere. "Modern and mediaeval European conditions are so different that they can hardly be compared. Chinese conditions in the nineteenth and ninth century are so much alike that it would be difficult to find many points of difference" (p. 64).

The maps are well done, the illustrations are generally satisfactory, and the synchronistic table suggestive.

Little fault may be found to-day with Professor Renouf's main thesis that "The modern transformation of Japan and China is at least as significant as any other event or period in the world's history" (p. 456). Chapters, such as chapter V., on India, China, and Japan, and chapter XXXVII., on the Transformation of the Far East, should be read by all students of history in our secondary schools. But it will not be necessary nor desirable to return to a course in general history, now outgrown in American schools, to accomplish this purpose. Until there shall be incorporated in our text-books, as has been done in some instances, suitable chapters on Oriental history this volume may well be used as supplementary material.

JAMES A. JAMES.

An Introductory History of England. By C. R. L. Fletcher. Volume III. *From the Restoration to the Beginning of the Great War*; Volume IV. *The Great European War.* (New York, E. P. Dutton and Company, 1909, pp. xi, 372; ix, 351.) This is a flippant, colloquially written book, almost degenerating into a comic history at times, as when the author heads one of his chapters "The Age of W[h]igs" (ch. x.). It must be added that the book is written in a stimulating style which has its advantages in arousing the interest of students.

The work is even more objectionable from another point of view. It is an attempt to apply history to present conditions in Great Britain. It consequently partakes of the nature of a pamphlet, advocating a big army, a big navy, the rule of the upper classes, and Imperialism, the writer constantly pointing out the disadvantages arising from the adoption in the past of other policies than these.

The author has the most intense prejudices. He hates the Whigs with all the hatred of Samuel Johnson; he detests party governments, republicans, the Hanoverians, radicals, and Jesuits, and his remarks on

all of these subjects are quite without judicial calmness and well-nigh worthless. The same conclusion is valid for his strictures on men whom he does not like. James II. is "an immeasurable ass", Monmouth "an empty ass", Sunderland "perhaps the blackest-hearted villain in English history", George I. an "incompetent, sulky boor", Bolingbroke "a solemn windbag, without the remotest idea of statesmanship". He is intemperate in his criticisms of Fox, while Franklin, "the Pennsylvania Quaker", is "the most disgusting hypocrite of the lot". The Americans of the Revolution are "rebels", and Napoleon is a tyrant. Indeed the point of view in treating of foreign topics is extremely pro-British and provincial.

His predilections are as strong as his prejudices. His heroes are, of course, the men who stand in his mind for Imperialism: Marlborough, both Pitts, Nelson, Wellington, and above all Castlereagh. It has become the fashion among British historians to praise Castlereagh, and undoubtedly his merits have not been fittingly appreciated by earlier writers. Still, it is hardly true that Castlereagh was "the last great statesman who governed Britain". Such a judgment is excessively favorable, but it is characteristic of the author who knows no measure either in praise or blame.

The writer's notions on economic subjects are strangely mixed. He believes in free trade, but not always, for he thinks it was a mistake to take off the taxes on exported grain; he believes that the Navigation Act had excellent results; and he apparently supposes that a national debt is a national blessing.

The best chapters are those dealing with Scotland, India, Ireland, and the civilization of England in the eighteenth century. These are all too crowded with facts, but on the whole they are very good.

The book is full of interesting details, but in many cases they are unimportant details and necessarily exclude more valuable matter. There is too much space devoted to the minutiae of campaigns, a common error with English historians, and there is a considerable number of inaccurate statements, though perhaps not more than is fairly to be expected in a work covering so large a field.

RALPH C. H. CATTERALL.

A Source History of the United States, from Discovery (1492) to End of Reconstruction (1877), for use in High Schools, Normal Schools, and Colleges. By Howard Walter Caldwell, Professor of American History, University of Nebraska, and Clark Edmund Persinger, Associate Professor of American History, University of Nebraska. (Chicago, Ainsworth and Company, 1909, pp. xvi, 484.) It is now generally conceded that the teaching of history may be deepened and enriched through the judicious use of source-material. This volume has evidently grown out of the experience of the authors who have for many years been advocates of the pure source-method. Here, however, the choice of

two methods is left with the teacher; to use this book as the "basis of class-work" supplemented by readings in suitable texts, or to use it as supplementary to a regular text-book.

The four chapters, each having from four to seven sections, contain selections which illustrate phases of the political, social, and industrial life of America through the period of Reconstruction. Why similar events of the last quarter-century have been omitted is nowhere indicated. Well-written introductions which interpret the period under discussion accompany each chapter, and the sections also have brief preparatory summaries of special phases.

The sources most frequently drawn upon for the extracts used are the Force Collections; *Writings of Statesmen*; Benton, *Thirty Years View*; *Niles' Register*; the *Congressional Globe*; and volumes by certain travellers. The sources would be of more value, it is believed, if some attempt were made to present the personalities of the writers. Teachers as well as pupils might well be told, also, in some way that Bradford's *Plymouth Plantation* contains the best material on the early history of the Pilgrims; that Maclay's *Journal* with all its violent prejudices is the only real account we have of the debates in the Senate during the first Congress; and so on with Olmstead's *Cotton Kingdom*, Martineau's *Travels*, and numerous others.

The selections are as a rule brief, most of them containing but one or two paragraphs, and few of them having as much as three pages. Of the four hundred and eighty-four pages, an undue proportion, or two hundred and sixty-four pages, is devoted to the colonial period. The volume is comparatively free from typographical errors; "Brissit" (p. 250) and "Grundy" (p. 393) are correctly given on other pages. The questions which accompany each section are suggestive. Although the table of contents is unusually complete, this does not wholly take the place of an index.

James A. James.

NOTES AND NEWS

Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, who was one of the founders of this journal, a member of the Board of Editors from 1895 to the present time, and for thirteen years its secretary and treasurer, has declined re-election and a successor (Professor Turner) has been appointed. We give the first place in this record to an expression of the debt which the REVIEW owes to Professor Hart for generous services marked in the highest degree by efficiency, suggestiveness, and devotion to its interests.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The first volume of the Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1908 will be distributed shortly. The second volume, which will contain the concluding portion of the Texan Diplomatic Correspondence, will not be issued until some time during the fall.

Professor Carter's *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763–1774*, being the prize essay for 1908, and the second volume in the Association's new series of prize essays, is now well along in the press; subscribers may expect to receive their copies during the month of May.

In the series *Original Narratives of Early American History*, Johnson's *Wonder-working Providence of Sions Saviour in New England* is published by Scribners soon after the issue of this number of the REVIEW. *Narratives of Early Maryland*, edited by Mr. Clayton C. Hall, is in the press. The volume for Pennsylvania, Delaware, and West Jersey, edited by Dr. Albert C. Myers, is nearly ready in manuscript. The volume of narratives of early Carolina will be edited by Mr. A. S. Salley, Jr. This will be the twelfth of the series.

PERSONAL

Professor George Park Fisher of Yale University died on December 20, at the age of eighty-two. A professor of ecclesiastical history in Yale University since 1861, he had published in that field several volumes distinguished by abundant learning, careful statement, clearness, and comprehensiveness of view. The chief of these were his *History of the Reformation* (1873), his *History of the Christian Church* (1888), and his *History of Christian Doctrine* (1896). Besides many theological books, he also printed, in 1885, *Outlines of Universal History*. In 1897–1898 he was president of the American Historical Association. Dr. Fisher was a man of singular urbanity and charm of manner and conversation.

Senhor Joaquim Aurelio Nabuco de Araujo, Brazilian ambassador to the United States, died in Washington on January 17, at the age of sixty. A member of a family distinguished in the public life of Brazil, he took the chief part in the final abolition of slavery. As envoy extraordinary in England in 1900–1905, having charge of the Brazilian case in the controversy respecting the boundary between Brazil and British Guiana, he prepared in that capacity a large and scholarly series of documentary historical volumes. He was also the author of a history of the anti-slavery movement in the United States, in Portuguese, of a life of his father entitled *Um Estadista do Imperio,* virtually a constitutional and political history of the reign of Dom Pedro II., and of many graceful writings in the field of belles-lettres. Senhor Nabuco was a model of all that is scholarly and cultivated, of noble and winning character, and of chivalrous devotion to public causes.

The eminent philologian and archaeologist, Ludwig Friedländer, for many years professor at the University of Königsberg, and author of the celebrated book, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms,* died recently in his eighty-sixth year.

August Meitzen, professor of political economy in Berlin University, and author of the monumental work, *Siedelung und Agrarwesen der Westgermanen und Ostgermanen, der Kelten, Römer, Finnen und Slawen,* as well as of other writings on agrarian history and on statistics, died in Berlin on January 19, aged eighty-six.

H. d'Arbois de Jubainville, member of the Institute and professor of Celtic language and literature at the Collège de France, died on February 26, aged eighty-two. From 1852 to 1880 he was departmental archivist at Troyes, and during this period was awarded the prize Gobert for his monumental *Histoire des Comtes de Champagne.* Profoundly influenced by the writings of Zeuss, he dedicated himself to Celtic antiquities and to the earliest history of Europe, and by his editorship of the *Revue Celtique,* his contributions to the series, *Cours de Littérature Celtique,* and his authorship of *Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe,* he greatly advanced and popularized these studies.

Karl Krumbacher, professor of Middle and New Greek philology in the University of Munich, who, through his teaching, his numerous writings, and his long term of editorship of the *Byzantinische Zeitschrift,* did much to promote knowledge of Byzantine literature, language, and history, died on December 11, aged fifty-three.

Professor Charles M. Andrews of the Johns Hopkins University has accepted an election as professor of American colonial history in Yale University, his service there to begin next September. Professor Allen Johnson of Bowdoin College is elected a professor of American history in Yale College, to teach especially constitutional history.

Professor Edward L. Stevenson, of Rutgers College, has been

elected secretary of the Hispanic Society of America. Apart from his administrative duties, he is here offered opportunity to engage in important research-work within his particular field.

Professor William H. Allison of Bryn Mawr College will after the present academic year be professor of ecclesiastical history in the theological department of Colgate University.

Dr. James A. Robertson, of Madison and Cleveland, has gone to Manila to take charge of the Philippine Library in that city.

The executive committee on a memorial to the late Professor Frederic William Maitland announces that a personal memorial in the form of a bronze bust has been executed by Mr. S. Nicholson Babb for deposit in the Squire Law Library of Cambridge University, and that a fund of more than £2000 has been accepted by the university to be held on trust for the promotion of research and instruction in the history of law and of legal language and institutions.

GENERAL

The third annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association will be held at Iowa City, Iowa, on May 25, 26, and 27, in conjunction with the State Historical Society of Iowa.

In order to make plans for a Year Book of the historical and political sciences, a conference of representatives of about twenty learned societies has lately organized a board of editors, with Professor Albert Bushnell Hart as chairman. It is expected that the first of these annual issues will appear early in 1911, though definite arrangements have not yet been concluded.

In Dr. Karl Hoffmeister's *Die Grundgesetze aller Völkergeschichtlichen Entwicklung* (Vienna, Fromme, 1909, pp. iv, 85), the author investigates the influence upon the development of mankind of fundamental biological and economic laws.

An address on *Ancient and Modern Imperialism,* delivered by Lord Cromer to the Classical Association, has been published through Murray (pp. 143) in enlarged form and with notes.

The *Revue d'Histoire et de Littérature Religieuses* (Nourry, Paris), whose issue recommences this year under the editorship of M. Alfred Loisy, professor of the history of religions at the Collège de France, will be devoted henceforth to the history of all religions.

Dr. Gisbert Brom, director of the Dutch Historical Institute in Rome, has published, in a conveniently arranged pamphlet, a *Guide aux Archives du Vatican* (Rome, Loescher, 1910, pp. x, 96), mainly composed of the accounts of the Vatican archives and their various subdivisions which are prefixed to the successive sections of his *Archivalia in Italië,* previously noticed in these pages. Translated into French and

appropriately revised for separate publication, this makes a most useful manual for the investigator; indeed there is no better handbook of the same introductory and general character.

The house of B. Kühlen has issued a magnificent quarto *Album Pontificale* (1909, pp. 99, 37), containing brief biographical notices of the popes, by Cardinal Hergenröther, illustrated with portraits taken from their medals, and with reproductions of the arms of the popes from Benedict IX. (1033–1044) to Pius X., by H. G. Ströhl.

The American Jewish Historical Society held its eighteenth annual meeting in New York on February 21 and 22. Among the interesting papers presented may especially be mentioned those by Mr. L. M. Friedmann, on Francisco de Faria and the Popish Plots; by Mr. B. H. Hartogensis, on Consanguineous Marriages at Jewish and American Law; by Mr. Leon Hühner, on Jews Connected with American Colleges and Professions before 1800, and on the Early Jews of Virginia; by Rev. Dr. David de Sola Pool, on Hebrew Learning among the Puritans of New England prior to 1700; and by Mr. David Sulzberger, on the Beginnings of Russo-Jewish Migration to Philadelphia.

A large number of recent works on history and economic geography are reviewed by J. Letaconnoux in the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine* for January–February.

Découvertes d'Histoire Sociale, 1200–1910, by Vicomte Georges d'Avenel, is a recent issue in the *Bibliothèque de Philosophie Scientifique,* published under the direction of Gustave Le Bon, through Flammarion.

In E. K. Chatterton's book on *Sailing Ships: the Story of their Development from the Earliest Time to the Present Day* (Philadelphia, Lippincott), the author brings together a vast amount of information and discusses the causes of the invention of each new type of vessel.

The Library of Congress has published a *Select List of References on Sugar, chiefly in its Economic Aspects,* by Mr. H. H. B. Meyer, chief bibliographer. Many of the entries have a value for students of economic history.

Dr. Frederick A. Woods has proposed the name "historiometry" for that class of historical studies in which facts of a personal nature are "subjected to statistical analysis by some more or less objective method", and offers in the issue of *Science,* November 19, 1909, a brief bibliography of such works.

We have received from the Historical Seminary of the University of Louvain its *Rapport sur les Travaux pendant l'Année Académique 1908–1909* (pp. 429–518), containing, besides reports of special lectures delivered during the year, more extended summaries of investigations by Father Callaey, on the youth of Ubertin de Casale; by Mr. L. Bril, on

the historical sources of early Scandinavian history; and various discussions of the history of Gallicanism.

ANCIENT HISTORY

Messrs. Macmillan will publish in four volumes Dr. Frazer's forthcoming work on *Totemism and Exogamy.*

Leonard W. King's *History of Babylonia and Assyria from Prehistoric Times to the Persian Conquest* (London, Chatto and Windus) is in three volumes, of which the first is a history of Sumer and Akkad, an account of the early races of Babylonia from prehistoric times to about B. C. 2000; the second, a history of Babylon from the foundation of the monarchy, about B. C. 2000, until the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, B. C. 539; and the third, a history of Assyria from the earliest period until the fall of Nineveh, B. C. 606.

A Survey of Recent Publications on Assyriology, by Hope W. Hugg, has been published by O. Schulze (1909, pp. 48).

The colleagues, friends, and admirers of Hermann V. Hilprecht have dedicated to him a number of studies in Assyriology and archaeology, brought together in a *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* (Luzac, 1910, pp. 471, 85 pictures and 76 text-illustrations).

The Old Egyptian Faith, six lectures delivered in 1905 at the Collège de France by Dr. E. Naville, and translated by Dr. Colin Campbell, has been published by Williams and Norgate, London; New York, Putnams (pp. 231).

The results of the archaeological exploration of Delos, undertaken by the French school at Athens under the auspices of the Ministry of Public Instruction and at the expense of the Duke de Loubat, will be published through Fontemoing, Paris, in a sumptuous work of from twenty to thirty fascicles, issued under the direction of M. T. Homolle, former director, and M. M. Holleaux, present director, of the school. Two fascicles have already appeared, of which the first contains an introduction, a map of the island of Delos on the scale of 1/10,000, with explanatory commentary by A. Bellot; and the second, by G. Leroux, treats of *La Salle Hypostyle.*

Leçons d'Histoire Romaine (Paris, Hachette, pp. 294), by M. A. Bouché-Leclercq of the Institute, is a series of detached studies, extending through the republican and imperial periods, and treating of the causes that transformed the Republic into the Empire. The author attempts to explain some modern tendencies by the light of Roman history.

Roman Cities of Northern Italy and Dalmatia, a work on the early period of the history of the Roman Empire, by Professor A. L. Frothingham of Princeton, is being published by Sturgis and Walton Company.

A. von Domaszewski has a valuable article on rank, promotion, and organization in the Roman army in the *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CXVII. 1–278 (1908).

Professor J. B. Bury's Creighton Memorial Lecture on *The Constitution of the Later Roman Empire* has been published by the Cambridge University Press (1909, pp. 54).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Rev. Dr. Burney, *Ancient Jerusalem* (Quarterly Review, January); A. Profumo, *L'Incendio di Roma dell' Anno 64* (Rivista di Storia Antica, N. S., XIII. 1).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

Under the title *The Odes and Psalms of Solomon* (Cambridge University Press, 1909), Dr. J. Rendel Harris has edited with a long introduction and notes a new Syriac version of the Psalms of Solomon and a hitherto unknown Christian hymn-book, translated into Syriac from Greek, and dating, as he believes, wholly or in part from the first century.

Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge will edit for the British Museum a new series of Coptic texts of early Christian literature, to which he will add translations and notes. The first volume will contain the works comprised in the papyrus codex, Or. 5001, *viz.*, sermons ascribed to John Chrysostom, two discourses by Proclus against Nestorius, homilies by Athanasius, and a discourse on the end of the world by Basil of Caesarea.

An essay on *Church Life and Thought in North Africa, A. D. 200*, by Dr. Stuart A. Donaldson, master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, has been issued by the Cambridge University Press (1909, pp. 212).

Documentary publications: H. von Soden, *Sententiae LXXXVII. Episcoporum: Das Protokoll der Synode von Karthago am 1. September 256, textkritisch hergestellt und überlieferungsgeschichtlich untersucht* (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil-hist. Kl., 1909, 3); J. A. Nairn, *The De Sacerdotio of St. John Chrysostom* (Cambridge University Press).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. Ermoni, *Le Marcionisme* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); H. von Soden, *Die Prosopographie des Afrikanischen Episkopats zur Zeit Cyprians* (Quellen und Forschungen, XII. 2); V. Ermoni, *La Question Nestorienne d'après un Document Nouveau* (Revue Historique, January-February).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

A recent number in the series of small illustrated handbooks entitled *Wissenschaft und Bildung* is *Die Kultur der Araber* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1909, pp. 144), six lectures delivered before the High

School Association of Munich by Professor Joseph Hell, on the subjects of the Arabs before Islam, Muhammed, the Period of the Conquests, the Ommiads, Bagdad, and North Africa and Spain.

Students of early geography will welcome the learned critical edition of *The Christian Topography of Cosmas Indicopleustes* (pp. 376, 14 plates) brought out by E. O. Winstedt, late senior demy of Magdalen College, Oxford, through the Cambridge University Press.

The Clarendon Press has issued Professor Kirsopp Lake's *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos* (pp. 117), which includes the hitherto unpublished life of the ninth-century saint, Peter the Athonite, and other illustrative documents.

The Dolphin Press has published in attractive form *The Life of Saint Clare* ascribed to Thomas of Celano, translated and edited with skill from the earliest manuscript, that in the Communal Library of Assisi, by Fr. Paschal Robinson of the Order of Friars Minor. A translation of St. Clare's rule is added.

C. L. Kingsford, A. G. Little, and F. Tocco have edited for the British Society of Franciscan Studies its second volume (Aberdeen, 1910, pp. 198), which contains a bibliography of the writings of John Peckham, archbishop of Canterbury, and three of his works written in "defence of the Franciscan conception of evangelical poverty against the attacks both of the Seculars and of the Dominicans".

The Earl of Llandaff (Rt. Rev. A. H. Mathew, Old Catholic bishop) is translating from the Latin text edited by Thuasne the celebrated *Diary of John Burchard of Strassburg,* bishop of Orta and Cività Castellana, and master of ceremonies at the papal court. The first volume extends from 1483 to 1492 (London, Griffiths, 1910, pp. xliii, 431).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. K. Fotheringham, *Genoa and the Fourth Crusade* (English Historical Review, January); J. Mackinnon, *The Franco-Scottish League in the Fourteenth Century* (Scottish Historical Review, January); Fr. Bliemetzrieder, *Conclusions de Guillaume de Salvarvilla, Maître en Théologie, à Paris, sur la Question du Concile Général pendant le Grand Schisme d'Occident (1381)* (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, January); P. Richard, *Origines et Développement de la Secrétairerie d'État Apostolique (1417–1823)* (*ibid.*).

MODERN HISTORY

The fourth volume of M. Léon Lallemand's *Histoire de la Charité* (Paris, Picard) extends from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century. The first part of the volume (pp. ix, 624) treats of theories of assistance; plagues and epidemics; the struggle against mendicity; and the organization of hospital establishments of all kinds. The second part of the volume is in preparation.

In an article entitled "The Latest Contributions to Erasmus' Correspondence", in the *Englische Studien* of Leipzig (vol. XL., fasc. 3, pp. 372 ff.), Dr. H. de Vocht, professor in the school of colonial sciences at Louvain, discusses three recent editions of Erasmus's letters, by P. S. Allen, Förstemann and Günther, and K. L. Enthoven, and in the case of the last two editions rectifies many errors, especially in the dating of the letters.

A description of Morocco in the reign of Moulay Ahmed El-Mansour (1596), from a Portuguese manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale, has been published through Leroux, Paris (1909, pp. 153), by Count Henry de Castries, who prints the Portuguese text and a French translation.

England and the French Revolution, 1789–1797, by W. T. Laprade of Trinity College, Durham, North Carolina, forms numbers 8 to 12 of series XXVII. of the *Johns Hopkins University Studies.*

W. Hardman's *History of Malta during the Period of the French and British Occupations, 1798–1815*, with notes by J. H. Rose, has been published by Longmans.

A translation from the German, by John Lees, of Houston Stewart Chamberlain's excellent philosophical work, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, is being published by John Lane, London, in two volumes, with an introduction by Lord Redesdale.

The Comte Charles de Mouÿ, who has previously written several valuable works on diplomatic history, and who served as a diplomat in the East, at Berlin, Rome, and in Greece has now brought out an interesting volume, *Souvenirs et Causeries d'un Diplomate* (Paris, Plon), which contains *inter alia* an account of the Berlin Congress.

M. Gaston May, professor in the University of Paris, has published an elaborate work on *Le Traité de Francfort: Étude d'Histoire Diplomatique et de Droit International* (Paris, Berger-Levrault, pp. 360).

A collection of treaties, conventions, acts of concession, and other documents relative to Ethiopia, with explanatory notes by Carlo Rossetti, is being issued by the Società Tipografica Editrice Nazionale, Turin, under the title *Storia Diplomatica dell'Etiopia durante il Regno di Menelik II.*

La Guerre Russo-Japonaise et la Neutralité, by M. Louis Bon (Montpellier, 1909, pp. 256), discusses historically and from the point of view of international law the various conduct of the English, the French, and other neutrals in respect to the recent war between Russia and Japan.

The fourth part of the British *Official History of the Russo-Japanese War*, prepared by the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence (London, Wyman), relates the story of the battle of Liao-Yang.

Documentary publications: A. F. Fuchs, *Briefe an den Feldmarschall Raimund Grafen Montecuccoli: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Nordischen Kriegs in den J. 1659–1660* (Vienna, Stern, 1910, pp. xxvii, 290) [Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs, II.]; L. Raschdau, *Die Botschafterkonferenz in Konstantinopel und der Russisch-Türkische Krieg, 1877–1878*, III. [from the literary remains of Dr. Busch] (Deutsche Rundschau, December).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: L. Cardauns, *Zur Geschichte Karls V. in den Jahren 1536–1538*, Beilagen (Quellen und Forschungen, XII. 2); *Pitt and the Triple Alliance, 1788–1791* (Edinburgh Review, January); H. Salomon, *De Quelques Livres et de Quelques Questions d'Histoire Contemporaine*, I. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, October).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

The Victoria County History (London, Constable) will comprise three volumes on London, including the borough of Southwark and the ancient parish of Westminster. The first volume, edited by William Page, contains sections on Romano-British London, the Anglo-Saxon remains of London, and the ecclesiastical history of the city from 604 to 1907, including a section on Nonconformity.

A volume of *Original Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, selected by Professor D. J. Medley, and comprising charters and statutes, annotated with extracts from other original material, has been published by Messrs. Methuen.

The late Mr. J. W. Welsford, whose book on *The Strength of Nations* was reviewed in an earlier number of this journal (XIII. 347–349), left a work which Longmans have published under the title *The Strength of England: a Politico-Economic History of England from Saxon Times to the Reign of Charles the First.* Archdeacon William Cunningham has contributed an introduction.

The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-seventh Year of the Reign of King Henry the Second, A. D. 1180–1181 [Publications of the Pipe Roll Society, volume XXX.] (London, The St. Catherine Press, 1909, pp. xxx, 201) contains, as usual, an introduction by Mr. J. H. Round, who comments upon the importance of the entries relating to the new coinage, in the making of which ten mints were employed; upon the receipts from the escheated demesne manors of Henry of Essex, which show a large increase in value during the century since Domesday; and upon building operations, purchases and prices, feudal incidents, and some other matters on which the roll throws light.

The Rev. Dr. Cox has contributed a volume on *The Parish Registers of England* to the series of *Antiquary's Books* (Methuen).

Under the title *Bardon Papers*, a volume of documents relating to

the imprisonment and trial of Mary, Queen of Scots, has been edited for the Royal Historical Society by Conyers Read, with a prefatory note by Charles Cotton.

Messrs. Longmans announce two new volumes, completing the *Political History of England,* edited by the Rev. William Hunt and Dr. R. L. Poole—the sixth volume, extending from the accession of Edward VI. to the death of Elizabeth, by A. F. Pollard, and the eighth volume, from the Restoration to the death of William III., by Richard Lodge.

The only extant detailed argument for the Union of England and Scotland presented from the Scottish side, in the time of James I., was written in 1605 by Sir Thomas Craig, one of the Scottish commissioners. Under the title, *De Unione Regnorum Britanniae Tractatus,* the Latin text has been edited with a translation and notes by C. S. Terry, and printed for the Scottish History Society (Edinburgh, pp. xii, 497).

Macaulay's famous chapter on the state of England in 1685 has been edited with an introduction and statistical notes by Professor A. L. Bowley, who contrasts conditions existing in 1685 and 1848 with those of the present. The book is issued by the Cambridge University Press (pp. viii, 171).

A memoir, with extracts from the diary and correspondence, of Gathorne Hardy, first earl of Cranbrook, edited by the Hon. A. E. Gathorne-Hardy, is being published by Longmans in two volumes.

Messrs. Longmans's announcements include a two-volume *History of Wales from the Earliest Times to the Edwardian Conquest,* by Professor J. Edward Lloyd, of the University College of North Wales. Special sections are devoted to the history of the Welsh church, and the relations between England and Wales are traced.

Dr. David Hay Fleming, honorary secretary of the Scottish History Society, prints the Stone lectures which he delivered at Princeton Theological Seminary during the year 1907–1908, in a volume entitled *The Reformation in Scotland: Causes, Characteristics, Consequences* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1910, pp. xvi, 666).

Mr. H. F. B. Wheeler and Mr. A. M. Broadley have collaborated in a work entitled *The War in Wexford: an Account of the Rebellion in the South of Ireland in 1798* (London, Lane). Use has been made of much recently discovered unpublished material, including the correspondence of Arthur, first earl of Mount Norris.

Mr. F. Hugh O'Donnell, sometime member of Parliament, is publishing through Longmans a two-volume *History of the Irish Parliamentary Party from 1870 to 1890,* containing much new matter of importance.

The Rise of South Africa: a History of the Origin of South African Colonization and of its Development towards the East from the Earliest Times to 1857, by Professor G. E. Cory, of Rhodes University College, Grahamstown, is drawn from unpublished documents in the archives of the Houses of Parliament in Cape Town, and the Civil Commissioner's Office in Grahamstown, and includes much private correspondence of Colonel John Graham, the founder of Grahamstown, and information gathered by Professor Cory in interviews with old inhabitants. The work will be completed in four volumes, of which the first, recently issued by Longmans, comes down to the year 1820.

British government publications: *Calendar of Close Rolls,* Edward III., vol. XI., 1360–1364; *Calendar of Patent Rolls,* Henry VI., vol. V., 1446–1452; *Calendar of State Papers, Venice,* etc., XV., 1617–1619; *Index of Inquisitions,* IV., *Charles I. and Later,* with appendixes; *Lists and Indexes, No. 32,* parts I. and II.; *Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission,* on the manuscripts of Miss M. Eyre Matcham, Captain H. V. Knox, Cornwallis Wykeham-Martin, Esq., etc.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: *The National Archives* (Quarterly Review, January); C. L. Kingsford, *The Early Biographies of Henry V.* (English Historical Review, January); R. Ancel, *La Réconciliation de l'Angleterre avec le Saint-Siège sous Marie Tudor: Légation du Cardinal Polus en Angleterre (1553–1554)*, concl. (Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique, October); John Dowden, *The Scottish Crown and the Episcopate in the Medieval Period* (Scottish Historical Review, January).

FRANCE

The Archives of the Ministry of the Colonies, to 1789, have in the main been transferred to the Archives Nationales.

M. Gabriel Monod's *Bibliographie de l'Histoire de France,* which was published in 1888, is being recast by a number of well-known specialists and will be issued by Hachette in four fascicles, of which the first two, dealing respectively with generalities and origins, and with the Middle Ages, will be jointly edited by MM. H. Stein and R. Poupardin; the third, devoted to the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, will be edited by M. L.-G. Pélissier, and the fourth, extending from 1789 to the present, by M. Pierre Caron.

Albert Vogt, honorary librarian of the University of Freiburg, Switzerland, is the editor of the new periodical, *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France* (Paris, Letouzey), which will publish articles, documents, inventories of documents, etc., relating to the general or local ecclesiastical history of France, and of dioceses that formerly belonged to it. It is intended that this material shall aid in an entire recasting of the *Gallia Christiana,* and the future issue of a series of volumes on the history of each diocese.

M. Camille Jullian of the Institute continues his masterly *Histoire de la Gaule* (Paris, Hachette) in a third volume on the Roman conquest and the first Germanic invasions. The author, who in person has visited all the battlefields and followed the course of all of Caesar's marches, has corrected various errors of earlier historians. He has in preparation three additional volumes dealing with Roman Gaul.

L. Delisle's *Recueil des Actes de Henri II., Roi d'Angleterre et Duc de Normandie, concernant les Provinces Françaises et les Affaires de France* (Paris, Klincksieck, pp. xix, 570), has been issued in the series of *Chartes et Diplômes relatifs à l'Histoire de France,* published by the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres under the direction of M. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville.

The third volume of Colonel Borelli de Serres's *Recherches sur divers Services Publics du XIII^e^ au XVII^e^ Siècle* (Paris, Picard, pp. 587) relates chiefly to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and treats of the following topics: Le Trésor Royal, de Philippe IV. à Philippe VI.; Officiers des Finances de Philippe IV. à François I^er^; Les Plus Anciens Présidents au Parlement; Notes sur Quelques-uns des Gens de Finances; Les Feux dans le Languedoc; Trois Hypothèses sur les Variations Monétaires; La Date de l'Estat des Offices.

The Société des Recherches Historiques de Vaucluse has begun the publication of a series entitled *Recherches Historiques et Documents sur Avignon, le Comtat Venaissin et la Principauté d'Orange,* to be published in Paris by Honoré Champion. The first issue (pp. 223) is a documentary history of the temporal court of Avignon in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, by MM. Joseph Girard and P. Pansier; the second (pp. 171) is a study, by Dr. Maurice Falque, of the legal contests relating to jurisdiction over the Rhone, its banks and bridges, which arose by reason of the anomalous position of Avignon as a foreign *enclave* in French soil (1302–1818).

L'Invasion de la France et le Siège de Saint-Dizier par Charles-Quint en 1544, by A. Rozet and J. F. Lembey (Paris, Plon), is founded on the unpublished Italian despatches of Francesco d'Este, Hieronymo Feruffino, Camillo Capilupo, and Bernardo Navager.

The fourth volume of M. Charles de la Roncière's *Histoire de la Marine Française* (Paris, Plon) will be of especial interest to students of American history, since it is concerned with Richelieu and the quest for colonial empire.

The subject of the Lothian Essay for 1908 is *The Duke de Choiseul,* by R. H. Soltau (Oxford, Blackwell, 1909, pp. 184).

A translation by Bernard Miall of the third French edition of M. Aulard's *The French Revolution: a Political History,* will be issued by Mr. Fisher Unwin in four volumes.

A second series of *Épisodes et Portraits,* by M. Arthur Chuquet (Paris, Champion, 1910, pp. 235), consists of fifteen essays, mostly à propos of recent historical publications. The topics discussed refer to the period of the Revolution and of Napoleon, and, in addition, to Primi Visconti, a portrait of Frederick II., Metternich and Madame de Lieven, and Froeschwiller.

Professor Aulard's *Études et Leçons sur la Révolution Française,* sixth series (Paris, Alcan), treats of the following topics: The device "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"; the first historians of the French Revolution; Literary portraits: Beaumarchais, Abbé Barbotin, Robert Rhum; Primary instruction in the Haute-Garonne; the Memoirs of the Marquise de la Rochejaquelein and of Barras.

M. C. Latreille, whose book on *Joseph de Maistre et la Papauté* was crowned by the French Academy, studies the opposition of a large part of the French episcopate to the Concordat in his two new volumes, *L'Opposition Religieuse au Concordat de 1792 à 1803,* and *Après le Concordat: L'Opposition de 1803 jusqu'à nos Jours* (Paris, Hachette).

M. Frédéric Masson's new volume *Sur Napoléon* (Paris, Ollendorff, pp. x, 291) comprises eight lectures.

R. Pierre Marcel's *Essai Politique sur Alexis de Tocqueville,* which includes a large number of unpublished documents, is issued in Alcan's *Bibliothèque d'Histoire Contemporaine.*

The commission on the diplomatic history of the war of 1870–1871, previously referred to in these pages (XII. 949; XIV. 652), has completed its first two volumes, which relate to the preliminaries of the Conference of London, from December 25, 1863, and to the conference itself. The series will be published by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, through the house of Ficker, and in the same *format* as the thirty-two volume edition of the *Correspondance de Napoléon.*

Gambetta: Life and Letters, by P. B. Gheusi (Unwin, 1910, pp. 366), is an authorized translation by Violette M. Montagu of the French work recently noted in these pages (XIV. 876).

Documentary publications: René Ancel, *Nonciatures de France: Nonciatures de Paul IV.* (with the last year of Julius III. and Marcellus II.), I. *Nonciatures de Sebastiano Gualterio et de Cesare Brancatio (May, 1554–July, 1557),* part I. (Paris, Lecoffre); P. Moulin, *Bouches-du-Rhône, Documents relatifs à la Vente des Biens Nationaux,* II. (Marseilles, 1909, pp. 674) [Collection de Documents Inédits sur l'Histoire Économique de la Révolution Française]; F. A. Aulard, *Recueil des Actes du Comité de Salut Public,* XIX., December 21, 1794–January 31, 1795; A. Keller, *Correspondance, Bulletins et Ordres du Jour de Napoléon,* III., *Campagne d'Italie* (Paris, Méricant).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Prentout, *Les Régions de la*

France: La Normandie, II. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, October); G. Espinas, *La Commune de Soissons et son Origine, d'après un Livre Récent* [an extended critical review of G. Bourgin's work] (Le Moyen Age, September–October); Constance H. M. Archibald, *The Serfs of Sainte-Geneviève* (English Historical Review, January); Louis Batiffol, *Louis XIII. et le Duc de Luynes,* II. (Revue Historique, January–February); Ch. Bournisien, *Conséquences Économiques et Sociales de la Vente des Biens Nationaux* (Revue des Questions Historiques, January); L. de Lanzac de Laborie, *Les Débuts de la Banque de France (1800–1813), d'après des Documents Inédits (ibid.)*; Sir C. W. Dilke, *Before and after the Descent from Elba* (Quarterly Review, January); *L'Empire Libéral* (Edinburgh Review, January); P.-R. Mautouchet, *Les Comités Départementaux d'Histoire Économique de la Révolution et les Études d'Histoire Moderne* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, November–December).

ITALY

The school of palaeography, diplomatic, and archive learning has been opened at Rome in the new quarters of the State Archives in the Piazza del Gesù. Professor Ovidi delivered the opening address on the public archives of Rome in relation to the history of Rome, and their modern functions.

Giuseppe Tomassetti has brought out through Loescher, Rome, the first of three volumes which he is dedicating to the ancient, medieval, and modern history of *La Campagna Romana.*

The veteran Professor Pasquale Villari, after nine years, now adds to his *Le Invasioni Barbariche in Italia* a further volume, bringing the story of Italy for the general reader down to Dante's time, *L'Italia da Carlo Magno alla Morte di Arrigo VII.* (Milan, Hoepli).

Giuseppe Prato, author of an excellent work on *La Vita Economica in Piemonte a mezzo il Secolo XVIII.* (Turin, 1908), has now brought out a study of *L'Evoluzione Agricola nel Secolo XVIII. e le Cause Economiche dei Moti del 1792–98 in Piemonte* (Turin, 1909, pp. 74), which is of much interest in itself, and as affording a basis of comparison with pre-revolutionary agrarian conditions in other countries.

Professor M. Schipa's book *Contese Sociali Napoletane nel Medio Evo* (Naples, Pierro, 1908, pp. 360), an account of the condition, conflicts, and compromises of the various social classes in medieval Naples, was first published in the *Archivio Storico Napoletano.*

The first history of medieval Sardinia to meet the requirements of modern scholarship is Enrico Besta's two-volume work, *La Sardegna Medioevale* (Palermo, Reber). The first volume treats of political changes from 450 to 1326; the second volume, of political, economic, juridical, and social institutions.

From unpublished documents in the state archives of Naples, Romualdo Trifone has written an excellent account of *Le Giunte di Stato a Napoli nel Secolo XVIII.* (Naples, Jovene, 1909, pp. xv, 240). The Giunte were extraordinary commissions, appointed from time to time by the sovereign of the Two Sicilies to take cognizance of purely political affairs, and in some instances acted as revolutionary tribunals.

The December number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* is devoted to modern Italy. Among its contents are articles on philosophy, poetry, and the novel in contemporary Italy; an article on the sociological movement in Italy by Gaston Richard; notes on the social and political situation of contemporary Italy, by P. Ronzy; notes on the problems of public instruction in Italy; and a general review, nearly forty pages in length, of the materials for the history of Italy during the period of the Risorgimento, by G. Bourgin.

Pagine Garibaldine (Turin, Bocca, 1909, pp. xx, 375), published by Gualtiero Castellini as the second number in the *Biblioteca di Storia Contemporanea,* contains many unpublished documents—the diary, notes, and letters of Major Nicostrato Castellini, and letters by Mazzini, Garibaldi, G. Medici, and Laura Solera Mantegazza.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Schneider, *Toscanische Studien,* IV. (Quellen und Forschungen, XII. 2); W. Lenel, *Die Epochen der älteren Venezianischen Geschichte* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 2); *Lorenzo de'Medici* (Edinburgh Review, January).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Deutschlands Gaue im Zehnten Jahrhundert nach den Königsurkunden (Göttingen, Dieterich, 1908, pp. 40, 6), a dissertation by O. Curs, contains an elaborate map of the *Gaue* about the year 1000 constructed from the *diplomata* of the Saxon emperors and kings; an alphabetical list of *Gaue,* with references to the cities, towns, and religious houses, the counts, and the immunities, mentioned in the *diplomata* in connection with the separate *Gaue*; and a discussion, in the light of this material, of several questions concerning the geography and administration of the *Gau.*

The twelfth volume of Felix Dahn's *Die Könige der Germanen: Das Wesen des ältesten Königtums der Germanischen Stämme und seine Geschichte bis zur Auflösung des Karolingischen Reiches* (Breitkopf and Härtel, Leipzig) treats of the Lombards, and concludes a work begun by the author some fifty years ago.

The fourth heft in the *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte des Mittelalters und der Renaissance,* edited by Dr. Walter Goetz (Leipzig, Teubner), is *Über Naturgefühl in Deutschland im 10. und 11. Jahrhundert,* by Dr. Gertrud Stockmayer (1910, pp. iv, 86).

In the fourteenth heft of the *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen,* edited by Professors Brandenburg, Seeliger, and Wilcken, Dr. Otto Goldhardt discusses *Die Gerichtsbarkeit in den Dörfern des Mittelalterlichen Hennegaues* (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1909, pp. 62). The fifteenth heft of the same series is a monograph of unusual interest, *Die Deutsche Presse und die Entwicklung der Deutschen Frage, 1864–66,* by Dr. Otto Bandmann (1910, pp. 193).

In the sixth heft in the *Forschungen zur Inneren Geschichte Österreichs,* edited by Professor Dopsch (Innsbruck, Wagner), Dr. T. Mayer treats of *Der Auswärtige Handel des Herzogtums Österreich im Mittelalter* (1909, pp. x, 200).

A valuable source, not only for religious history but for the history of civilization during the period of the Reformation, has been made accessible by the publication of *Kilian Leibs Briefwechsel und Diarien* (Munster, Aschendorff, 1909, pp. xxxvi, 156), edited by J. Schlecht as the seventh fascicle in the *Reformationsgeschichtliche Studien und Texte.*

A remarkable discovery has been made in the library of the Lutheran Theological Seminary (Krauth Memorial Library) at Mt. Airy, Pennsylvania. From the estate of a German-American lady the library has recently received a copy of Luther's *Sommerpostille* (1543–1544), at the end of which was found, in manuscript, what appears with certainty to be a strictly contemporary narrative of Luther's death and burial, written by an eye-witness whom the leading Luther experts in Germany declare to have been without question Hans Albrecht, town scrivener of Eisleben, in whose house Luther lived and died.

Ostfrieslands Handel und Schiffahrt im 16. Jahrhundert (Berlin, Curtius, 1910, pp. xxiv, 370) is the third volume in the series of *Abhandlungen zur Verkehrs- und Seegeschichte,* edited by D. Schäfer for the *Hansische Geschichtsverein.*

The second volume of Professor Oskar Jäger's *Deutsche Geschichte* (Munich, Beck, 1910, pp. 690) extends from the peace of Westphalia to the present.

Die Europäische Politik des Grossen Kurfürsten, 1667–1688 (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer, 1910, pp. 32), is the subject of a study by Ferdinand Fehling, privat-docent in the University of Heidelberg.

The first volume of *Bismarck: eine Biographie* (Stuttgart, Cotta), by Professor Erich Marcks, of the Hamburg Scientific Institute, is partly drawn from private papers in the family archives, and treats with exceptional fullness the period from 1815 to 1848.

Professor Karl Lamprecht's *Deutsche Geschichte* (Berlin, Weidmann) is brought to a conclusion by the issue of the second half of the eleventh volume, dealing with the *Klein-Deutschen Lösung der Einheitsfrage* and with the *Kulturkampf,* and of the twelfth volume, which

contains an appendix *Über Individualität und Verständnis für dieselbe im Mittelalter,* and a bibliography and general index.

W. von Demelie issues through Stern (Vienna) a German translation of *Kaiser Joseph II.: seine Politische und Kulturelle Tätigkeit,* by P. Mitrofanou, professor of history in St. Petersburg.

The Senate has printed (61 Cong., 2 sess., Doc. no. 279, pp. 38) a message of President Taylor, dated March 28, 1850, transmitting letters of 1849 and 1850 from A. Dudley Mann, whom Taylor had appointed as special agent in Hungary. Though Mann was not an observer of extraordinary gifts, his letters respecting the Hungarian situation are interesting and in a certain degree valuable.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: V. Kybal, *Étude sur les Origines du Mouvement Hussite en Bohême: Matthias de Ianov* (Revue Historique, January–February); Kl. Löffler, *Heinrich von Ahaus, und die Brüder vom Gemeinsamen Leben in Deutschland* (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXX. 4); Paul van Dyke, *A Captain of Industry of the Sixteenth Century* (Harpers, January); E. Spranger, *Philosophie und Pädagogik der Preussischen Reformzeit* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 2); R. Hoeniger, *Der Dreissigjährige Krieg und die Deutsche Kultur* (Preussische Jahrbücher, December); O. H. Richardson, *Religious Toleration under the Great Elector and its Material Results* (English Historical Review, January); E. Gothein, *Bismarcks Jugend* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 2); W. S. Lilly, *Democracy in Switzerland* (Quarterly Review, January).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

Professor G. Kurth, whose earlier writings include a book on *Les Origines de la Ville de Liège,* has published a work in three volumes, *La Cité de Liège au Moyen-Age* (Paris, Picard).

The first part of Albert Elkan's detailed biography of *Philipp Marnix von St. Aldegonde* (Leipzig, Dyk, 1910, pp. x, 143) treats of the youth of the brothers John and Philip von Marnix, down to the year 1565.

Dr. H. T. Colenbrander has brought out the second volume of a work published by the Royal Historical Commission of the Netherlands, *Ontstaan der Grondwet* (Hague, Nijhoff, 1908, pp. cxxii, 662), containing documents relating to the constitution of the year 1815. Other volumes recently published by this commission are *Relazioni Veneziane,* relations of Venetian ambassadors concerning the United Netherlands from 1600 to 1795, and the second volume of the *Acta der Particuliere Synoden van Zuid-Holland, 1621–1770,* covering the years 1634–1645.

Of the two new volumes in the *Archives ou Correspondance Inédite de la Maison d'Orange-Nassau,* the third volume of the third series, edited by Professor F. J. L. Kraemer (Leyden, Sijthoff, 1909, pp. xxxi, 709), contains 245 letters exchanged between William III. and the

Grand Pensionary Heinsius during the years 1700–1702; and the second volume of the fourth series, edited by Professor Th. Bussemaker (1909, pp. xli, 671), contains 240 documents, dating from September, 1749, to the end of 1755, and relating especially to the activities of the Earl of Portland, William Bentinck.

Documentary publications: V. Brants, *Liste Chronologique [provisoire] des Édits et Ordonnances des Pays-Bas: Règnes de Philippe IV. et de Charles II. (1621–1700)* (Brussels, Goemaere, 1909, pp. vii, 236); N. Japikse, *Brieven van Johan de Witt,* II. [January 12, 1657–December 19, 1664] (Amsterdam, Müller, 1909, pp. xix, 649).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The January number of the *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library is mainly occupied by a list of works relating to the Near Eastern Question and the Balkan States.

A society for Byzantine studies, organized at Athens in the spring of last year, is publishing, with the collaboration of the principal specialists, a quarterly entitled *Byzantis.* Articles may be in the Greek, French, German, English, Italian or Latin languages, and should be sent to Michael Goudas, 5ª rue Béranger, Athens.

Die Altslawische Wohnung (Brunswick, Vieweg, 1910, pp. 431), the first book of the third volume of K. Rhamm's *Ethnographische Beiträge zur Germanisch-Slawischen Altertumskunde,* is primarily addressed to the ethnographer. The author's hypothesis is that the old Slavic *Bauernhof,* as it can be traced back to a time earlier than the Wanderings, has been fashioned after or at least modified by Germanic models.

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

The Japanese government has instituted a Committee for the Printing of Historical Documents and has entrusted to it all the documents pertaining to foreign relations of the earlier period, hitherto kept in the archives of the Foreign Office. It is expected that the first volume, respecting relations with the Western powers, will be published in May or June.

The transformation of Japan during the period 1870–1910 is dealt with in the fifth volume of the Marquis de la Mazelière's work, *Le Japon, Histoire et Civilisation* (Paris, Plon).

Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia, the first volume of the Royal Asiatic Society monographs (pp. xxii, 945), is an exhaustive work by Colonel G. E. Gerini, relating to Further India and the Indo-Malay Peninsula.

A *Histoire de la Cochinchine Française des Origines à 1883,* by M. P. Cultru of the University of Paris, has been published by Challamel, Paris.

L'Ile de Java sous la Domination Française (Paris, Champion, pp. xiii, 558) is an essay on the colonial policy of the old monarchy and the Empire in the Malay archipelago, by O.-J.-A. Collet.

Bactria, from the earliest times to the extinction of Bactrio-Greek rule in the Punjab, is the subject of the Hare University prize essay of 1908, by Professor H. G. Rawlinson of Deccan College, Poona (Bombay, *Times of India* Office, pp. xii, 150).

Of the two volumes entitled *Selections from the State Papers of the Governors-General of India,* edited by G. W. Forrest (Oxford, Blackwell, pp. xx, 323, 348), the first volume is occupied by the introduction, the second volume by the documents.

The Turning Point of the Indian Mutiny, a work by Giberne Sieveking, containing hitherto unpublished documents and portraits, will be issued by Mr. D. Nutt, London.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. N. Finck, *Die Wanderungen der Polynesier nach dem Zeugnis ihrer Sprachen* (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1909, 3).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington has been delayed in the passing through the press of Dr. James A. Robertson's *List of Documents in Spanish Archives relating to the History of the United States, which have been Printed, or of which Transcripts are Preserved in American Libraries,* because of Dr. Robertson's departure in January for Manila. It is hoped, however, that the book may be brought out before the end of the spring. Dr. Burnett has been completing his search for letters of delegates to the Continental Congress in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. Mr. Leland goes to Paris at the end of the present month, to complete the collecting of materials for his Guide to the Materials for American History in the Archives of Paris. The Department has printed for private distribution a *List of Doctoral Dissertations now in Progress,* similar to that which the Director has annually issued since 1897, but enlarged in this issue by the addition of a list of all dissertations announced in previous lists (and in the case of some universities all dissertations) which have been put into print.

Writings on American History, 1908, edited by Miss Grace G. Griffin, the third volume in the present series of these annual bibliographies, will be published by the Macmillan Company early in May, as a volume of about 170 pages, giving indication of more than 3000 books, pamphlets, and articles.

The *Annual Report of the Librarian of Congress for the Fiscal Year ending June 30, 1909,* notes among accessions the Burton Harrison collection, the private diary kept by Hon. William B. Reed during his mission to China in 1857–1859, the letter-books and log-books of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, in fifty-four volumes, the papers of John Leeds Bozman, and various transfers from the executive departments in Washington. It is announced that the Calendar of the Military Correspondence of General Washington during the Revolution will probably be ready for publication before the close of the next fiscal year, and that calendars of the Van Buren, Jackson, John Fitch, and New Mexico papers are in progress. More than eighty volumes of transcripts from manuscripts in the British Museum and Public Record Office are listed as having been added; most of them are from the Hardwicke manuscripts and the military papers of the Revolutionary period at the Public Record Office.

The National Monetary Commission is issuing a series of publications, several of which are of interest to students of financial history. Among these is a new edition of Mr. R. M. Breckenridge's *History of Banking in Canada,* and a translation of the volume on the German Reichsbank, 1876–1900, which that bank put forth on occasion of its twenty-fifth anniversary; also volumes giving financial and other economic statistics of each of the chief countries for the last forty years. Most of the volumes are small, from one hundred to two hundred pages. We note especially a compilation of the *Laws of the United States concerning Money, Banking, and Loans, 1789–1910,* by Mr. A. T. Huntington, chief of the Division of Loans and Currency in the Treasury Department; the *First Bank of the United States,* by Professor J. T. Holdsworth; the *Second Bank of the United States,* by Professor Davis R. Dewey; the *History of State Banks before the Civil War,* by the same; *The Safety-Fund Banking System in New York State from 1829 to 1886,* by Dr. Robert E. Chaddock; *The Origin of the National Banking System,* by Mr. Andrew McF. Davis; *The History of Crises under the National Banking System,* by Dr. O. M. W. Sprague; *The History of the National Bank Currency,* by Mr. A. D. Noyes; *The Development of the Independent Treasury System,* by Dr. David Kinley; *A History of Banking in England,* by Mr. H. S. Foxwell; the *Evolution of Credit and Banks in France,* by Professor André Liesse; *The History and Methods of the Paris Bourse,* by Mr. E. Vidal; and the *Development of the German Banking System,* by Mr. Robert Franz.

The third and fourth volumes of the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Company) have now appeared. They are occupied with the labor conspiracy cases of 1806–1842, and are edited by Professors John R. Commons and Eugene A. Gilmore.

The fourth volume (R to Z) of Bradford's *Bibliographer's Manual*

of American History, revised by Stan V. Henkels, has come from the press.

The eighth *Year Book* of the Carnegie Institution contains, in the report of the Department of Economics and Sociology, a fuller and more explicit report than has ever heretofore been made concerning the progress and status of its *Contributions to the Economic History of the United States.*

Moore's History of the States, United and Otherwise, by Judge Charles F. Moore (New York and Washington, the Neale Publishing Company, 1909, pp. 283), is not to be taken seriously.

An Encyclopedia of American Government, in about three volumes, is to be prepared under the joint editorship of Professor Albert Bushnell Hart and Professor Andrew C. McLaughlin.

The *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* for October, 1909, contains a full account of the whole career of Dr. John Connolly, by Mr. Clarence M. Burton, a history of the presidential campaign of 1844, by Mr. Worthington C. Ford, and the journal of Sir William Pepperrell kept during the expedition against Louisbourg in 1745. This document is carefully edited, from the original manuscript in the possession of the society, by Mr. C. H. Lincoln.

Among the articles in the *Journal of American History,* vol. III., no. 4, are: "Adventures of First White Settlers in the Mississippi Valley", by Dan E. Clark; "Evolution of the Mason-Dixon Line", by Morgan P. Robinson; and "Political Warfare in Early Kansas", by Wilbur C. Abbott. "Experiences of a Louisiana Planter", by Eliza C. Rice, is an account of a Liberian experiment in 1851 by the writer's father. Under the title "Private Letters of a Government Official in the Southwest", are printed some letters of John Greiner, who was Indian agent in New Mexico in 1851, and in 1852 became governor of the territory. The letters are concerned mainly with Greiner's experiences as an official. Items from General Washington's order book printed in this issue are dated September 26, 27, and 28, 1776. In the latest issue of the *Journal* (vol. IV., no. 1) Mr. J. L. Sexton, using the misleading title "Origin of Great Wealth in America: Development of Natural Resources", gives some account of industrial development in the western parts of Pennsylvania and New York, while J. T. Watson describes some "Experiences of the French Huguenots in America", and W. S. Dungan gives an account of the Lancaster Convention of June, 1776, entitling his article "First Declaration of Independence in America". The memoirs of John Moore, a New York Loyalist, pertain chiefly to family history but contain some matter of larger interest. The *Journal* also reprints an incomplete copy of the Rev. William Gordon's letter, May 17, 1775, describing the commencement of hostilities between Great Britain and America. One cannot help admiring the pains taken

by the contributor in transcribing the text from an ancient almanac, but must lament the fact that the editor did not use a better and completer text, such as might have been found in Force's *Archives*.

Mr. C. O. Paullin contributes to the December number of *Americana* an article upon the "First Naval Voyage to our West Coast", a voyage made by Captain James Biddle in the sloop of war *Ontario* in 1817–1818. Other articles in this issue are "Gladstone and America", by Lindsay Rogers; a rehearsal of "The Story of Champlain and his Discoveries", by Lina A. Britton; the conclusion of Andrew M. Sherman's "Civil War Reminiscences"; and a continuation of Brigham H. Roberts's "History of the Mormon Church".

The October number of the *American Catholic Historical Researches* prints Joseph Galloway's report (March 4, 1778) to the Earl of Dartmouth upon the condition of Washington's army, and a translation of the circular letter addressed by John R. Williams in 1823 to Father Gabriel Richard protesting against his candidacy as a delegate to Congress. The pages of this issue of the *Researches* contain many incisive corrections of historical errors, old and new. The January number of the *Researches* is devoted entirely to a record of the career in the American Revolution of General Count Casimir Pulaski. The editor, Martin I. J. Griffin, has brought together from various sources, unpublished as well as printed, much material relating to Pulaski, which he has arranged so as to tell the story of the count's career without much comment from the editor's pen. The manuscript materials are drawn principally from the Library of Congress and from repositories in Philadelphia, but the record might be increased considerably from other sources. The designation of references is somewhat unsystematic and is likely at times to be puzzling.

Father Thomas Hughes's *History of the Society of Jesus in North America* (Longmans) is continued by the issue of the second part of the first volume of *Documents*, containing documents 141–224 (1605–1838).

Doubleday, Page, and Company have published *The Story of the Negro: the Rise of the Race from Slavery*, in two volumes, by Booker T. Washington.

The Neale Publishing Company have brought out a volume of the addresses delivered upon various occasions by Judge Emory Speer, since 1885 United States judge for the southern district of Georgia, and for many years dean of the Law School of Mercer University. The volume bears the title *Lincoln, Lee, Grant, and other Biographical Addresses*, and includes addresses on Oglethorpe, Hamilton, Marshall, and Joseph E. Brown.

Miss Susan W. Peabody's *An Historical Study of Legislation regarding Public Health in the States of New York and Massachusetts* (Chicago, 1909, pp. 158) is published as a supplement to the *Journal of*

Infectious Diseases. Some account of other American legislation on the subject is also given.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Notes on the Plants of Wineland the Good, by M. L. Fernald, is reprinted from *Rhodora,* vol. XII., no. 134 (pp. 22). The conclusions reached by the author are that the three plants which have been most depended upon in attempts to locate Wineland the Good are the mountain cranberry or possibly one of the native currants, the strand wheat, and the canoe birch, whose area of greatest abundance is from the lower St. Lawrence River northward along the coast of Labrador. A more extended work on this subject is in preparation by the author.

The Discoveries made by Pedraluarez Cabral and his Captains: an Attempt to harmonise the Narrations of the Voyage set forth by Barros and by Correa, by J. R. McClymont (printed at Hobart, Tasmania, for the author, pp. 16), is an essay not strictly confined to the limits suggested by the second half of the title.

Explorers in the New World, by M. M. Mulhall, has been issued in this country by Longmans, Green, and Company.

The Story of the Pilgrim Fathers, by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, is a reprint of articles which appeared last summer in the Southampton (England) *Times,* the purpose of which was to show the connection of the Pilgrims with Southampton and to promote the interests of the projected tercentenary memorial.

Mr. Champlin Burrage, who has spent the last six years in research-work in England with reference to early Nonconformist history, and during this time has discovered several hitherto unknown manuscripts of Robert Browne, the father of English Congregationalism, has now discovered a hitherto unknown writing of John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrim church at Leyden, which throws considerable light upon the earlier part of Robinson's career. Mr. Burrage has prepared the manuscript for publication, with proper introduction and apparatus.

The New England Historic and Genealogical Society has deposited the papers of Henry Knox, in fifty-five volumes, in the library of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

As this journal may seem to have committed itself to approval of Buell's *Life of John Paul Jones* by a favorable review at the time of its publication (VI. 589-591) it is proper to call attention, though tardily, to Mr. Junius Davis's pamphlet, *Some Facts about John Paul Jones* (Raleigh, pp. 36), reprinted from the *South Atlantic Quarterly,* IV., V.; also to Dr. C. O. Paulhin's criticism of the book, entitled "When was our Navy Founded?" in the *United States Naval Institute Proceedings,* vol. XXXVI., no. 1.

The first of a series of monographs upon "The Attitude of Congress toward the Pioneers of the West", projected by the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics,* occupies the January number of that journal and relates to Congressional attitude during the period from 1789 to 1820 toward the pioneers and the public lands, territorial government in the West, national defense and frontier protection, and internal improvements in the West. The author is Kenneth W. Colgrove. Such an array of expression is enlightening; yet it is believed that a better understanding of the subject might have been reached through a preliminary study of the attitude or attitudes in the Continental Congress toward the West, since the key to much that was said and done by Congress after 1789 is to be found in what was said and done in the preceding period. Of course such a study presents a more difficult problem, since there are but scant records of debates in the Old Congress.

A book upon a fruitful theme, *The Story of a Century: a Brief Historical Sketch and Exposition of the Religious Movement inaugurated by Thomas and Alexander Campbell, 1809–1909,* has been brought out in St. Louis by the Christian Publishing Company. The author is J. H. Garrison.

Dr. Charles O. Paullin's *Commodore John Rodgers, Captain, Commodore, and Senior Officer of the American Navy, 1773–1838,* has appeared from the press of Arthur H. Clark Company.

The *Life of Commodore Thomas Macdonough, U. S. N.* (Boston, Fort Hill Press, 1909) by his grandson, Mr. Rodney Macdonough, is based on authentic public and private records and, as is appropriate, treats with especial fullness the action off Plattsburg.

The biography of Henry Clay, the preparation of which was begun by Thomas Hart Clay and after his death taken up by Dr. Ellis P. Oberholtzer, is announced for immediate publication by George W. Jacobs and Company in the series of *American Crisis Biographies.* It is understood that considerable material not hitherto available has been used.

Another volume of Motley's correspondence is announced by John Lane, *John Lothrop Motley and his Family: Further Letters and Records.* It will contain material considered too intimate or recent to be published in the earlier collection.

The Sturgis and Walton Company announce for early publication a *History of the Confederate War,* by George Cary Eggleston.

An important subject to which, in spite of the enormous volume of publication on the military history of the Civil War, too little attention has been paid, is elaborately considered in *Social and Political Conditions of the North during the Civil War* (Macmillan), by Mr. E. D. Fite of Yale University.

E. P. Dutton and Company have published *Life and Memoirs of Comte Régis de Trobriand, Major-General U. S. A.,* by his daughter, Mrs. Marie Caroline de Trobriand Post.

The *Life and Letters of General W. H. L. Wallace,* by Isabel Wallace, has been published in Chicago by R. R. Donnelley and Sons Company.

History and Law of the Hayes-Tilden Contest before the Electoral Commission: the Florida Case, 1876–1877, by E. W. R. Ewing, has been published in Washington by the Cobden Publishing Company.

A life of former Senator Orville H. Platt, bearing the title *An Old Fashioned Senator,* is from the pen of Louis A. Coolidge and the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Life of Garret Augustus Hobart, Twenty-fourth Vice-President of the United States, by Rev. David Magie, is from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

James Parker, who was counsel for Rear-Admiral Schley before the court of inquiry in 1903, has prepared a volume to which he has given the title: *Rear-Admirals Schley, Sampson, and Cervera: a Review of the Naval Campaign of 1898 in Pursuit and Destruction of the Spanish Fleet commanded by Rear-Admiral Pascual Cervera.* The book has been published in Washington by Neale.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

In the January issue of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register* appears a "Bibliography of Lists of New England Soldiers", by Mary Ellen Barker. The period covered is from the French and Indian War to the war with Spain.

The Maine state printers, Messrs. Burleigh and Flynt of Augusta, have in press *Maine at Louisburg in 1745,* a work prepared by the state historian, Rev. Dr. Henry S. Burrage. Besides preparing an account of Maine's part in the expedition (the district contributed one-third of Pepperrell's force), he has brought together from various sources about seven hundred names of Maine soldiers, mostly of the two York County regiments, who had a part in the capture of Louisburg in 1745.

The Maine Historical Society published in February volume XIV. of its series entitled *Documentary History of the State of Maine,* being the ninth volume of the *Baxter Manuscripts.*

"Stark's Independent Command at Bennington", by Professor Herbert D. Foster, with the collaboration of T. W. Streeter, is concluded in the October–November issue of the *Granite State Magazine.* In the December number of the *Magazine* is an article by Gabriel Farrell, jr., entitled "Captain Samuel Morey, who built a Steamboat Fourteen Years before Fulton". The biographical sketch of General Joseph Cilley, by John Scales, is continued.

Part II., volume IV., of the *Manchester Historic Association Collections* contains considerable material relating to General Stark: "The Battle of Bennington", by W. O. Stillman; "Stark's Independent Command at Bennington", by H. D. Foster and T. W. Streeter; a "Reminiscence of General Stark" from the diary of James Randall; and "General John Stark", by R. R. Law.

An interesting contribution to the history of early railroading, entitled "The Newburyport and Danvers Railroads", by H. F. Long, is found in the January issue of the *Essex Institute Historical Collections.* In the same issue is "Marblehead in the Year 1700, No. I.", by Sidney Perley.

The Rhode Island Historical Society has come into possession, through a bequest of the late Mrs. Henry G. Russell, of a body of papers relating to the Huguenot immigrant, Gabriel Bernon, chiefly of the period 1685–1735. The papers have in part been calendared as have also the papers relating to Barrington, presented to the society some time ago by Mr. T. W. Bicknell.

In addition to the family correspondence noted in a previous issue of the REVIEW, the Connecticut Historical Society has recently received about sixty Huntington family letters and documents all dated in the year 1776.

Education Department Bulletin No. 462 (Bibliography 46), published by the New York State Library, is a report of twenty-eight pages by Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, archivist of the state, on the translation and publication of the manuscript Dutch records of New Netherland. After an account of previous attempts at translation, alternative recommendations are made with respect to the various forms in which these valuable documents, properly translated, might be placed at the service of scholars.

Recent publications of the Historical Society of Hudson County (New Jersey) are *Hudson County: its Water Front Developments* (pp. 56), by John C. Payne; and *Colonial Land Conflicts in New Jersey* (pp. 26), by Edgar J. Fisher.

The *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* prints in its January issue an interesting series of letters from Dr. John McKinly, first president of Delaware, written to his wife while he was a prisoner of war, 1777–1778, and a group of letters from Robert Proud, the historian. The letters, written from Philadelphia in 1777 and 1778 to his brothers in England, contain comments on conditions in Philadelphia during the British occupation. The valuable series of letters from Thomas Wharton is concluded in this issue, and the orderly book of General J. P. G. Muhlenberg is continued. "East Vincent Township, Chester County, Pennsylvania", is a contribution made by Frederick Sheeder to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1845.

The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society (London) for November contains a letter of some length by a Pennsylvania pioneer, Thomas Ellis, written in 1685.

Volume II., no. 3, of the *Publications* of the Historical Society of Schuylkill County (Pennsylvania) contains "A Documentary History of the Old Red (Zion) Church in West Brunswick Township", translated and edited by Rev. H. A. Weller; and "Schuylkill County during the French and Indian War, 1754–1763", by W. H. Newell. No. 4 of the same volume includes "My Experiences while a Prisoner of War", by Livingstone Saylor.

Mr. John K. Lacock of Amity, Pennsylvania, who has the most expert knowledge of Braddock's route, has prepared from photographs, and publishes, two attractive and interesting series of post-cards of Braddock's Road and of the Cumberland Road, each series embracing about fifty cards, with letter-press explanations.

The Maryland Historical Society has recently acquired a copy of the manuscript Reminiscences of the famous Rev. Jonathan Boucher, sometime rector of St. Anne's Church, Annapolis, dated 1789 (pp. 186), and copies of sixty-seven letters from his correspondence between 1759 and 1802, very few of which have been printed; also five volumes of the historical and genealogical manuscripts of the late Judge Henry H. Goldsborough, and copies of a number of unpublished Maryland and other Stamp Act documents, 1764–1771, from the uncalendared papers of the British Treasury.

The *Maryland Historical Magazine* presents in its December issue much documentary material of value. There is a group of letters from Jackson to Taney (1833 to 1842) relating largely to the Bank of the United States, and another group of letters relating to the French and Indian War. The latter were addressed to Governor Sharpe by General Braddock, Governor Shirley, Sir William Johnson, and Richard Peters. Dr. Bernard C. Steiner contributes James McHenry's recently discovered speech before the House of Delegates in 1787, on the work of the Federal Convention. The issue includes some papers relating to the grievances of the Maryland line, drawn from the Gist papers in the society's possession, and Colonel John Eager Howard's account of the battle of Germantown, printed from the autograph copy in the Library of Harvard University. The "Capture of Indianola" is a paper read before the Maryland Historical Society in 1897 by Rev. W. F. Brand, and the "Siege and Capture of Havana in 1762", a paper read before the society in 1899.

The Department of Archives and History in the Virginia State Library recently received a considerable accession of manuscript reports of contested elections to the Virginia legislature, 1830-1850, including the depositions taken and other papers. The annual report of the

librarian, Dr. H. R. McIlwaine, includes special reports of the Department of Archives and History and of the Division of Bibliography. The former consists of an excellent and thorough monograph by H. J. Eckenrode, the archivist, "Separation of Church and State in Virginia", and the latter of the second part of "A Trial Bibliography of Colonial Virginia", prepared by William Clayton-Torrence, the bibliographer.

G. P. Putnam's Sons expect to publish soon *The Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century,* by Dr. Philip A. Bruce. It is understood that Dr. Bruce has made large use not only of records in Virginia but also of those found in various British archives.

The most considerable and important item from the Randolph Manuscript printed in the January issue of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* is the record of the case of Governor Herbert Jeffreys against Colonel Philip Ludwell in the General Court of Virginia, December, 1677. Among the "Virginia Legislative Papers" printed in this issue are the Resolutions of the Virginia Convention, May 31, 1776, in regard to Governor Eden of Maryland; the address of a committee of the Pennsylvania Convention to the Virginia delegates in Congress in regard to the boundary line between the two states; Patrick Henry's and Meriwether Smith's drafts of resolutions in favor of independence; and two petitions relating to the question of religious liberty. Among the other documents is a letter of Thomas Jefferson, November 4, 1779, relative to the Virginia military forces, a letter of William Henry Harrison, October 27, 1836, relating to politics, also a letter by Mr. Charles Francis Adams concerning Virginia's position in February, 1861.

The January number of the *William and Mary College Quarterly Historical Magazine* opens with part I. of an enlightening though somewhat controversial paper entitled "The Leadership of Virginia in the War of the Revolution". Two letters of John Tyler to Daniel Webster, May 22, 1843, and November 6, 1851, are also printed in this issue.

William Fitzhugh Gordon, a Virginian of the Old School: his Life, Times, and Contemporaries, 1787–1858, by A. C. Gordon, is from the press of the Neale Publishing Company.

In the eighth series of *Historical Papers,* published by the Historical Society of Trinity College, Durham, N. C., edited by Professor W. K. Boyd, the most interesting contributions are three letters of Nathaniel Macon, 1819 and 1825; a selection from the autobiography of Rev. Brantley York, relating to "early days in Randolph County and Union Institute"; and a long account, with documents, by the late Rev. L. S. Burkhead, of the "Difficulties of the Pastorate of the Front Street Methodist Church, Wilmington, N. C., for the year 1865", which is of interest for its bearing on an important phase of Reconstruction, the separation of the races in religious organizations.

Mr. Henry A. M. Smith contributes to the October number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* an account, including considerable documentary material, of the founding of the town of Purrysburgh in South Carolina. The town was founded by Jean Pierre Purry of Neufchatel, Switzerland, almost contemporaneously with the establishment of the colony of Georgia, and the life of Purrysburgh seems eventually to have been sapped by Savannah. The "Abstracts from the Records of the Court of Ordinary of the Province of South Carolina, 1692–1700", contributed by A. S. Salley, Jr., are continued.

Georgia in the War, 1861–1865 (pp. 167), by C. E. Jones, has been brought out in Augusta by the author.

A map of Mobile, of date a little before 1711, when the fort was at Twenty-seven Mile Bluff, has lately been discovered in the French archives and will appear in the new edition of Mr. Peter J. Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*. The map gives full details, and attaches the names of the settlers to their lots.

Louisiana, a cyclopaedic publication in two volumes, edited by Professor Alcée Fortier, has been published by Selwyn A. Brant, Madison, Wisconsin.

Mr. John Thomas Lee, in a pamphlet entitled *A Bibliography of Carver's Travels* (Madison, pp. 143–183), separately printed from the *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for 1909, shows reasons for questioning the opinion that Jonathan Carver was incapable of writing the famous *Travels*, as maintained by the late Professor Edward G. Bourne in a former issue of this journal (XI. 287–302).

Document no. 11 of the National Waterways Commission (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1909, pp. 70) is a *Traffic History of the Mississippi River System*, by Professor Frank H. Dixon of Dartmouth College.

The *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* devotes seventy-five pages of the October number to a synopsis of the sessions of the Ohio Valley Historical Association in November, 1908, and to printing in full several of the papers presented at that meeting. As mentioned in the January number of the REVIEW, these proceedings have already been published in full. Among the other contents of this issue of the *Quarterly* are "The Development of the Miami Country", by Frank P. Goodwin; "The Siege of Fort Meigs", by Earl A. Saliers; and "The Indian as a Diplomatic Factor in the History of the Old Northwest", by Professor I. J. Cox.

The *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio*, vol. IV., no. 3 (the July–September issue), comprises the

fifth installment of the Torrence papers, carefully edited by Mr. I. J. Cox. The letters, mostly addressed to James Findlay, are written from Washington, New Orleans, Natchez, and elsewhere, and give numerous side-lights upon prominent characters, but especially upon the transfer of Louisiana and the Burr conspiracy.

The *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* prints in the December issue some letters from eighteenth-century Indiana merchants. These letters, the first of which was written in 1738 and the last in 1798, are from the Lasselle collection in the Indiana State Library. They are edited by C. B. Coleman. Under the caption "Political Letters of the Post-Bellum Days", Mr. Duane Mowry presents some selections from the correspondence of James R. Doolittle with Thomas A. Hendricks. "Internal Improvements in Indiana, 1818–1846", is a paper by Margaret Duden.

Mr. Clarence M. Burton of Detroit and Mr. Alexander H. Fraser, provincial archivist of Ontario, have found at Toronto the records of the old court that was held at Detroit previous to the exodus in 1796.

What the Dutch have done in the West of the United States (Philadelphia, privately printed, 1909), by George Ford Huizinga, is a little brochure of some fifty pages, being the essay to which was awarded a prize offered by Edward Bok to the students and alumni of Hope College, Holland, Michigan, for the best writing on the subject. The author deals with the immigration in 1846 of the little colony of secessionists under Pastor van Raalte which settled in Holland, Michigan, and with later migrations, and sketches briefly the history of subsequent Dutch settlements and emigrants in the West.

It is encouraging to note that the Kentucky State Historical Society has planned the publication of available executive correspondence of the state. This work is in charge of Mr. W. W. Longmoor, who presents in the January number of the *Register* some letters of Governor Isaac Shelby, 1812. This issue of the *Register* prints the paper of John W. Townsend, "Kentucky, Mother of Governors", read before the Ohio Valley Historical Association at its meeting in Frankfort in October. The "History of Harrodsburg", by W. W. Stephenson, is concluded, and the "History of Franklin County", by L. F. Johnson, is continued.

Mr. Joab Spencer's account of "Missouri's Aboriginal Inhabitants" is concluded in the October number of the *Missouri Historical Review*. The January number contains an initial paper on the "History of the County Press of Missouri", by Minnie Organ; the first part of an address on Colonel Robert Van Horn, by J. M. Greenwood; and a reprint from the *Missouri Intelligencer* of the journals of some expeditions made by Captain Thomas Becknell in the early twenties from Boone's Lick to Santa Fé and from Santa Cruz to Green River. W. S. Bryan's papers on Daniel Boone are continued.

"The Part of Iowa Men in the Organization of Nebraska", by Horace E. Deemer, printed in the *Annals of Iowa* for October, is a paper of somewhat broader scope than its title would indicate. Professor F. I. Herriott continues his valuable studies which have been appearing under the caption "Iowa and the First Nomination of Abraham Lincoln". The present paper deals with the preliminaries of 1859.

The first issue of the *Utah Genealogical and Historical Magazine*, published by the Genealogical Society of Utah, appeared in January. Of historical interest among its contents should be noted the proclamation of November 15, 1778, by T. de Croix, captain-general of the interior provinces of New Spain, establishing the settlements of Santa Cruz, Namiquipa, San Antonio, Santiago, and San Juan Nepomuceno.

The *Proceedings of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the Admission of the State of Oregon to the Union*, celebrated at Salem on February 15, 1909 (Salem, State Printer, pp. 53), contains valuable historical addresses by Mr. Frederick N. Judson and Hon. George H. Williams, and a reprint of Mr. Franklin P. Rice's article on "Eli Thayer and the Admission of Oregon".

The articles in the *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* for September are "De Smet in the Oregon Country", by Edwin V. O'Hara, and "The Financial History of the State of Oregon", I., by F. G. Young. Of a documentary sort is the journal of John Work, edited by T. C. Elliott. John Work was an agent of the Hudson's Bay Company, and the journal describes a journey from Fort Colville to Fort Vancouver, April 30 to May 31, 1830.

The Cradle of New France (Longmans), by Dr. A. G. Doughty, is a history of Quebec with considerable descriptive material.

A new volume by Miss Agnes C. Laut, *Canada, the Empire of the North: being the Romantic Story of the New Dominion's Growth from Colony to Kingdom*, has been published by Ginn and Company.

Porfirio Diaz, President of Mexico, by Señor José F. Godoy, for many years connected with the Mexican embassy at Washington and now Mexican minister to Cuba, has just appeared from the press of Messrs. Putnam. The volume includes appreciations from other notable men.

We have received from Mr. Carlos Pereyra his *Historia del Pueblo Mexicano* (Mexico, J. Ballescá and Company, pp. 196; 230), two little illustrated volumes intended as a school text-book, with especial attention to the history of civilization in Mexico. Except for passing over with extreme brevity the period from Philip II. to Charles III., they seem to us models of clearness, intelligence, and good sense. The earlier period is treated more fully in a book of similar size, called *Lecturas Históricas Mejicanas: La Conquista del Anáhuac*.

Students of South American history will be interested in the announcement by John Lane (London) of a forthcoming biography of Simon Bolívar, by F. Loraine Petre.

The second volume of the results of the South American expedition of G. de Créqui-Montfort and E. Sénéchal de la Grange has just appeared: *Antiquités de la Région Andine de la République Argentine et du Désert d'Atacama,* by Éric Boman (Paris, H. Le Soudier).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: I. Lippincott, *Industry among the French in the Illinois Country* (Journal of Political Economy, February); T. W. Balch, *La Question des Pêcheries de l'Atlantique: Un Différend entre les États-Unis et l'Empire Britannique* (Revue de Droit International, vol. XI., nos. 4, 5); C. O. Paullin, *Duelling in the Old Navy* (United States Naval Institute Proceedings, December); Brigadier-General H. L. Abbott, U. S. A., *Types and Traditions of the Old Army; San Francisco in 1855* (Journal of the Military Service Institution, January–February); Morris Schaff, *The Battle of the Wilderness,* VIII., IX., X. (Atlantic Monthly, January, February, March); Gideon Welles, *A Diary of the Reconstruction Period,* I., II. (*ibid.,* February, March); Charles J. Bonaparte, *Experiences of a Cabinet Officer under Roosevelt* (Century, March); H. A. Richards, *A Study of New England Mortality* (Quarterly Publications of the American Statistical Association, December).

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THE CIRCUMSTANCE OR THE SUBSTANCE OF HISTORY

BEFORE Darwin had inaugurated the revolution of thought that distinguishes the second half of the nineteenth century, historiography had received its modern bent under the influence of Leopold von Ranke. The aim of Ranke's teaching was to put historical investigation upon a sound basis, and his method, which was concerned mainly with the critical scrutiny of sources, was designed to secure a purely objective statement of what had taken place. As much weight has since been laid upon Ranke's insistence on the importance of fact in and for itself, it should be noticed that this attitude is not peculiar to Ranke but is characteristic of his time in other lines of scientific inquiry. When one reads that a certain professor recommended his students "to confine themselves solely to the exposition of positive facts without attempting to draw from them inductions", there is nothing in the advice which would lead one to attribute it to a French naturalist rather than to a German historian. In short, Ranke, by intellectual predilection no less than in point of date, antecedes the period of Darwinian biology.

The change wrought by Darwin was the result neither of a method nor of a new accumulation of facts, but of his presentation of certain ideas designed to explain the manner in which a definite series of facts had come into existence. Linnaeus and Cuvier added much to the store of scientific knowledge, but later biologists have not therefore held that accuracy of statement was the sole purpose of their own labors. Darwin essayed interpretations of a far-reaching character, but the later impeachment of his theories has not lessened the extent of his services to biology or thought in general. This contrast has been lost, to all appearance, upon the historical profession, which is still opposed on principle to generali-

zations, and continues to prefer the circumstance to the substance of history.

It would, however, be disingenuous to imply that this opposition on the part of historians was entirely unreasonable. The expansion of Darwinian ideas came when the new historical method had little more than secured a footing. The older practices of utilizing history as a basis for moral teaching and political advocacy were a serious handicap in the struggle for scientific accuracy. By comparison the biological and physical sciences were entering upon the settlement of a new continent, while history was undertaking the reorganization of an old commonwealth. Hence while the former have pressed forward exhilirated by an ever-widening prospect of unexplored territory, the latter has been confronted by increasing difficulties and defections. In such circumstances it is not surprising that the evolutionary theories should have come as a new menace. The endeavor to supersede the old moral-political practices must have seemed a useless expenditure of effort if these were merely to be replaced by analogies to unverified biological hypotheses. It is not improbable that this sense of danger was a factor in evoking the hostility shown towards such men as Buckle, whose work was described by a notable scholar as "a laborious endeavor to degrade the history of mankind to the level of one of the natural sciences". The result of this phase was an increased distrust of all general ideas as applied to history, and a more restricted belief in the value of fact than was entertained by Ranke himself. Naturally, however, this attitude must be confined to the generations which have been most intimately concerned in the struggle. This ardor for a principle of negation is one that in the very nature of things cannot be awakened in a younger generation, which accepts the method as a matter of course, and finds some difficulty in appreciating the wisdom of saving history from ideas which have stimulated and strengthened other lines of scientific investigation.

It seems evident, indeed, that the older generation has overlooked in its inquiries the parable of a certain house that was found empty, swept, and garnished. This is the very heart of the predicament in which history finds itself to-day. The mind will not long content itself with a point of view that does not yield significant results, and the attempt to protect history from generalizations has led to desertions, usurpations of its territory, and much unconscious or unacknowledged theorizing.

The insistence on an outlook limited to method alone has brought its own answer in the form of a break from the sterility of ideas in the history schools to the ambitious interpretations of the new

"sciences" such as sociology and folk-psychology. The secessionists, carried away by the current of contemporary thought, defend their position by claiming an analogy with the subdivision of the biological sciences. But there is a great difference in political states between setting up an independent authority and adopting a system of local self-government. Canada and Australia are still parts of the British Empire, and the experimenter with sea-urchin's eggs is still a biologist. The sociologist, on the other hand, has established for himself a new imperium, and history is scullion in the house of political science. There is no similarity or resemblance of relation between the spreading branches of the biological tree and these independent sproutings from the roots of history.

But while the secessionists have been drawn into the vortex, the historian himself has not remained unaffected by the current. This influence shows itself directly in the elaboration of arguments to prove that history is a science, and, by reaction, in the undue emphasis that has been placed upon the importance of Ranke, whose name has acquired a value as a countersign quite apart from the merit of his contribution to historical methodology.

The most important effect upon historians of the spread of modern biological ideas has been the incorporation into their vocabulary of the words "evolution" and "development". As a consequence the historian, while believing himself the single-eyed servant of fact, while protesting against generalizations and philosophical interpretations, has come to accept a theory of history without critical examination of its claims. For these words cannot be used in our day as colorless expressions, they are the indices of the thought of the time and have a special import for the present generation. Their admittance implies the belief that history is the record of human progress and improvement. This is assumption, and the more to be guarded against because it has established itself unawares and has been admitted without debate.

The question then that emerges with some definiteness is not whether the historian will persist in an unwavering devotion to the method of Ranke, but whether he will permit himself to adopt unwittingly an evolutionary-sociological view of history, or will consciously accept the task of achieving a standpoint for himself. There is no other alternative.

The modern historian would guard himself against philosophies of history because he is convinced that these begin by assuming conclusions and pursue their speculations in a sphere wholly removed from the world of fact. Conversely he is willing to accept what appear to be the conclusions of biology from the belief that science

proceeds warily and step by step from the known to the unknown. The distrust as well as the belief proceeds from an unconscious recognition of the truth that "we must learn first not what we are most eager to learn, but what fits on best to what we know already." But however science may proceed, quite certainly the uncritical acceptance of analogies drawn from other subjects is not recognized as scientific method. Every science makes its own hypotheses, in its own terminology, on the basis of its own material. So while in fear of over much philosophizing the historian has unconsciously taken refuge in general ideas which have established for themselves a popular currency, and through want of a reasonable independence has neglected the scientific approaches to his own subject.

Here it is necessary to make a distinction between the term "evolution" as a popular catchword and the term "organic evolution" as signifying the derivation of all life by gradual modification from some rudimentary form. If the first of these is to be used otherwise than in its biological association such use must first be warranted by an independent generalization, which still remains to be defined and substantiated. On the other hand the biological term can be employed only in explanation of man's origin. For beyond the idea that man has emerged as a result of organic evolution biology has no generalizations to contribute for the elucidation of human history. Theories of environment, heredity, selection, struggle for existence, survival, and variation, all have their place in biological literature, but they may not be taken thence, even for purposes of analogy, until biologists have arrived at a decision as to their validity and application.

Biology is not yet in a position to aid in the solution of historical problems. It does not follow, however, that historians should be oblivious of the means by which the success of biology has been attained. The disposition to accept the working hypotheses of the latter science before they have been fully tested in the light of the facts to which they are specifically related, might lead to desirable results if it but opened the way for the recognition of a similarly productive method in history. In order to arrive at such a method it is necessary first of all to discard the biologically modified words "evolution" and "development", and then to approach history as an independent science capable of mastering its own problems. Furthermore, if history is to make advances it must admit that every conquest of new scientific territory is achieved by virtue of a preliminary hypothesis.

When Darwin began his biological investigations he was confronted by two opposing theories as to the origin of species. One

was relatively modern and derived from the Bible, the other ancient and an inheritance from the Greeks. Before he could proceed further it was necessary for Darwin to decide between the theories of Special Creation and Evolution. Whether right or wrong his choice gave him a tentative standpoint from which the various species appeared in a certain order or relation. The importance of Darwin's choice was derived from the necessity it laid upon him of explaining how species had come into existence by Evolution. Obviously this problem could not arise so long as the facts were observed from the standpoint of the dogma of Special Creation.

Now the modern historian is in a very different position from that in which Darwin found himself, inasmuch as he is not called upon to decide between two inherited explanations. He is in difficulties because he cannot fall back upon the Greeks for inspiration. He is confronted, without alternative, by the Hebraic theory that history is the record of God's dealings with man, and in endeavoring to escape from this teleological interpretation he has either lost himself in philosophical discussion or adopted with Ranke an attitude of nescience.

From any point of view that is possible to-day history is the record of a sequence of changes, and whatever the spirit in which investigation is undertaken the desire behind it is to arrive at an understanding of these transformations. So it has been stated recently by one authority that the object of history is to discover "what are the forces which determine human events and according to what laws do they act", and by another, what are "the laws that bring about the changes we call Progress and Decay, and Development and Degeneraey". Sign-posts such as these are obstacles in the way, they have an air of precision without the reality, they seek to indicate the kind of knowledge historians are most eager to acquire, but do not indicate the means by which it is to be gained. The secret of these laws is not to be caught suddenly either by the employment of the undefined expressions of popular optimism, or the formulation of the immanent idea which is being unfolded in history.

It remains then for the historian, of his own volition, to reach a standpoint such as Darwin found awaiting him in Evolution. This standpoint is not to be secured by defining in advance what it would best suit the historian to know, or by elaborating a philosophical theory of the whence and whither of man. Philosophy will ultimately find use for the results of history; but history requires the aid of philosophy to no greater an extent than does biology. The latter in making the circumstance subserve the substance succeeded

almost at once in clearing itself of philosophical implications—history has not yet been equally fortunate.

The standpoint desired can be reached only from some position already known and defined. While history deals with man's activities from the time he became sufficiently self-conscious to leave memorials of himself recorded in words, nevertheless the biological theory of descent is a presupposition lying behind both history and ethnology. This fact is as important to modern views as the story of Creation to the Hebraic interpretation. But whereas in the latter man emerged from the Garden of Eden to fulfill an expressed destiny, the theory of descent has room for no predictions as to his future course. It can only say that while man is kin to the beasts that perish he differs from them in having attained the status of rational thought. This knowledge is all that may safely be taken over from biology, but it indicates the direction in which the standpoint required for history may be found.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the path so indicated must lead inevitably to the view that "history is nothing but applied psychology." The recent investigation of social-psychology has earned commendation for having called attention to a factor which heretofore has not deliberately been taken into account by historians. Similarly a plea might be made for requiring a knowledge of psychology on the part of biographers; it is evident that such knowledge might be of assistance to the investigator seeking an explanation of the conduct of the individual under discussion, but it is equally evident that even an epileptic might act upon occasion without a paroxysm. If the social-psychological processes of every nation should prove to be identical this knowledge would prove valuable to historians. Social-psychology might then be given a place in the preliminary equipment required of the student, in the same category with palaeography, diplomatics, and the knowledge of languages—but no more than these to be intruded upon the attention of the reader. The proper affiliation of this new science, however, is with psychology, not with history.

The possession of life involves conflict. In this conflict thought has given man so great an advantage that he has been able to free himself from the universal competition with the other species, and has been able in a limited degree to exert control over the exterior conditions of the world in which he lives. The process by which man has utilized his endowment has been the same at all times, for with the first effort of thought there was inaugurated a series of experiments that has not since been interrupted. Confronted by the unknown the only method open to him has been to subject the im-

mediate problem to successive trial solutions. The history of any science is the record of the trial solutions which have been applied to a given series of problems.

The conflict within the species, that is, between men, individually and collectively, has been even more radically modified by the introduction of thought. It has given him superiority over the other animals, but it has at the same time vastly complicated human relationships. It has mitigated the strife direct, but has substituted an unending complexity of words, formulae, and courts. The character of the problem, however, has not affected the manner of dealing with it; so the difficulties arising from the association of men together have also been met with successive experiments. The problems of society, as of chemistry, have been subjected from the first to repeated trial solutions, and in the one case, as in the other the results obtained have not always been either satisfactory or conclusive. There is this difference, however, between the two: the chemical experiment may be set aside at the will of the investigator, but the trial solutions of society are continuous. And while the latter are even more tentative and uncertain than the former, yet they have at each moment the same influence on men's lives as though they were permanent. The trial solutions of the problems arising from the association of rational beings take the form of adjustments, which have a certain finality when considered from the point of view of the individual, but regarded historically are essentially impermanent and provisional.

The standpoint required is thus made evident. The history of any science consists of the record of the successive trial solutions which have been applied to its problems; the history of the relationships of men consists of the record of the adjustments which have been attempted. What is to be seen, in the first record preserved in words as in the latest act of Parliament or copy of a newspaper, is adjustment endeavoring to reach a solution of the difficulties created by the association of men together under conditions of thought. Accepting man as a rational animal, that is at the point where biology leaves him, the facts of ethnology and history follow inevitably from his efforts to secure an adjustment of his relationships within the species. This working hypothesis eliminates philosophical teleologies so far as history is concerned; it furnishes a definite theory of causation for the facts of civilization; it involves no presuppositions that are not verifiable by the processes of science.

The psychological basis of the theory of adjustment lies in the fact that thought follows stimulus, that the mind of man has been

made by the difficulties he has encountered. Each problem stirs men to thought and provokes ideas which lead to proposals for the modification of the established order. The acceptance or rejection of these proposals as operative factors in society is a process that may be marked by the unopposed passage of a bill or by a century of conflict. Every new effort in adjustment must necessarily be a compromise between the new ideas and the old order, and however satisfactory this may be for the time the original problem remains to be dealt with, under conditions that grow more complex with each postponement. Utopias are an expression of the desire to achieve a new adjustment by throwing off the encumbrances of the past. In actual existence such immediate revolutions are impossible; historically the inauguration and working out of a distinct type of adjustment is visible in the life of every nation.

The impetus given to biological research by Darwin was derived not from the general theory of descent but from the necessity it created of explaining the factors of organic evolution. So the working value of the theory of adjustment is to be determined by the questions to which it gives rise.

In history civilization is the product of adjustment, as in biology new species are the product of organic evolution; the latter gives rise to new entities, the former to an increasing complexity of activities in an existing species. Judged by the consequences, therefore, the factors of the one cannot provide an adequate explanation of the other. It is not strange, however, that the biological analogy has been enlisted to explain the activities of man, for with but the exception of a single factor his life parallels that of other animals. This may at first sight suggest analogy, but of necessity it leads to the further consideration that the factors common to both man and animals cannot have been the productive agency of civilization. It does not follow by any means that the physical elements of life are to be disregarded, they are the earth in which the tree is rooted. In other words the factors that influence or control the lives of animals are also effective in the life of man, but they do not account for civilization. They are in fact the conditions under which men act, being the conditions of life itself. First of these is the overshadowing fact of the insecurity of life, the instability and insecurity of strength and health; then there is the primal necessity of food and the condition imposed by climate or geographical situation. Other species are equally subject to the same conditions yet they have not produced civilization. From these conditions man, civilized or savage, emperor or maroon, cannot escape; they are the limits within which the game must be played; they are the presuppositions of history.

So the food supply of an army is a condition of its existence, just as the character of the country over which it operates is a condition of its movements.

Between the conditions of life, to which man is subject, and the factors of adjustment there is an evident distinction. The former are permanent while the latter are variable. There is continuity but not evolution in the enduring character of the conditions; there is continuity in the problem but not in the irregular series of experiments that constitute adjustments. At every step in working out an adjustment there have been choices and compromises; the belief in "progress" requires, therefore, the assumption that in the long series of choices it has made the race has been guided by a definite purpose; or, that there is some means of proving that a given nation or people at a given moment has been or is upon the narrow way. Manifestly such views are unscientific and inadmissible. There can be no question of right or wrong, progress or decay, in history; problems have arisen, choices have been made, adjustments have been tried, these, their antecedents and consequents are history. All that can be known historically is that the present status is a result of the adjustments attempted in the past.

The elementary basis of any adjustment between men must be either persuasion or constraint. These two processes have made history, although in societies they are not found in their simple forms. What have been called here the factors of adjustment are the manifestations through which persuasion and constraint have become operative. Thus persuasion takes the form of activities leading to harmony of ideas, and seeks to create a bond of common understanding and belief; while constraint sets up authority and endeavors to secure conformity to its prescriptions.

One of the most notable facts of history is that these activities, which in modern times have become strikingly diverse in appearance, were formerly concentrated under the head of religion. Little by little the universal jurisdiction of the priest has been challenged. As a consequence the function of inducing harmony of emotion by subjecting a community to the influence of the same religious rites has been supplemented by the secular influences of art, music, and literature. The function of securing harmony of ideas by providing an explanation of the origin and purpose of man's life has been supplemented by the secular interpretations of philosophy and science. However seemingly remote from their original manifestation these may now appear, in their service to mankind they remain the same, they are the persuasive factors in the relationships of men.

In varying degrees religion has also endeavored to prevail upon men by the exercise of authority, but, in modern times, constraint in its direct application has become the province of political government. Yet the divorce can hardly be accepted as complete while kings remain heads of national churches, and priests sit as lords spiritual in legislative chambers. It would doubtless be considered an evidence of progress if it could be shown that there had been a consistent replacing of the methods of constraint by those of persuasion. With the elaboration of the latter there has, however, been no relaxation of the former. Constraint as the aggressive factor of adjustment still occupies the more prominent place in history and in men's lives. It has enforced levitical observances and the ordinances of municipalities; it has endeavored to regulate men's conduct on the basis of codes deriving their sanction from a steadily descending series of authorities; it has enlisted the support of every power that could be recruited by the imagination, from the thunderbolts of Jove to the baton of the village constable.

History has in the past regarded events from the standpoint of authority. This limitation is at the root of many of the difficulties by which historians find themselves confronted. It has led to an undue emphasis upon "events" and happenings that are of interest because of their unusual and extraordinary character. The historian, preoccupied in recording the vicissitudes of authorities, has not yet grasped the significance of the processes of which these circumstances are a fragmentary manifestation.

Adjustments however originated put some men in authority over others, and those in power have always endeavored to maintain their position. The motion for new adjustments has proceeded from that part of the community which has been most conscious of some phase of unequal incidence of social burdens, or of an unequal restriction of social opportunity. So far as knowledge admits of saying modern society has achieved no nearer approximation to a solution of the problem than older civilizations; it has learned nevertheless to admit experiment with less hesitation, and gives evidence of recognizing the fact that social unrest is not so much the product of treasonable conspiracy as of an imperfect social adjustment.

History then is the record of man's efforts to secure an adjustment of human relationships. Probably every adjustment attempted so far has been looked upon as a real solution, yet every adjustment when put into operation has but revealed new complexities. Every nation stands historically for a distinct effort to solve the problem.

We are not better than our fathers were but have a greater responsibility. There is no mysterious evolution working for the perfection of the race despite its heedlessness, but it is only by understanding the past that the significance of our own efforts will appear.

FREDERICK J. TEGGART.

THE POLITICAL POLICIES OF CNUT AS KING OF ENGLAND

On Saint George's day, April 23, 1016, died Ethelred II. Seven months later he was followed to the grave by his warlike son. Edmund Ironside is counted among the English kings, but with doubtful right. In Anglo-Saxon times the monarchy was elective, though a constitutional custom seems to have limited the choice to the most capable member of the royal family. But in this case no real election was ever held. The group of magnates who joined with the citizens of London in proclaiming Edmund represented a faction only.[1] During these same days, perhaps even earlier, another assembly of great respectability containing, as it did, the great lords of the Church met at some point unknown, and, after choosing Cnut as the king of England, repaired to his camp at Southampton to give their pledges of loyalty.[2] It seems, however, that neither of these elections could have any claim to legality: between the death of Ethelred in April and the accession of Cnut at the following Christmas *gemot,* England had no constitutional ruler. For a few days after the agreement at Olney, Edmund, it is true, was a recognized king, but over a part of the kingdom only. In Northumbria and Mercia Cnut was the ruler, possessing no doubt the complete sovereignty.[3] East Anglia and Wessex alone remained to the old dynasty.

To say that the English throne became vacant on the death of Edmund is therefore scarcely correct: East Anglia and Wessex

[1] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (London, 1861; Rolls Series, no. 23), A. D. 1016.

[2] Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle* (London, 1848; Thorpe's edition), I. 173. On the double election, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest* (New York, 1873), vol. I., app., note TT. Freeman gives undue importance to a supposed coronation of Edmund. A coronation could hardly remove a defect in the elective title.

[3] Lappenberg and Freeman hold that Cnut, by the agreement at Olney, became the vassal of King Edmund. See Lappenberg, *History of England under the Anglo-Saxon Kings* (London, 1845), II. 192; Freeman, *Norman Conquest,* I. 266. The view is supported by a statement in Wendover's version of Florence of Worcester's *Chronicle*: "corona tamen regni Eadmundo remansit." See Florence of Worcester, I. 178. But Wendover wrote more than a century and a half after the event. Even if a vassal relation had been entered into, it could, in this case, have but little significance, as Edmund was the weaker of the two. The compact of Olney was not, as Freeman would have it, an assertion of Saxon powers, but, as Ramsay has pointed out, "a mere capitulation, thinly veiled". Ramsay, *Foundations of England* (London, 1898), I. 389.

alone were in need of a ruler. In the former region there was a strong Scandinavian element that doubtless could be depended on to declare for Cnut. The only doubtful element in the situation was the attitude of the nobility south of the Thames. But Wessex had suffered invasion and pillage for more than a generation; the old spirit of independence was apparently crushed; no leader of ability came forward to urge the claims of the native ethelings. And across the Thames were the camps of the dreaded host which had come over the sea with Thurkil and Cnut; the Danish fleet still sailed the British seas. Resistance was out of the question; the magnates meekly accepted Cnut's invitation to assemble at his capital city and, at the Christmas *gemot* at London, the Danish claimant received universal recognition as king of all England.[4]

The task that Cnut undertook in the early months of 1017 was one of peculiar difficulty. It must be remembered that his only right was that of the sword; also that at this time England was his only kingdom,[5] as Denmark was governed by his older brother Harold.[6] As a landless prince Cnut had invaded England, had wrested large areas from the native line of kings, and now possessed the entire kingdom. Something of a like nature occurred in 1066; but the differences are also notable. William was the lord of a vigorous duchy across the Channel, in which he had a storehouse of energy that was always at his disposal. Cnut had no such advantages: before he seized the Danelaw, he seems to have had no territorial possessions whatever; not till 1019 did he unite the crowns of England and Denmark.

Historians generally appear to believe that in governing his English kingdom Cnut pursued a conscious and well-defined line of action, a system of policies originating early in his reign. He is credited with the purpose of making England the central kingdom of an Anglo-Scandinavian empire,[7] of governing the kingdom with

[4] Florence of Worcester, I. 179. With the exception of Florence, the authorities all hold that London was a part of Cnut's Mercian dominion; there can be but small doubt that his headquarters were there. See Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 389. Freeman follows Florence, *Norman Conquest*, I. 266.

[5] Since the year 1000 the Danish kings had also held the overlordship of the greater part of Norway; it seems probable that Cnut's brother Harold, while refusing to yield any part of Denmark, may have surrendered his Norwegian rights to Cnut; at any rate, the Norse ruler Eric was summoned to assist in the conquest of England. But Eric had scarcely left the earldom before it was seized by a member of the native dynasty.

[6] Langebek, *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum* (Copenhagen, 1777–1878), II. 479, "Encomium Emmae". The encomiast is probably in error when he speaks of Cnut as the older of the two; Danish custom would not have given the throne to a younger son.

[7] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I. 284.

the aid of Englishmen in preference to that of his own countrymen,[8] of aiming to rule England as a king of Saxon type. It is true that before the close of his reign Cnut made large use of native chiefs in the administration of the kingdom, but such was not the case in the earlier years, and at no time did the other kingdoms regard themselves as standing in a vassal relation to the English state. Cnut's English policy was not continuous: it changed, and changed radically, as the course of events at home or in the North created new situations or emphasized particular tasks. The evidence is fragmentary and often difficult to interpret; but, such as it is, it seems to indicate three successive policies, each characterizing some particular period in the reign. These periods may be roughly delimited in the following manner: the years from Cnut's accession in 1016 (or 1017) to his return from Denmark as Danish king in 1020; the period from 1021 to the Norse war in 1026; the closing years of the reign, 1027–1035.

I.

Cnut was the son of Sweyn the Viking and in many respects his character bore resemblance to that of his terrible father; especially does he seem to have inherited the elder monarch's remarkable shrewdness and love for diplomatic methods, but he was less violent and bloodthirsty. Unlike Sweyn, he was anything but a typical viking; the lesser excitements of court life appealed to him more than the wild life of the sea-king. These differences may, to some extent, have been due to a strong strain of Slavic blood, for racially Cnut was Danish only in part. His mother was a Slavic princess[9]—Gunhild was her Danish name—the sister of Boleslav Chrobri,[10] the great Polish duke who later assumed the royal title. It is probable that his paternal grandmother too was of Slavic blood: we know from a runic inscription that Sweyn's father, Harold Bluetooth, at one time had a Slavic queen.[11] It is usually thought that at the time of his accession he was twenty-one or twenty-two years old. Younger he could scarcely have been, as his stepmother Sigrid began her career at the Danish court about 997; but there is no reason why

[8] Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 406.

[9] English historians have assumed that Cnut's mother was the Swedish queen dowager, Sigrid the Haughty, whom Sweyn married about 997; at least they uniformly speak of Sigrid's son Olaf as Cnut's half-brother. Lappenberg, *History of England*, II. 198; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I. 277; Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 393.

[10] *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. (Copenhagen, 1897–1904, Johannes Steenstrup), p. 371.

[11] *Ibid.*, I. 360.

he may not have been several years older.[12] But whatever his age, he was young in years and younger still in training for government. So far as we know his first experience as a ruler came in the autumn of 1016. His training was that of a viking, a training that promised little for the future.

It seems therefore a safe assumption that in the adoption of policies the king's decision would be influenced to a large degree by the advice of trusted counsellors. In the first year of the reign there stood about the king three prominent leaders, three military chiefs to whom in a great measure he owed his crown. One of these, Eadric the Mercian, for obvious reasons never enjoyed the royal confidence. Closer to the king stood Earl Eric, for fifteen years the viceroy of western Norway and now the Earl of Northumbria. Eric was Cnut's brother-in-law and a man of a nobler character than was usual among men of the viking type, but he knew little of English affairs and for this reason perhaps the king gave his confidence to the stately viking, Thurkil the Tall. For a ten years' stay in England as viking invader and chief of Ethelred's mercenary forces had surely given Thurkil a wide acquaintance among the English magnates and considerable insight into English affairs.[13]

But whatever the reason for the king's choice, we seem to have sufficient evidence to conclude that for some years Thurkil held a position second only to that of the king. Wherever his name appears among the earls who witness royal grants, it holds first place.[14] In Cnut's proclamation of 1020, he seems to act on the king's behalf in the general administration of justice:

> Should any one prove so rash, clerk or layman, Dane or Angle, as to violate God's law or the rights of my kingship or any secular statute, and refuse to do penance according to the instruction of my bishops, or to desist from his evil, then I request Thurkil the earl, yea, even command him, to bring the offender to justice, if he is able to do so.[15]

In case the earl is unable to manage the matter alone, Cnut promises to assist. There is something in this procedure which reminds one of the later Norman official, the justiciar. That Thurkil's dignity is not a new creation is evident from the preamble, in which Cnut sends "greetings to his archbishops and bishops and Thurkil earl

[12] Steenstrup places his age at about 22. *Normannerne* (Copenhagen, 1876–1882), II. 298; *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 385.

[13] For an account of Thurkil's earlier career in England, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., app., note NN.

[14] See Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus* (London, 1839–1848), nos. 728, 739, and 731; also nos. 727 and 729; but these are of doubtful genuineness.

[15] Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Halle, 1903), I. 274.

and all his earls and all his subjects".[16] The language of the preamble also suggests that Thurkil may have acted as the king's deputy during Cnut's absence in Denmark. It is to be noted that of all the magnates Thurkil alone is mentioned by name. The dedication of the church at Assandun later in the year affords the sources another opportunity to give Thurkil prominent mention; in this instance general reference is made to a number of important officials, but Earl Thurkil and Archbishop Wulfstan alone are mentioned by name.[17]

As the years passed, Cnut developed into a remarkable ruler; but in this early period of apprenticeship there is little evidence of any zeal for good government or any anxiety about reconciling the two hostile races. The problem that Cnut and Thurkil had to solve was how to establish the new throne among an unfriendly people, for the Saxons cannot have regarded the Danish usurper with much affection. It is generally believed that Cnut took up his residence in the old city of Winchester, though we do not know at what time this came to be his recognized capital. It may be true, as is so often asserted, that he made England his home from personal choice, but it may also be true that he believed his presence necessary to hold Wessex in subjection. It is a significant fact that during the first decade of his reign he was absent from England twice only, so far as we know, and then during the winter months when chances of an uprising were most remote.[18]

The first recorded act of the new sovereign was the division of the kingdom into four great earldoms. Much has been made of this act in the past: the importance of the measure has been overrated; the purpose of the king has been misunderstood. Lappenberg views it as a step in the direction of reform.[19] Freeman sees it as an effort to restore the constitution of the tenth century.[20] Steenstrup, on the other hand, regards it as an important innovation.[21] To Hodgkin it reveals a king who was "wisely distrustful of his own ability to direct personally the details of government throughout the whole kingdom".[22] It seems to the writer, however, that what

[16] Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 273.

[17] *Chronicle* (D), A. D. 1020: "On þisan geare for se cyng and Þurcyl eorl to Assandune and Wulfstan arceb. and oðre biscopas and eac abbodas and manega munecas and gehalgodan þæt mynster æt Assandune."

[18] The first recorded absence was during the winter of 1019 and 1020; Cnut returned in time for the Easter festivities. See *Chronicle*, A. D. 1020; Florence of Worcester, I. 182. The *Chronicle* tells us of another return from Denmark in 1023; as this return was earlier than the translation of Saint Alphege in June, the absence must have been during the winter months.

[19] *History of England*, II. 197.

[20] *Norman Conquest*, I. 273.

[21] *Normannerne*, III. 291–292.

[22] Hunt and Poole, *Political History of England*, I. (London, 1906), p. 401.

Cnut did at this time was merely to recognize the *status quo*. Eric was already Earl of Northumbria, having succeeded Uhtred a few months before.[23] Eadric had long been a power in Mercia;[24] an attempt to dislodge him at this time would have been more than impolitic. If any action was taken in 1017 with respect to these earls and their earldoms, it must have been confirmatory only. Provision had to be made, of course, for Thurkil; and as the Earl of East Anglia had fallen in the closing battle of the war, it was convenient to fill the vacancy and honor the old viking at the same time.[25]

It seems never to have been Cnut's purpose to keep England permanently divided into four great jurisdictions; what evidence we have points to a wholly different policy. In 1018 we find as many as six earls or *duces* mentioned in the charters.[26] A document from the period of 1020–1023 contains the signatures of seven.[27] During the first decade of Cnut's reign, fifteen earls appear in his charters as witnesses or otherwise.[28] Three of these may, however, have

[23] *Chronicle*, A. D. 1016.

[24] Eadric first appears as ealdorman in Mercia in 1007. See the *Chronicle* for that year.

[25] East Anglia as part of the old Danelaw must have had a strong Scandinavian element in its population to whom the appointment of such a famous chief as Thurkil must have been gratifying. The name of his predecessor, Ulfkytel, would indicate that he too was of Northern origin.

[26] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, nos. 728, 730. [27] *Ibid.*, no. 735.

[28] The following table is compiled from Kemble's collection of charters (*Codex Diplomaticus*). An effort has been made to sift the evidence and all documents which do not seem to bear genuine subscriptions have been excluded. Of the charters rejected, nos. 729, 742, 744, and 1327 yield additional information; but all are open to suspicion, and one, no. 742, the charter of Healdegen Scearpa, is clearly a forgery.

Year.	1018	1019	1013–20	1020	1022	1022	1020–23	1021–23	1023	1023	1023	1021–24	1024	1026	[1017–26]	[1017–35]	1032	1033	1033	1033	1033	1033	1035	1035	?
Thurkil	×	×	×									*													
Eric	×	×		×		×	×	×	×		×	×													
Eglaf (Eilif)	×	×			×	×	×	×	×		×	×	×												
Hrani (Ranig)	×										×			×		×									
Ethelwerd	×																								
Godwin	×			×		×	×	×	×		×	×	×	×			×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Ethelred	×																								
Hakon	×						×				×	×	×	×	×										
Leofwine							×	×		×		×													
Godric							×					×													
Ulf							×					×													
Thrym								×																	
Siræd										×															
Wrytsleof														×											
Sigtryg (Sihtric)														×											
Leofric																	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×	×
Siward																		×							
Elfwine																									
No. in K. C. D.	728	730	731	1316	1317	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	743	757	755	746	749	750	751	752	1319	753	1322	1324

* Huc, probably a scribal error for Iric or Yric.

been visiting magnates from elsewhere in Cnut's dominions.[29] Another, Thrym, may not have been an earl, as in another copy of the document which he signs as such he appears as plain *minister*.[30] There remain then the names of eleven magnates who seem to have enjoyed the earl's dignity during these years. Of these eleven names, seven are Scandinavian and four are Anglo-Saxon;[31] but of the latter only one appears with any decided permanence.

Thurkil, as we have already seen, was ruler of East Anglia and next to the king in authority. According to the sagas he was Cnut's foster-father.[32] The evidence is not of the best, but the statement is not improbable: when Sigrid the Haughty became queen of Denmark, it is likely that the infant son of her banished rival was removed from the royal surroundings. Thurkil ruled as earl from 1017 to 1021. After Cnut's return from Denmark in 1020, some misunderstanding seems to have arisen between him and the old war chief,[33] for toward the close of the next year he was exiled. A reconciliation was effected a year later, but for some reason the king preferred to leave him as his lieutenant in Denmark, and he was not restored to his English dignities.[34]

Eric seems to have taken Thurkil's place as first among the earls,[35] ranking as such till his death in 1023. Eric was a Norseman but he was closely connected with Danish royalty: he had married Cnut's sister Gytha and, if the sagas are reliable, he was Queen Emma's third cousin, both tracing their ancestry to Rolf, the founder of Normandy. As a ruler of the semi-Norwegian earldom of Northumbria, Eric occupied an important position in the state, but he was advanced in years, his capital was distant from that of

[29] Siræd, Wrytsleof, and Sigtryg (see table). Sigtryg is clearly a Scandinavian name, but I am not so sure about Siræd. As has been pointed out by Steenstrup, Wrytsleof is probably the English form of the Slavic name Vratislav. Steenstrup, *Venderne og de Danske* (Copenhagen, 1900), p. 7.

[30] Napier and Stevenson, *Crawford Collection of Charters* (Oxford, 1895), p. 29.

[31] Ethelwerd, Godwin, Ethelred, and Godric. See table.

[32] *Flateyarbok* (Christiania, 1859–1868), I. 203.

[33] As to the cause of the trouble we are not informed. Steenstrup believes that Thurkil was distasteful to the native element and that he may have opposed Cnut's new policy of giving the Saxons a larger share in the government. *Normannerne,* III. 316–317. But there is little evidence that Cnut had taken any decided stand on this point as early as 1021; and I am inclined to accept Freeman's suggestion that Cnut removed him because he feared his growing influence, especially after his marriage to Ethelred's daughter. *Norman Conquest,* I. 287.

[34] *Chronicle,* A. D. 1021, 1023.

[35] He soon shares with Godwin the distinction of signing charters as first among the earls. See Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus,* nos. 734, 735, 736, 737, 1316.

the king, and he could consequently not fill the place that Thurkil had occupied as Cnut's chief adviser.[36]

Eglaf's name appears in a number of documents dating from 1019 to 1024. He was one of the leaders of the fleet and host that came to England in 1009.[37] Later he seems to have entered Ethelred's service.[38] During the closing years of the conflict, he was doubtless fighting for Cnut; he was therefore one of the chiefs whom the king found it necessary to reward with an earldom. We have no definite information as to what region he administered, but there are indications that the southern part of the Welsh frontier was committed to his keeping.[39]

Hrani's name appears in only four documents but at least as late as 1026. His earldom, as we definitely know, was the old region of the Magasaetas, the modern shire of Hereford.[40]

Ethelwerd is the first earl with an English name whom we meet in any of Cnut's charters. In a document apparently from 1018, relating to Devonshire lands,[41] he testifies along with Cnut and a number of churchmen, including the monks at Exeter and Crediton. He seems to have been placed in charge of the southwestern counties in 1016, and was permitted to enjoy the dignity until 1020, when he was sent into exile.[42] A *dux* Ethelred signs a grant in 1019 and disappears. As the document involved lands in Dorsetshire, which probably made part of Ethelwerd's province, it is likely that we have here only a scribal error for Ethelwerd.[43]

Godwin is the first English earl of importance to appear among Cnut's magnates. From 1019 to the close of the reign his signature appears in almost every document and invariably with the title of *eorl, comes,* or *dux*. The fact that Godwin found it so easy to be present whenever any grant was to be witnessed would indicate

[36] For a good brief sketch of Eric's career, see Napier and Stevenson, *Crawford Collection of Charters,* pp. 142–148.

[37] Florence of Worcester, I. 161.

[38] See *Crawford Collection of Charters,* pp. 140–141.

[39] In a document from 1022, Aglaf *comes* appears as a witness; also, among others, "tota ciuitas Gloucestriae". Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus,* no. 1317. Eglaf is the only important non-churchman among the witnesses. Welsh annals for this same year (1022) tell us that Eilaf ravaged Demetia (southern Wales). *Annales Cambriae* (London, 1860; Rolls Series, no. 20).

[40] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus,* no. 755. A Hrani is spoken of in the sagas as the intimate friend and companion of Saint Olaf on his viking expeditions, but identification is not possible. Snorre, *Saga of Saint Olaf,* c. 27 (*Kongesagaer,* Christiania, 1900, ed. Storm).

[41] *Crawford Collection of Charters,* p. 9. Not in Kemble's *Codex.*

[42] *Ibid.,* p. 79; *Chronicle,* A. D. 1020. His title is usually given as ealdorman.

[43] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus,* no. 730. Ethelwerd's signature does not appear in the document, though he was still apparently holding the ealdormanship.

that he could not have been located far away from the royal court; perhaps he was closely attached to it. Freeman argues that he could not have had more than a shire in his control at first, since Cnut had reserved the earldom of Wessex for himself.[44] But we do not know how long that arrangement was permitted to last; as we have seen, it seems to have been merely a temporary expedient. Nor do we know how Cnut interpreted the reservation. It is evident that Ethelwerd's authority in the Devon country was not disturbed by the arrangement of 1017. The sources, however, give but meagre information: all that we are permitted to conclude is that Wessex, perhaps a part only at first, seems to have been Godwin's earldom from the very beginning.

Hakon signs regularly from 1019 to 1026. He was Eric's son and consequently Cnut's own nephew. When his father joined Cnut in his expedition against Ethelred, the Norse earldom was committed to Hakon's keeping. But soon the standard of revolt was raised by the young viking whom history knows as Saint Olaf, and Hakon was driven from the country.[45] Hakon at once repaired to England where he was well received by his uncle who gave him the region about Worcester to rule over.[46] In 1026 hostilities broke out between Denmark and Norway; the result was the final expulsion of King Olaf and the restoration of Hakon to his old viceroyalty.[47] A few years later he perished in shipwreck.[48]

Of the three remaining magnates, Leofwine, Godric, and Ulf, little can be said at this point. Freeman's conjecture that Leofwine succeeded Eadric as the chief ruler in Mercia is probably correct.[49] Godric is no doubt the ealdorman Godric whose signature is found in several documents from the closing years of the previous reign. Ulf played but a small part in English history, but as the husband of Cnut's sister Estrith he was doubtless a man of importance even in England. There is nothing to indicate what regions were controlled either by Godric or Ulf.

These were the men with whom Cnut shared his authority during the first ten years of his reign. For the five years following, charter evidence is wholly wanting; those were the years of the wars with

[44] *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., app., note AAA.

[45] For an account of this uprising, see Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, cc. 30, 31.

[46] *Ibid.*, c. 31; Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 757. This document appears to be a later Latin translation of a genuine Anglo-Saxon writ. Whether Hakon succeeded to the earldom of Northumbria after the death of Eric is a question that cannot be answered. *Cf.* Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 400.

[47] Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, cc. 168–171.

[48] *Ibid.*, c. 184; *Chronicle*, A. D. 1030.

[49] *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., app., note CCC.

Norway and Sweden, of the pilgrimage to Rome, and of the trouble with Scotland. These affairs necessitated frequent and protracted absences, and, as a consequence, grants were few. But when documents reappear in 1032 we note an interesting situation: of all the earls of the previous period only one remains, the Saxon Godwin. And parallel to his influence seems to run that of the Mercian Leofric, the son of Leofwine. We get a glimpse of Siward the Strong and find mention of an obscure Elfwine; but the significant matter is the absence of the old guard and the prominence of the two native lords whose rivalries grew to such importance in the reign of Edward the Confessor.

Unsatisfactory as the evidence for the earlier decade is, it is not without significance. Even if it does not allow any definite or extensive generalizing, we are at least permitted to draw a few suggestive inferences. I shall attempt to make a brief statement of these.

(1) Cnut apparently retained the old office of the ealdormanship, but not in its ancient form. The men who were chosen to fill this office had (some of them at least) filled analogous offices in the North, and, naturally, there would be a tendency to assimilate the functions of the new office to those exercised earlier. The official title was gradually coming to be earl instead of ealdorman; but the Scandinavian *jarl* was more like a viceroy than a mere local administrative officer.[50] It seems likely therefore that the local lords came to exercise greater authority than earlier. The development of this tendency is clearly apparent in the following reigns.

(2) As a check perhaps on the local functionaries, Cnut seems to have employed an official somewhat like the Carolingian *missus*, a messenger sent to the shire moot to represent royalty. We have a solitary instance of such a mission in a document reciting certain transactions at a shire court in Hereford. Incidentally it is stated that "Tofig the Proud came there on the king's errand."[51] It is worth noting that the messenger is a Dane of evident importance at court, as his name frequently appears among the *ministri* witnessing charters.[52] From the same reign we have also the earliest instance of the Old English writ by which information or mandates

[50] See Steenstrup, *Danelag* (*Normannerne*, IV.), p. 110. In the eleventh century the *jarl* had become an official of such extensive authority that the kings in the North were reluctant to grant the title.

[51] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 755. I know of no earlier reference to such a mission.

[52] For further information on this interesting Dane, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., app., note XXX.

were sent directly to the local authorities.[53] We are probably not justified in concluding that we have positive innovations in both these instances; but as the kings in the North were in the habit of dealing frequently and directly with the local assemblies, it seems likely after all that we have here Northern customs continued in England.[54]

(3) The most important places in the local government were given to Danes and Norsemen. So far as we know only two of Ethelred's ealdormen, Ethelwerd and Godric, were retained in their offices, but of these the former soon suffered exile, while Godric seems to have played but a small part in the councils of Cnut. Two appointments from the native population were made, those of Godwin and Leofwine. In the case of Godwin, it is to be observed that he was not of the old aristocracy,[55] and that he was closely bound to the new dynasty by his marriage to Gytha,[56] the sister of Ulf. As to Leofwine's ancestry we are not informed, but one is tempted to suggest that the occurrence of the name "Northman" in a family living in or near the old Danelaw may indicate Norse ancestry.[57]

(4) The more prominent of Cnut's earls were drawn from three illustrious families in the North, one Norwegian and two Danish; and the king was connected with at least two of these. Thurkil the Tall was the son of Harold, once earl (Snorre calls him king) of Scania, an important region at the southern extremity of modern Sweden.[58] We have already noted that he was Cnut's reputed foster-father. Eric and his son Hakon represented the lordly race of the Norse Earl Hakon who in his day was king of Norway in everything but name. Cnut's own sister was Eric's wife; his niece

[53] For a good example of the writ, see *Codex Diplomaticus,* no. 1325. The earliest extant is probably no. 731.

[54] Illustrations of such practice on the part of the king may be found everywhere in the sagas. Usually the king appears in person, though the staller as a rule presents the royal wishes. See for example, Snorre, *Olaf Tryggvesson's Saga,* cc. 55, 65, 68; *Saga of St. Olaf,* cc. 61, 113.

[55] On the problem of Godwin's ancestry, see Freeman, *Norman Conquest,* vol. I., app., note ZZ. *Cf.* Hodgkin's view in *Political History of England,* I. 403. Apparently the problem cannot be solved; but had Godwin belonged to the old aristocracy, we should have less difficulty in tracing his lineage.

[56] The prevalence of the name "Gytha" among the Danes in England is due in part to the popularity of the name, and in part to the fact that the name was also made to serve as a translation of the Anglo-Saxon "Eadgyth" (Edith).

[57] Leofwine had a son, Northman, who was executed in 1017 (see the *Chronicle* for that year). Freeman suggests that the Northman *dux* who signed a charter in 994 may have been Leofwine's father. *Norman Conquest,* vol. I., app., note CCC. Freeman of course does not believe that this Northman was anything but a Saxon.

[58] *Danmarks Riges Historie,* I. 341.

was given to the younger Hakon.[59] A great Danish chief, Thorgils Sprakalegg, had two sons who had earldoms in England, Ulf and Eglaf, a son-in-law, Godwin, and a few years later a nephew, Siward the Strong, the lord of Northumbria.[60] Another of Cnut's sisters was married to Ulf. It seems that Cnut at first had in mind to establish in England a new aristocracy of Scandinavian origin, bound to the throne by the noble ties of marriage. To this aristocracy the North contributed noble and vigorous blood.

(5) In establishing the earldoms, the old boundaries appear to have been respected. We find earls in all the Old English kingdoms, Northumbria, Mercia, East Anglia, and Wessex. On the Welsh border we seem to find three small earldoms, the regions of Gloucester, Worcester, and Hereford, though these are not necessarily new creations.

The same fear for the stability of his ill-gotten throne is to be seen in Cnut's relentless attitude toward the old dynasty. It is a story of exile and execution and reveals a determination to destroy utterly the house of Alfred.[61] Two of the ethelings were, however, beyond his reach: the sons of Ethelred and Emma were safe with their mother in Normandy. There was close friendship between the kings of the North and the lords of Rouen;[62] still, Duke Richard could not be expected to ignore the claims of his own kinsmen. So long as the princes remained in Normandy, there would always be danger of a Norman invasion combined with a Saxon revolt in the interest of the fugitive princes.

But Cnut was equal to the emergency: the ethelings could at least be rendered comparatively harmless. If Emma should be restored to her former position as English queen, her Norman relatives would not be likely to support an English uprising. This seems to have been the true motive for Cnut's seemingly unnatural marriage. Historians have seen in it a hope and an attempt to conciliate the English people, as in this way the new king would become identified with the former dynasty.[63] But such a conclusion does but scant justice to the moral sense of the English people. William of Malmesbury no doubt reflects the opinion of the eleventh century as

[59] Florence of Worcester, I. 184.

[60] On the matter of Siward's family I follow Steenstrup, whose conclusions seem reasonable. *Normannerne*, III. 437–440.

[61] For details, see Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 392–393, or any other history of the period.

[62] See Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, c. 20.

[63] See Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 394. Steenstrup holds to the same opinion. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 386. Freeman, however, thinks Cnut married from personal preference. *Norman Conquest*, I. 275.

well as of his own when he says that he knows not whom to condemn the more, those who gave or the woman who consented.[64] Furthermore, neither Ethelred nor Emma had ever enjoyed much popularity. There is no doubt that a princess of the blood royal could have been found for a consort, if the prime consideration had been to contract a popular marriage. To the writer it seems that Cnut in this case acted rather in defiance of English sentiment, and for the express purpose of averting a real danger from beyond the Channel. Emma seems to have taken kindly to Cnut's plans, for she is said to have stipulated that if sons were born to them, they should be preferred to Cnut's older children as heirs to the throne, thus by inference abandoning the rights of her sons in Normandy.[65]

A third problem was how to provide for the national defense. The old military system could obviously not be depended on, and the army of conquest could not be retained indefinitely. In 1018 we find that the Scandinavian host was paid off and dismissed. It has been conjectured that this was done out of consideration for the Saxon race; the presence of the conquerors was an insult to the English people.[66] It had evidently become necessary to disband the force, but perhaps for other reasons. A viking army was an army of conquest, rarely of occupation, except when the warriors were permitted to appropriate the land; but such was apparently not Cnut's intention. In a land of peace as England was now coming to be, the viking led an insipid life. To one who is acquainted with the saga narratives, the marvel is that such a force could have been held together so long as it was. But after the Danegeld had been collected, the army was dismissed to the evident satisfaction of all concerned.[67]

The dismissal of one host was quickly followed by the organization of another. Far more important than the departure of the fleet is the fact that the crews of forty ships remained in the royal service. These no doubt furnished the nucleus of Cnut's famous guard of house-carles. It is not the purpose to enter on a discussion of Cnut's military household; that has been done elsewhere; but attention should be called to the fact that the house-carles formed an army of occupation as well as a personal guard.[68] As the earls

[64] *Gesta Regum* (London, 1888; Rolls Series, no. 90), I. 218.

[65] *Scriptores Rerum Danicarum*, II. 490, "Encomium Emmae".

[66] *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 388.

[67] *Chronicle*, A. D. 1018.

[68] On this subject, see Steenstrup, *Danelag (Normannerne*, IV.), pp. 123 ff.; Larson, *King's Household in England before the Norman Conquest* (Madison, 1904), pp. 152 ff.

seem to have had similar though no doubt less elaborate household guards,[69] it would be possible in cases requiring prompt action to mobilize an effective force on short notice. When Cnut went abroad in 1019, the larger part of the guard was prudently left in England; only nine ships accompanied the king to Denmark.[70]

II.

The first four years of Cnut's government can have given but little promise of the beneficent rule that was to follow. To the conquered Saxon they must have been years of great sorrow. On the throne of Alfred sat an alien king who had done nothing as yet to merit the affectionate regard of his subjects. In the shire courts ruled the chiefs of the dreaded Danish hosts, chiefs who had probably harried those same shires at an earlier date. A heavy tax had been collected to pay the forces of the enemy, forces that still in part remained. The land was at peace, but the calm was the calm of exhaustion. The young king had shown vigor and decision, but his efforts had been directed toward dynastic security rather than the welfare of his subjects.

But with Cnut's return from Denmark in 1020 begins the second period of the history of the reign. It seems that after that date more intelligent efforts were made to reconcile the Saxon to foreign rule. For one thing, Cnut must have come to appreciate the wonderful power of the Church, for an attempt is made to enlist its forces on the side of the new monarchy.

This change in policy seems to have arisen mainly from the new situation created by Cnut's accession to the Danish throne.[71] His brother Harold died, it appears, in 1018, about the time when Cnut was reorganizing the military forces of England. Not till the next year did he venture across the North Sea. He remained in Denmark through the winter, but returned in time for a great meeting of the lords at Easter.[72] An indication of a departure from the older policies is found in a remarkable proclamation that was issued to the nation during that year.

This document bears no date, but Liebermann is no doubt correct in placing it some time in 1020.[73] It was clearly published some time after the meeting of the Easter *gemot*. This assembly was evidently called to deal with certain rebellious movements in the

[69] In the *Chronicle*, A. D. 1054, is a mention of Earl Siward's housecarles.

[70] *Ibid.*, A. D. 1019.

[71] The importance of this event was first brought out with due prominence by Dr. Steenstrup. See *Normannerne*, III. 308.

[72] *Chronicle*, A. D. 1019, 1020.

[73] Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 273.

southwest; it met at Cirencester in the Severn country, and its chief act seems to have been the banishment of Ethelwerd, earl of the southwestern shires.[74] The proclamation hints darkly at some such trouble: "Now did I not spare my treasures while unpeace was threatening to come upon you; now with the help of God I have warded this off by the use of my treasures."[75]

This proclamation was not known to Lappenberg and Freeman; it is ignored by Hodgkin, and misunderstood by Ramsay, whose translation of parts of it is strangely inaccurate.[76] Evidently the English trouble was not the only danger of the time; in Denmark too there was dissatisfaction, as we infer from the language of section v.:

> Then I was informed that there threatened us a danger greater than was well pleasing to us; and then I myself with the men who went with me departed for Denmark, whence came to you the greatest danger; and that I have with God's help forestalled, so that henceforth no unpeace shall come to you from that country, so long as you stand by me as the law commands, and guard my life.

The allusion is probably to some difficulty about the Danish succession. There may have been a party in Denmark to whom it was not pleasant to call a king from England;[77] or it may be that a conservative faction was hoping for a ruler of the old faith.

Both in Denmark and in England the situation was therefore such that it might give Cnut some concern. It was time for a more definite policy of conciliation. At the same time, the union of the two crowns had made harsh measures in England less necessary. The Danes would not soon forget that they had placed a king on the throne at Winchester. An appeal to Danish loyalty and pride would be sure to call thousands to Cnut's aid in case of serious trouble. The opportunity had come for the great Dane to prove his abilities as an enlightened ruler.

There is, however, no evidence for the belief sometimes expressed that Cnut had at this time concluded to dispense with his Scandinavian officials and to rule England with the aid of Englishmen.[78] Among the *ministri* who witnessed his charters, Danes and Saxons

[74] *Chronicle*, A. D. 1020.

[75] Section IV.

[76] *Foundations of England*, I. 397. The author's translation of section v. is impossible. He understands the allusion to a threatening danger as referring to past injuries from Denmark. Cnut's mention of his own journey he understands as a reference to the departure of the fleet. Ramsay is also in error as to the date, which he gives as 1018.

[77] Such is Steenstrup's view. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 388.

[78] Steenstrup, *Normannerne*, III. 316–317.

continue to appear in but slightly changed ratio till the end of the reign.[79] The alien guard was not dismissed. The local rule continued in the hands of Norse and Danish earls. Time came when these had disappeared but for reasons that show no conscious purpose of removal. Thurkil was outlawed, but not because Cnut wished to replace him with an Englishman; it was rather because it was not held wise to permit the husband of Ethelred's daughter to rank next to the king himself. The sources significantly mention Thurkil's wife as sharing her husband's exile.[80] Eric died at a ripe old age; he probably passed the limit of three score and ten. In time a story rose that Cnut sent him too into exile, but this seems to be without foundation.[81] According to the sagas his death was due to primitive surgery. Ulf was needed as viceroy in Denmark. It was only natural that Hakon should be restored to his Norwegian viceroyalty after the expulsion of King Olaf. But as these men disappear, one by one, from the English stage their places are doubtless taken by native Englishmen. Cnut's empire was now becoming so extensive, including, as it did by 1030, England, Denmark, Norway, and various regions on the south Baltic shores, that it was no longer possible to find enough eminent men of the old type to fill the important offices of trust. Cnut gradually adopted the policy of utilizing native talent, but it was a policy that seems in part to have been forced upon him by circumstances and his own ambitions. Still, so far as we know, only two English earls held prominent places in the royal councils when the reign closed—Godwin and Leofric.

It has been suggested by Freeman that the same *gemot* that outlawed Ethelwerd (1020) may have seen the exaltation of Earl Godwin to the unique position that he held in the kingdom, at least later in life.[82] But this is conjecture merely. It is evident that Godwin's influence with Cnut grew great with the passage of time; still, it is likely that historians have projected his greatness too far

[79] The numbers vary with the documents. Of thirteen *ministri* who witnessed a document in 1019, seven or eight have Danish names. A document from 1032 has sixteen such names, eight apparently belonging to each nationality. See Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, nos. 730, 746.

[80] Florence of Worcester, I. 183.

[81] English historians, following Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum*, I. 219), usually accept the banishment of Eric; thus Lappenberg (*History of England*, II. 207), Freeman (*Norman Conquest*, I. 288), and Ramsay (*Foundations of England*, I. 400). The story is rejected by Steenstrup (*Normannerne*, III. 321) and by the editors of the *Crawford Collection of Charters*, p. 147.

[82] *Norman Conquest*, I. 285.

back into his career.[83] A position analogous to that of Thurkil the Tall he could not have held before the closing years of the reign; if Cnut left any one in charge of the realm during his absence after 1020, it could not have been Godwin. When the fleet sailed against the Slavic coast in 1022, Godwin appears to have been in the host.[84] We are told that he fought valiantly in the Swedish campaign of 1026.[85] A runic monument records his presence in some expedition to Norway, presumably that of 1028.[86] Cnut does not seem to have employed English forces to any large extent in his foreign wars; possibly he was distrustful of them. Only fifty English ships made part of the vast fleet that overawed and conquered Norway in 1028.[87] Reluctance about arming the English nation may also account for the surrender of Lothian after the battle of Carham in 1018.[88] The presence of Godwin in Cnut's host may therefore be taken as a mark of confidence on the part of the king.

The proclamation of 1020 is a general promise of good government, in return for which the king expects loyalty and submission. Two years earlier, Danes and Angles had agreed at Oxford to accept and observe Edgar's laws; a stricter observance of these is now urged. Sundry crimes are more strictly forbidden; reeves and other officials are enjoined to deal righteously in every case; and, perhaps most important of all, the king appears as the ally of the Church and strongly urges a closer attention to Christian rites and precepts.

[83] The Saxon biographer of Edward the Confessor, a contemporary of Godwin, speaks of the earl's importance at court in the following terms: "Taliter ergo diutius probatum, ponit eum sibi a secretis, dans illi in conjugem sororem suam. Unde cum repatriaret in Angliam, feliciter actis omnibus totius pæne regni, ab ipso constituitur dux et bajulus." But we have no clue as to the time when these honors were bestowed. "Repatriaret" may refer to the return in 1020 or to a date as late as 1029, when Cnut returned from the conquest of Norway. Godwin's wife was the sister, not of the king but of the king's brother-in-law. *Lives of Edward the Confessor* (London, 1858; Rolls Series, no. 3), p. 392.

[84] The entry in the *Chronicle* (A. D. 1022) stating that Cnut sailed with his fleet to Wiht (one manuscript has Wihtland) is taken by Steenstrup to mean that it sailed to the Slavic Witland, a region referred to in Wulfstan's report to King Alfred. *Normannerne*, III. 322–325. It may have been in this campaign that Godwin, as Henry of Huntingdon tells us, displayed such signal bravery in fighting the Slavs. *Historia Anglorum* (London, 1879; Rolls Series, no. 74), p. 187.

[85] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I. 220–221.

[86] *Afhandlinger viede Sophus Bugges Minde* (Christiania, 1908), p. 8.

[87] Snorre doubtless exaggerates when he places the number of ships at 1440; but that the number was unusually great is evident from the ease with which the fleet accomplished its work. *Saga of St. Olaf*, c. 187.

[88] It will be remembered that in that year Cnut dismissed his Danish forces; the battle probably came after the fleet had departed, when Cnut was poorly prepared for aggressive warfare.

III.

The English church enjoyed Cnut's favor from the very beginning: the king was a Christian, and, furthermore, he no doubt saw in the Church a mighty force that should not be antagonized. At the same time, there is no evidence for any close union between Church and monarchy before 1020;[89] and even then it was more like an *entente cordiale* than an open, aggressive alliance, as it later came to be. Cnut was a Christian, but he was also a shrewd statesman and a consummate politician. The situation among his Danish supporters in England as well as the general religious and political conditions in the North probably made it impossible for him to accede to the full demands of the Church without danger to his ambitions and probable ruin to his imperialistic plans.

When the eleventh century opened, the North was still largely heathen. Missionaries had long been at work, and the faith had found considerable foothold in Denmark, especially on the Jutish peninsula. Cnut's father, Sweyn, had been baptized; but other indications of his Christian faith are difficult to find. His queen, Sigrid the Haughty, was almost violent in her devotion to the old worship. Sweden remained overwhelmingly heathen for some years yet, while the progress of the Church in Norway depended on royal mandates supported by the sword and the firebrand. Only five years before the death of Cnut, Norse heathendom won its last notable victory, when Saint Olaf fell before the onslaught of the yeomanry at Stiklestead (1030).[90]

The army that conquered England for Cnut was no doubt also largely heathen.[91] It seems therefore safe to assume that during the early years of the new reign the worship of Woden was carried on in various places on English soil, surely in the Danish camps, possibly also in some of the Danish settlements. This situation compelled the Christan king to be at least tolerant. Soon there begin to appear at the English court prominent exiles from Norway, hot-headed chiefs, whose sense of independence had been outraged by the zealous missionary efforts of King Olaf.[92] Cnut had not been king of England more than six or seven years before the Norwegian problem began to take on unusual interest. Before long the mis-

[89] Steenstrup believes that there was a junction of these forces at the very beginning of the reign. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 401.

[90] For an account of St. Olaf's efforts to christianize Norway, see Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf, passim.*

[91] That there were Christians in the Danish hosts appears from the story of Archbishop Alphege's murder in 1012. *Chronicle*, A. D. 1012; Florence of Worcester, I. 165. But these were evidently few.

[92] See Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, cc. 121, 130 ff.

sionary king found his throne completely undermined by streams of British gold.[93] The exiles who sought refuge at Winchester and the men who bore the bribes back to Norway were scarcely enthusiastic for the faith that frowned on piracy, and it was therefore necessary for Cnut to play the rôle of the tolerant, broad-minded monarch, who, while holding firmly to his own faith, was not interfering with that of others. In his later ecclesiastical legislation, Cnut gave the Church all the enactments that it might wish for, but it is a significant fact that these laws do not come before the Northern question has been settled according to Cnut's desires, and his viceroy was ruling in Norway.[94] Edgar's laws, which were re-enacted in 1018 at the Oxford assembly, deal with the matter of Christianity in general terms only. The more explicit and extensive church legislation of Ethelred's day was set aside and apparently remained a dead letter until it was in large measure re-enacted as a part of Cnut's church law late in the reign.

The subjection of England to an alien, half-heathen aristocracy must have caused many difficulties to the English church. How the problems were met we do not know. Archbishop Lifing seems to have made a journey to Rome during those early years, 1018 or 1019, perhaps; we may conjecture that he went to see counsel as to what attitude the Church should assume toward the new powers, but we do not know. It is evident, however, that the subject was discussed at the papal court, for a letter was sent to Cnut exhorting him to extol the praise of God, put away injustice, and promote peace. It must have flattered the young Dane to receive this for he refers to it in his proclamation:

> I have taken to heart the written and verbal messages that Archbishop Lifing brought to me from Rome from the pope, that I should everywhere extol the praise of God, put away injustice, and promote full security and peace, so far as God should give me strength.[95]

Archbishop Lifing died that same year (1020) and Ethelnoth the Good was appointed to the primacy.[96] The choice was evidently Cnut's own and the two men seem to have labored together in singular harmony. But though Ethelnoth was primate, the dominant influence at court seems to have been that of an abbot in Devonshire. While Abbot Lifing was yet only a monk at Winchester, he seems to have attracted the king's attention; at any rate, we are told by William of Malmesbury that he became an intimate

[93] Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, c. 161; Florence of Worcester, I. 184.

[94] Cnut's legislation will be discussed later in this paper.

[95] Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 273 (section III.). I know of no other reference to Lifing's Roman journey.

[96] Florence of Worcester, I. 183.

friend of Cnut and exerted great influence with him.[97] It was probably this friendship that secured him the abbacy of Tavistock, perhaps in 1024, in which year he signs charters for the first time as abbot.[98] Two years later he signs as bishop, having probably been advanced to the see of Crediton.[99] In this same year the king further honors him with a grant of five *cassatas* of land in Hampshire.[100] This must have been just prior to the Holy River campaign in Sweden, on which expedition Lifing seems to have accompanied Cnut (William of Malmesbury tells us that he frequently went to Denmark with the king);[101] at any rate, when Cnut without first returning to England made his journey to Rome, in the early months of 1027, the bishop was an important member of the king's retinue. It was Bishop Lifing who was sent back to England with Cnut's famous message to the English church, the king himself going on to Denmark.[102] William of Malmesbury describes him as a violent, wilful, and ambitious man; when he died (in 1046) the earth took proper notice and trembled throughout all England.[103]

In 1020 begins that series of benefactions and other semi-religious acts that made Cnut's name dear to the English ecclesiastics and secured him the favor of monastic chroniclers. It was in 1020 that Cnut and Thurkil dedicated the battle-field of Assandun to the service of God. That same year, apparently, monks were substituted for clerks as the guardians of Saint Edmund's shrine. Grants to churches become more numerous—to Canterbury, Winchester, Durham, Abingdon, and many more. The saints are given their proper resting-places: Saint Alphege returns to Canterbury; Saint Fleix is translated to Ramsey; Saint Wistan to Evesham. Holy relics of various sorts are brought to the great church centres. And finally, the king himself makes a journey to the capital of Christendom, where he takes a firm stand for the rights of the English church.[104] It seems also probable that Canterbury was permitted

[97] *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 200: "Livingus, ex monacho Wintoniensi et abbate Tavistokensi, episcopus Cridiensis, maximæ familiaritatis et potentiæ apud Cnutonem regem habitus est."

[98] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 741.

[99] *Ibid.*, no. 743; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 200.

[100] Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus*, no. 743.

[101] *Gesta Pontificum*, p. 200: "Cum eo Danemarciæ multo conversatus tempore, in Romano itinere comitatui adhesit."

[102] Florence of Worcester, I. 185. Florence seems to be in error as to the date of Lifing's promotion to the bishopric. For the king's Roman message, see *ibid.*, I. 185–189; Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 276–277; William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, I. 221–224.

[103] *Gesta Pontificum*, pp. 200–201.

[104] For brief statements of Cnut's benefactions, see Lappenberg, *History of England*, II. 203–205; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I. 293–296.

to dream of the primacy in the new Northern church; at any rate, Archbishop Ethelnoth was allowed to consecrate bishops for Danish sees.[105] But these hopes were soon crushed by the decisive action of the Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen, and for some time yet the North was a province of German Christendom.[106]

It is evident therefore that Cnut showed an interest in matters ecclesiastical far beyond what the Church might expect from one who still kept in close touch with non-Christian influences in the North. Still, one desire remained unsatisfied: the king had done nothing to make Christianity compulsory in England. The proclamation of 1020 looks in this direction, but it contains no decree of the desired sort. It is a peculiar document, carefully worded, largely promise and exhortation, remarkable more for what it omits than for what it contains. God's laws are not to be violated, but the task of bringing the violators to justice is committed to the old viking, Thurkil the Tall, whose appreciation of Christian virtue and divine law cannot have been of the keenest. Certain characteristically heathen sins are to be avoided, but the only crime of this nature for which a penalty is provided is that of marrying a nun or other woman under monastic vows.[107]

As to Cnut's purpose in making his Roman journey, we can only conjecture. The conventional phrases in his so-called charter[108] are not to be taken too seriously; it is not likely that pious considerations alone led him to leave his realms at such a critical moment.[109] There can be little doubt that Cnut expected certain tangible political results to follow his pilgrimage. At that moment he stood discredited before both Dane and Angle. The previous autumn he had suffered an unexpected defeat at Holy River in Sweden.[110] Had his opponents been in position to follow up their advantage, the situation might have become decidedly critical for the Danish king. And it would be strange if his relations with the Church were not a trifle strained at this time. Olaf was battling with the heathen powers and planting the Cross in every part of his kingdom; Cnut, on the other hand, was plotting with Olaf's enemies, with men who hoped to ruin his work. Finally, Cnut's hands were red with the

[105] Adamus (Hanover, 1876), lib. II., c. 53.

[106] *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 403.

[107] Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 274; especially sections IX., XV.–XIX.

[108] *Ibid.*, I. 275.

[109] Steenstrup sees the religious motive only. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 397. English historians generally seem disposed to accept the same view, though Hunt sees "a mixture of religious feelings and political motives". Stephens and Hunt, *History of the English Church*, I. (London, 1907), p. 393.

[110] *Chronicle*, A. D. 1025 (1026); Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, cc. 150 ff.

blood of Ulf, the husband of his sister, the guardian of his son, stricken down in God's own house. The situation was pregnant with ugly possibilities. It was time for prayers at Peter's tomb.

Apparently, certain promises were exacted from the king, for in his Roman letter he urges the prompt payment of all the Church dues, plough alms, Peter's pence, tithes, and the rest. Whether he further promised to follow this up with a vigorous ecclesiastical policy expressed in legislation, we do not know. But it is significant that after the Roman visit and the Norse conquest Cnut breaks completely with the Scandinavian past, so far as religion is concerned; heathenism with all its practices is banished from English soil by royal decree.[111]

The date of Cnut's laws has been a matter of long dispute. Some historians favor the year 1018;[112] others hold to a later date.[113] To the writer it seems that all the evidence, such as it is, points to a date not earlier than Christmas, 1029. The year 1018 becomes improbable in view of the fact that Cnut's church law is largely a re-enactment of Ethelred's law, which seems to have been set aside in favor of the earlier laws of Edgar at the Oxford meeting of that same year.[114] Furthermore, the decided ecclesiastical tone of the laws argues against any date in the earlier years of the reign, while the king's council was yet largely composed of grisly vikings like Thurkil the Tall and Eglaf. In the Roman letter of 1027, the king urges the payment of the five Church dues "which we owe according to ancient law";[115] these are again mentioned in the laws and heavy penalties are provided for non-payment.[116] With fresh legislation in mind the king would hardly have fallen back on the authority of "ancient law". And in the letter the Englishman is ordered to pay his tithe of fruits in the middle of August; while in the laws it is due at All Saints' Day. It is evident therefore that the laws are later than the letter; otherwise the king's clerk shows a strange ignorance as to the time when Church revenues are due. If the king returned to England in the autumn

[111] Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 312, 313: II Cnut, 5; 5, 1.

[112] Kemble, *Saxons in England* (London, 1876), II. 259; Schmid, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Leipzig, 1858), vol. I., p. lv; Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 396. Kemble places the Winchester *gemot* at a date some time between 1016 and 1020.

[113] Lappenberg, *History of England*, II. 202; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. I., app., note III; Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 278.

[114] *Chronicle*, A. D. 1018.

[115] Liebermann, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, I. 277. "... omnia debita quae Deo secundum legem antiquam debemus" (plough alms, tithe of animals born during the year, Peter's pence, tithe of fruits, and church-scot).

[116] *Ibid.*, I. 290–293: I Cnut, 8, 1; 8, 2; 9; 9, 1; 10; 10, 1.

of 1027, the Winchester *gemot* may have been held that year, but the probabilities are that nothing would be done just then to rouse the suspicion of Cnut's Norse allies. The conquest of Norway was completed in 1028 and the next year the king returned to England.[117] It is therefore likely that Cnut's legislation belongs to the years 1029–1034.[118]

As narrative sources for the last few years of Cnut's reign are almost wholly wanting, we have no direct means of determining the character of his government for this period. There are indications, however, that during these closing years he was a king of the type that later tradition has described. With his two sons governing the dominions across the sea, he could now give his energies more wholly to English affairs. The dominant influences at his court at Winchester had doubtless by this time become more emphatically English, though it is evident from the charters that the Dane was never wholly displaced; Godwin and Leofric, Lifing and Ethelnoth, were now, perhaps, the men whose words weighed most in the royal council. We know from Cnut's legislation that the interests of Church and State were now more closely identified than at any time before.[119] It may be that the English lords hoped to accentuate the position of their kingdom in the Empire of the North; it is evident from Godwin's activities after Cnut's death that he, at least, shared his former master's imperialistic ideas.[120] But that empire was already crumbling. The Scotch king had become Cnut's man, "but he kept his allegiance only a little while".[121] In the North the Church, whose cause Cnut had at last made completely his own, struck the decisive blow. A year after the martyrdom of Olaf, the great missionary king was canonized by the Norse church.[122] The Scandinavian peoples could now rejoice in the patronage of a native Northern saint; soon churches dedicated to Saint Olaf rose everywhere along the shores of the North and Baltic seas. The canonization of Saint Olaf was the ruin of Cnut's mighty plans. Even before the death of Cnut (1035), Magnus the Good, the son of the

[117] *Chronicle*, A. D. 1028, 1029.

[118] The prologue to the laws states that they were drawn up "at the holy mid-winter tide at Winchester". The latest possible date is therefore 1034, as Cnut died in November, 1035.

[119] But with Cnut began the practice of elevating priests of the royal chapel to bishoprics, evidently for the purpose of bringing the Church more completely under royal control. See *Chronicle*, A. D. 1032; Larson, *King's Household*, pp. 140–142.

[120] Godwin appears to have favored the continued union of the Danish and English crowns. *Chronicle*, A. D. 1035, 1036, 1037.

[121] *Ibid.* (D), A. D. 1031.

[122] Snorre, *Saga of St. Olaf*, cc. 243 ff.

holy king, sat on the throne of Norway. During these years (1030–1035) a strange inactivity seems to have ruled at the English court. The cause may have been physical weakness on the part of the king,[123] or it may have been the restraining influence of the Church. But whatever the cause, we do not find that he made any effort to prevent the collapse of his empire.[124]

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[123] Such is Steenstrup's conjecture. *Danmarks Riges Historie*, I. 405.

[124] English historians all represent Cnut as dying in the fullness of imperial power, the collapse coming soon after his death; this is manifestly an error; as has been stated above, his empire was largely a matter of history on the day of his death. For the English view, see Lappenberg, *History of England*, II. 223; Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, I. 322; Ramsay, *Foundations of England*, I. 419; Hunt and Poole, *Political History of England*, I. 417 (Hodgkin).

THE KING'S COUNCIL AND THE CHANCERY, II.

In the previous chapter the relations of the council and the chancery were considered solely as regards the outline and structure of the courts. The subject may now be pursued further in the light of the cases for what may be revealed in matters of jurisdiction and procedure. These begin in the time when the council was wholly identified with the chancery, and afterwards continue in the privy seal department as well. From the time of this organic division, therefore, there are two branches of the original judicature, which remain necessarily very similar but with significant points of divergence.

As might be expected, the cases recorded in the chancery are by far the more complete and abundant. It was a practice of the fourteenth century to make enrollments of the most important ones with the letters close and patent, upon the calendars of which they are still accessible. But from the time of Richard II., whether because the rolls were too much encumbered, or because other means of keeping the records were more satisfactory, this usage almost disappears. The bundles of chancery proceedings which then begin are in a very faulty condition of preservation; so that for the fifteenth century, while petitions are to be found in great quantity,[1] records of the processes are scarce.

Of council cases distinct from the chancery there has been a still greater dearth, scarcely any being known prior to the time of Henry VII.[2] A number may be found, however, among the piles of miscellaneous parchments and papers of the Privy Seal Office.[3] Characteristic of the methods of this office, these were briefly written, sparing of parchment, with no signs of arrangement, and with scant care as to their preservation. Not before the time of the Tudors

[1] Collections of chancery petitions are published in *Calendars of Proceedings in Chancery* (Record Com.), I.; Baildon, *Select Cases in Chancery*; William Salt Archaeological Society, *Collections of Staffordshire*, new series, VII. 340–393; *Archaeologia*, LIX. 1–24, LX. 353–378; Société Jersiaise, *Ancient Petitions of the Chancery and the Exchequer* (Jersey, 1902).

[2] Several cases between 1477 and 1487 have been collected in Leadam, *Select Cases in the Star Chamber*, Selden Society (London, 1903), XVI. 1–16.

[3] These I have found especially in the newly compiled lists of the Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section II. Some which are still unlisted I have by favor been permitted to see. These I can only indicate as in the "Exchequer Box" or "Chancery Box".

apparently did the practice begin of throwing them together in bundles. Still for the earlier period they may be counted by hundreds, attesting a constant activity of the council in this direction. Most of them consist only of the petitions, upon which it was enough simply to endorse the judgments and orders of the council. A few, however, contain at one stage or another the hearings at length, and reveal more of the procedure of the council even than any of the contemporary chancery records. With the material, fragmentary as it is, from both sources a fairly complete view may be obtained of the judicature, which at first belonged alike to the council and the chancery, and which in time came to be divided between them.

A field of jurisdiction can hardly be defined at first. In general, from the reign of Henry III., suitors addressed petitions to the king or to the council by reason of their difficulties at common law. At this time the council did not regularly hear the cases but confined itself to directing the writs and processes which were to be followed in the ordinary courts. In this way the council was mainly a court of resort in questions of procedure. Even when the parties were summoned to appear their cases were generally committed to another court for trial. At times, it is true, the council sat in the exchequer and in the king's bench, but then it was not as a separate court. Such few cases as the council consented to hear were more likely because of the prominence of the parties and of the interests concerned than because of the nature of the litigation. Only as the courts of common law failed or proved inadequate did the council receive cases of certain kinds and become itself a court of special jurisdiction. In this regard there is no evidence that the council anticipated the wishes of the people.

The class of cases which came to have the greatest prominence includes the crimes of great violence, described as riots, armed attacks, unlawful assemblages, robberies, "heinous trespass", "misprision", abduction, and other evils familiarly associated with the practice of maintenance. Outrages such as these were far from uncommon throughout the fourteenth century, but for a long time only common-law remedies were applied. Petitioners generally asked for such, and the most vigorous actions taken were through the special commissions of *oyer et terminer*, which for a time were widely sought and employed.[4] None of these methods were sufficient, however, against the wrongs of maintenance. Petitioners declare that they cannot sue at common law,[5] that they dare not pur-

[4] Calendars, *passim*; *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, I. 290.

[5] Ancient Petitions, no. 10626.

sue even by *oyer et terminer*,[6] that officers are in collusion with wrongdoers,[7] that sheriffs refuse to serve writs,[8] that bailiffs will not arrest,[9] and that juries are controlled.[10] In the reign of Edward III. plaintiffs in the greatest distress began to ask for hearings before the council rather than before the commissions.[11] Even then the cases were more frequently committed to *oyer et terminer* processes, until in the reign of Richard II. this jurisdiction was plainly assumed by the council[12] and even ascribed to it.[13] From this time the number of such cases increases beyond all estimation. At the beginning of Henry VI.'s reign there is mention of a special file of "riot bills" in a single session of Parliament.[14] It is noteworthy that the early petitions to the chancellor, already described, were mainly burdened with grievances and appeals of this nature. Indeed at that time this jurisdiction belonged to the chancery as positively as to the council.

A group of cases, which was somewhat earlier than the former to be recieved by the council as requiring an extraordinary jurisdiction, may be classified as those of *fraud*. Of these many relating to forged charters,[15] false claims,[16] counterfeit money,[17] covin and procurement,[18] covenants extorted under duress,[19] malicious indictments,[20] and others of the kind were consistently heard by the council in chancery under Edward III. A good illustration is found in a case in which a deaf and dumb girl was proved to have been imposed upon by guardians who obtained from her a fraudulent enfeoffment.[21] That jurisdiction of this kind properly belonged to the chancellor and council was further declared by the statutes assigning to them crimes of misdemeanors in office[22] and false accusations,[23]

[6] Ancient Petitions, no. 12298.
[7] *Ibid.*, no. 15200.
[8] *Ibid.*, no. 14969.
[8] *Ibid.*, no. 15200.
[9] *Ibid.*, no. 12824.
[10] *Ibid.*, nos. 12298, 12549, 13443.
[11] In 21 Rich. II. a commission was asked for but the council heard the case. *Ibid.*, no. 13111.
[12] *Rot. Parl.*, III. 21.
[13] Early Chancery Proceedings, bundle 5, no. 41.
[14] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., p. 131; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 24 Edw. III., p. 225; Close Roll, 42 Edw. III., m. 8 d.
[15] Unlisted document, petition of Hamon Lestineur, "Exchequer Box".
[16] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 24 Edw. III., p. 595.
[17] Ancient Petitions, nos. 11302, 12264, 12287, 14937.
[18] *Ibid.*, nos. 11028, 15149.
[19] *Ibid.*, no. 15571.
[20] Close Roll, 49 Edw. III., m. 13 d.
[21] Statutes, 20 Edw. III., c. 6; 36 Edw. III., c. 9.
[22] *Ibid.*, 37 Edw. III.. c. 18; 38 Edw. III.. c. 9; 42 Edw. III., c. 3; 17 Rich. II., c. 6.

of which there were a number of instances.[24] It was in the fraud cases, many of which were intangible to the common law,[25] that the special procedure of the council may first be observed. Requiring the inspection of documents and the searching of records, this jurisdiction was properly inherited by the later court of chancery, whose clerks were the acknowledged experts in these matters.

A class of cases considered to be above the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts were those especially affecting the king's interest and dignity. Among these were charges of treason, conspiracy,[26] espionage,[27] evasion of the customs,[28] and contempt. Arraignments for contempt were incurred by defying the orders of a court or a prohibition of the king, or by pursuing litigation contrary to an existing judgment.[29] The royal rights too in ecclesiastical presentations, particularly when there were collisions between those having claims from the pope and those from the king, gave rise to an indefinite number of disputes.[30] Certain free chapels of the king, for instance, were declared to be exempt from the authority of all other courts.[31] Many of the cases were anterior to the statutes of provisions and *praemunire*, which recognized and strengthened the jurisdiction thus assumed.[32] It was the king's right also by a prohibition or other form of order to reserve cases for hearing before the council.[33]

Another group, which may be explained as arising outside the area of the common law, may be designated as maritime and international. Seizures at sea, piracies, shipping claims,[34] questions of wreck[35] and contraband,[36] were among the earliest to require spe-

[24] Chesterfield case, Close Roll, 39 Edw. III., mm. 26–23.

[25] Ancient Petitions, no. 12168, 22 Edw. III., is an instance in which a charter, which was being used in a case pending before the king's bench, was proved a forgery before the king and council.

[26] *Ibid.*, no. 15119.

[27] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., p. 151.

[28] Ancient Petitions, no. 14915; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 21 Edw. III., p. 241.

[29] These are very numerous. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 17 Edw. III., p. 265; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 15 Edw. III., p. 548, 18 Edw. III., p. 284, 22 Edw. III., pp. 66, 165, 23 Edw. III., pp. 315, 317, etc.

[30] Ancient Petitions, nos. 14898, 15074; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., p. 229, 23 Edw. III., *passim*.

[31] For example, Bosham, *Cal. Close Rolls*, 29 Edw. III., p. 157, 30 Edw. III., p. 288; Hammepreston, Ancient Petitions, no. 15074.

[32] Statutes, 27 Edw. III., c. 1; 38 Edw. III., cc. 2 and 3; 16 Rich. II., c. 5.

[33] Bosham case; and *Cal. Close Rolls*, 32 Edw. III., p. 540; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 8 Rich. II., p. 462.

[34] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 23 Edw. III., pp. 83, 319; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 23 Edw. III., p. 65, 26 Edw. III., p. 425; Close Roll, 39 Edw. III., m. 5, etc.; Ancient Petitions, nos. 14930, 15124, 15155.

[35] Ancient Petitions, no. 14955.

[36] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 20 Edw. III., p. 135; *Cal. Close Rolls*, 32 Edw. III., p. 384.

cial treatment, and by the reign of Richard II. were extensive enough to give rise to a new jurisdiction under the admiral.[37] Analogous to these were disputes in which foreigners, especially merchants, were involved. It was by special favor that the king opened his court to a foreigner.[38]

By the king's grace also the council and the chancellor were accessible to suitors who, from poverty or legal disability, were unable to sue elsewhere. Petitioners humbly representing themselves as "your poor clerk", "your simple and poor wax-chandler",[39] "poor tenants", "poor mariners", or as "reduced to poverty and misery" had a special claim to attention which was recognized in various ordinances.[40] A plaintiff who as a married woman would have had no standing in an ordinary court was heard in the noted Audeley case, wherein a wife makes a claim based on a pre-marital covenant which her husband's family was unwilling to carry out.[41] The field of special jurisdiction, therefore, was wide and well established before the special equity cases of uses, contracts, and injunctions began to be received in the fifteenth century.[42]

The growth of this extraordinary jurisdiction was always regarded with jealousy and dislike by the lawyers and by Parliament, who nevertheless accepted it as necessary and inevitable. But the further tendency to encroach upon the sphere of the ordinary courts, hearing cases "touching the common law", was energetically resisted and caused a continuous struggle in Parliament, marked by perpetual complaints and intermittent attempts at restrictive legislation. In the twenty-fifth year of Edward III. the Commons demanded that no man should answer for his freehold or for matters of life and limb before the council, but the king consented to the restriction only as regards freeholds.[43] This limitation the council was to some extent careful to observe, returning a number of cases for this reason to the common-law courts,[44] not to the

[37] Marsden, *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty*, Selden Society, VI. (London, 1892). An early instance of a case before the admiral and council occurs in 26 Edw. III. *Cal. Close Rolls*, p. 425.

[38] Ancient Petitions, nos. 13056 (from a poor man of Rouen), 10449 (from an alien prior, *temp.* Edw. III.). The lord of Enghien to clear himself of a charge against him in Flanders came before the king and council. *Cal. Close Rolls*, 25 Edw. III., p. 351. Also a case of the Duchess of Guelders is in Ancient Petitions, no. 12352.

[39] Ancient Petitions, no. 15145.

[40] *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, III. 150, 217.

[41] Close Roll, 40 Edw. III., m. 15; 41 Edw. III., m. 13.

[42] Holmes, "Early English Equity" in *Select Essays* (ed. Wigmore, Cambridge, 1908), II. 705–736.

[43] *Rot. Parl.*, II. 228.

[44] Ancient Petitions, nos. 12289, 12299.

satisfaction of Parliament, however, for the act was repeated under Richard II.[45] In spite of much subsequent legislation this law remained the only restriction of definite character which the Parliament ever succeeded in making. Complaints against the special writs and processes were unavailing, while ordinances, re-enacted with great persistence, to the effect that matters touching the common law should be determined in the ordinary way, with a usual saving clause, "unless it were against such high personages that right could not be obtained elsewhere",[46] or as again expressed, "unless there be too much might on the one side and too much unmight on the other",[47] were indefinite and left the discretionary power of the council undiminished. A characteristic fitful action, of no enduring effect, occurred after the fall of Richard II., when all cases of this nature pending before the council were quashed and turned over to the common law.[48]

Any distinction between the jurisdiction exercised by the chancellor and by that reserved to the council was slow to appear. At the time of Richard II. there was none.[49] Appeals to the chancellor on whatever subjects were made primarily to gain a hearing, and cases of violence were as likely to be brought to him[50] as were trust cases a little later before the council.[51] The first usage which was at all consistently observed cannot be predicated prior to the reign of Henry VI., namely that violence cases belonged to the council. Parliament turns its file of riot petitions over to the council,[52] and again a petition on violence though addressed to the chancellor is heard *coram consilio*.[53] On the other hand, land controversies were brought more to the chancellor, so that by the reign of Edward IV. certainly most of the petitions addressed to him were on disputed property claims.[54] If one were to assign a reason it would be that while great criminal trials required the power and expedition of the privy seal procedure, claims to title sought the security afforded by the instruments of the great seal. No clearer

[45] *Rot. Parl.*, III. 21, 323.

[46] *Ibid.*, III. 21.

[47] *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 18 a, III. 214; *Rot. Parl.*, III. 446, IV. 201 b, 343.

[48] *Rot. Parl.*, III. 446.

[49] In this I dissent from Mr. Baildon's opinion that the council's jurisdiction from the beginning was mainly criminal. *Select Cases in Chancery*, Selden Society (London, 1896), p. xvi.

[50] Chancery petitions already quoted.

[51] *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, II. 328.

[52] Early Chancery Proceedings, bundle 5, no. 41.

[53] Unlisted document in "Exchequer Box", marked 104/4.

[54] See collections mentioned p. 744, n. 1.

distinction than this, however, was made prior to the statute *pro camera stellata* of Henry VII.

More distinct than the realm of jurisdiction were the methods of procedure which gave the council its advantage over the common law. In the earliest cases, whether in the exchequer or the chancery, no divergence from the common law is shown; but under the chancellors, assisted no doubt by other bishops and by certain doctors of civil law who were at various times retained in the council,[55] there appear in time the influences of the canon law. Certain features were directly derived from the practice of the ecclesiastical courts, while other forms entirely peculiar were developed. Yet so late as the reign of Henry V. traces of common-law procedure have been shown to be confused with that of equity.[56] Here again the council and the chancery, while following many usages in common, were different in certain essential respects.

The beginning of all special procedure, it is understood, lay in the petitions already mentioned, by which suitors applied for remedy which they could not obtain in the normal way. As petitioners themselves sometimes declared, having sought relief in vain, they could only proceed by complaint.[57] Written at first in French and later in English, the very form of the petitions suggests a departure from the ordinary legal procedure. In nearly all of the cases at first the most that was required was an order as to the necessary writs and processes to be pursued. Only as the council received or committed cases did the petition or "bill", as it was also called, become the basis of litigation. This was known as "procedure by bill", in distinction from that by original writ. As the petitions readily numbered by the thousands,[58] elaborate arrangements were made for receiving them. They were properly presented to the chancellor or other minister, when at each session of Parliament hearers or triers of petitions were appointed for dealing with them.[59] The greater bulk of the bills no doubt were always handled by these committees, who endorsed them with the necessary directions. For

[55] My article, *English Historical Review* (1908), XXIII. 1–14.

[56] Pike, *Law Quarterly Review*, I. 445–453.

[57] Lucy Langton (*temp.* Edw. III.) declares that on coming to London she was detained and robbed. She asks the chancellor to have the parties brought before him, as she has nothing in the common law to defend her. Ancient Petitions, no. 15011.

[58] A thorough investigation of the 16,000 petitions contained in the files of Ancient Petitions has never been made. Besides these there are many hundreds in other files, particularly in the Warrants Privy Seal. The difficulty of identifying them in regard to date is of course very great.

[59] As to the hearers and triers of petitions a good account is given in Hale, *Jurisdiction of the Lords' House*, ch. XII.

treating the bills left over from Parliament and those received at other times, the council was the principal agency, which likewise was overburdened with the work. It was pressure of business primarily which caused the differentiation of chancery petitions already described, by which an advantage was gained that they were not brought to Parliament. At about the same time another differentiation appears in the form of petitions addressed to the lords of Parliament,[60] which are thereby distinguished from council petitions.[61]

In spite of all other agencies the attention of the council was still so much taken with the hearing of petitions that higher interests were endangered. Ordinances were made that the business of the king and the realm should have the precedence,[62] that petitions of the people might be considered in the presence of a limited number,[63] that Wednesdays should be especially reserved for the hearing of petitions,[64] that the petition of the poorest suitor should be considered first.[65] The council in fact could not read all of the bills brought to it, on one occasion, at the close of a term, ordering that the determination of all petitions remaining unheard should be committed to the lord chancellor and the chancery.[66] To obtain the attention of the council suitors sought still other avenues of approach, in some instances addressing their petitions not only to the chancellor, to the treasurer, to the steward of the household,[67] but also to other prominent councillors like the Duke of Lancaster,[68] the Earl of March,[69] the Duke of Exeter,[70] the Duke of Albemarle,[71] the Duke of Bedford,[72] and the Duke of Gloucester.[73] An expedient

[60] The earliest petition of this kind which I have been able to find is that of Sir Hugh Wrottesley to the Duke of Lancaster and other lords of Parliament, in 1 Richard II. Ancient Petitions, quoted in *Collections of Staffordshire,* new series, VI. 148. See also *Rot. Parl.,* III. 60 b, *et seq.*

[61] *Rot. Parl.,* III. 163.

[62] *Proceedings of the Privy Council,* I. 18 a.

[63] *Ibid.,* I. 18 b.

[64] *Ibid.,* III. 149, 214.

[65] *Ibid.,* III. 150, 217.

[66] *Ibid.,* III. 36.

[67] One *c.* 1371 is addressed "au noble et puissantz Seigneur Monsieur Henry le Scrop et as sages conseulx notre Seigneur le Roi". Ancient Correspondence, vol. L., no. 146.

[68] "A tresreverent et treshonorable Seigneur le Roi de Chastill et Duc de Lancastre et a tressage conseil notre Seigneur le Roi." Ancient Petitions, nos. 10406, 12595, 12596.

[69] An unlisted document.

[70] Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section II., file 3.

[71] Unlisted.

[72] Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section II., *passim.*

[73] *Ibid.*

more often tried was for suitors in some way to secure the interest of one or another of the councillors in their petitions, who signed their names as sponsors upon the bills.[74] Members of the council were importuned for their influence, and to such an extent was there opened the way for favoritism that one of the most reiterated ordinances was that councillors should grant no favors to suitors but should only answer that their petitions would be seen by all of the council and answered.[75] A rule was made also that the bills which were considered by the council on a Wednesday should be returned to the petitioners on the following Friday.[76]

As a large number of the complaints consisted of criminal charges the way was opened for all kinds of false and malicious accusations. Against this evil there was the act of Edward III., several times repeated, requiring that accusers offer security to prove their suggestions.[77] In the *plegii de prosequendo*, as the pledges were termed, this law was observed with fair consistency[78] in the council as well as in other courts. But as the council became the great tribunal for state cases, it was also open to secret information known as suggestions or depositions.[79] Bills were even offered anonymously, one suggesting that a writ of summons be directed to a man,[80] another naming a certain monk who was pointed out as a spy.[81] There is also, in the reign of Richard II., an extensive pamphlet of anonymous origin, making wide and indefinite charges against the unpopular Alexander Neville, archbishop of York, suggesting that he should be arraigned for his extortions, maintenances, and tyrannies.[82] It is likely too that secret suggestions were largely unwritten. The council encouraged information of this kind, on one occasion offering a reward to those reporting evasions of the customs,[83] and again giving assurances that the informers would

[74] *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 35, 72, 78, etc.

[75] *Ibid.*, III. 149, 214; IV. 60.

[76] *Ibid.*, III. 149, 214.

[77] Statutes, 37 Edw. III., c. 18; 38 Edw. III., c. 9; 42 Edw. III., c. 3; 17 Rich. II., c. 6.

[78] Baildon, *op. cit.*, p. xxv.

[79] Statutes above mentioned.

[80] Ancient Petitions, no. 14948.

[81] *Ibid.*, no. 15176.

[82] "The comunes of Ingelonde werfor blame the Kyng and his conseil of the unhappe and disese and myschief of the Reaume . . . Were Kynge Alisaundre wel examyned of his extorciones and his meyntenances and his tyrrantrie of that he hath take falsly ageyne the Kynges lawes he shuld leve for ever the Kynges lx. ml. li." Parliamentary Proceedings (Chancery), file 9, no. 22. For this reference I am indebted to Mr. Charles Johnson.

[83] "Quicunque ad nos et consilium nostrum volentes accedere ad nos et consilium nostrum informandum habunt pro labore suo sufficiens rewardum." Close Roll, 10 Rich. II., m. 15 d.

be heard.[84] In the reign of Henry IV. a deposition of this character is found in which one William Stokes, declaring it to be the duty of every loyal subject to safeguard the honor and profit of the crown, informs the council of certain illegal exportations of wool and skins.[85] Whether for this or other services the informer was not without reward.[86]

Next in order were the writs of summons and arrest to bring parties before the council. In this respect as in others there was at first nothing extraordinary in the council's procedure. From the reign of Edward I. were used the ordinary writs both of the exchequer and the chancery, among which are recognized the *monstravit,* the *scire facias,* and the *venire facias.* Another mode of compelling attendance was to make some one responsible, *corps pour corps,* for the appearance of a party on a certain day. It was a marked advance in point of procedure, when in the reign of Edward III. certain writs of summons, especially adapted for the purposes of the council and the chancery, were framed; namely the *praemunire,* the *quibusdam certis de causis,* and the *sub poena.*[87] These differed from any corresponding instruments of the common law in their summary character. They specified no reasons, they demanded the presence of parties for certain causes, and for disobedience made a threat, which in the more extensively used subpoenas was stated in the form of a fixed money penalty. Issued under the king's seal, they were generally unrestricted in penetrating franchised districts,[88] they superseded any commissions or rights to the contrary, and were calculated to command an obedience such as the orders of no other court could. Without the sanction of Parliament they could hardly claim legal character, and so were never registered. Although these writs were originally devised in the chancery and issued under the great seal, they were subsequently sent forth almost entirely under the privy seal, not only for summons to the council but to the chancery as well.[89] In addition to all that has been said concerning the usages of the privy seal, a marked

[84] Close Roll, 12 Rich. II., m. 19 d.

[85] British Museum, Cotton MS., Galba BI, nos. 23, 24.

[86] *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1 and 2 Hen. IV., pp. 322, 431.

[87] An adequate description of these writs is given in Palgrave, *Original Authority,* pp. 40–41.

[88] In regard to the duchy of Lancaster and other liberties having a chancellor, letters of the great seal were commanded to be issued through their own chanceries. Statutes, 31 Hen. VI.

[89] On this point Palgrave is quite misleading, speaking of the privy seal writs as though they were different from the *sub poena* (*op. cit.,* p. 86). This writ was the same under either seal, in the French form being designated as *le brief sur certain peine.*

advantage afforded by the later method in regard to the writs is seen in the fact that whereas letters of the great seal were regularly delivered through the agency of the sheriffs, those of the privy seal were carried by *pursuivants* or special messengers directly to the parties addressed.[90] In fear of the sheriffs, who were likely to be in league with their enemies, plaintiffs therefore asked for "writs direct". So essential a part of the council procedure were the writs considered that it was for them specifically that suitors prayed, and against them that the opposition in Parliament was directed. They were incorrectly stigmatized as a novelty, which had never been known before the time of Richard II.[91] It was further urged, without success, that the cause and matter of the suit be put into the writs and that they be enrolled and made patent without being returned.[92] They were still regarded as at least extra-legal when, in the thirty-first year of Henry VI., under stress of the great disorders of Jack Cade's rebellion they were temporarily legitimatized in riot cases only.[93] In accordance with the statute then enacted it was claimed that the writs should contain the words *de riottis*.[94] With all of their cogency, however, such was the lawlessness of the times that in the later years of Henry VI. the evasion and defiance of the king's writs was acknowledged to be very general,[95] and one finds the subpoenas returned with explanations that the parties would not receive them, that they absented themselves and could not be found.[96]

At the time appointed it is described as customary for the name of the party to be cried at the door of the council chamber.[97] A feature of canon-law procedure introduced by the chancellor at an early date was the swearing of the parties, both plaintiffs and defendants, upon the Gospels to tell the truth,[98] who were thereby

[90] Frequent payments to such messengers are found in the Issue Rolls, *passim*.

[91] *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 84 a.

[92] *Ibid.*

[93] Statutes, 31 Hen. VI., c. 2.

[94] One party was successful in resisting a summons because it did not contain the words *de riottis*, as authorized by Parliament. Certain six articles, 35 Hen. VI., "Exchequer Box".

[95] Statutes, 31 Hen. VI., c. 2.

[96] Unlisted documents. One of 35 Hen. VI. contains six articles testifying that the writs privy seal which were issued in accordance with the statute of the thirty-first year, were of no avail in summoning the parties.

[97] One of the returned writs under Henry VI. bears the following statement: "vocatus in dictis Octavis ad Hostium camere prout moris est non comperuit." Unlisted document, "Chancery Box". Of the time of Richard II., it is once said, "solemniter vocatus non venit." Ancient Petitions, no. 11059.

[98] Parties were "iurez et examinez en la chauncellerie" about the first year of Edward III. Ancient Petitions, nos. 10608, 10640; also Close Roll, 12 Rich. II., m. 19 d; Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section 11., file 3, etc.

placed at the disadvantage of testifying against themselves. By an early confession[99] or by an accord[100] which the litigants were frequently advised to make, the case might be ended at once. The parties further committed themselves by making submission to the court, *in alto et basso,* agreeing to abide by its decision. Since no one could well be bound by an extra-legal procedure against his will, this act was essential, it being once declared that without the submission the trial could not go on.[101] In criminal cases a very frequent action in the chancery, where a record could be made, was that of *mainprise,* which might be either a preliminary or a final step. This was to place the parties under bond and surety, guaranteed by *mainpernors,* to keep the peace for a certain time or to appear at a certain day.[102] Sometimes the amounts were as high as £5000 or £10,000. As a deterrent against false accusations plaintiffs were also bonded to prove their complaints.[103] Failing to furnish bonds, men were sent to prison whether under conviction or not. It was once declared to be a hardship that in order to find security parties were induced even to compound with their enemies.[104]

At any of its stages the case might be committed for trial and decision to another court, but if it was heard at length by the council the procedure was somewhat as follows. The hearing was opened with the reading of the bill, when in civil actions an adjournment was taken to allow the defendant time to prepare his case, which he might do with the aid of counsel.[105] All matters of evidence so far as possible the council preferred to have in writing.[106] The answers of defendants were given written form even in the reign of Edward III.,[107] and in the fifteenth century were regularly prepared in this manner together with replications and

[99] In one instance a clerk accused of falsifying a record on being spoken to before the council acknowledged his act. *Cal. Pat. Rolls, 22* Edw. III., p. 113.

[100] In a case of 22 Rich. II. the parties were commanded to treat and make an end themselves if they could accord. Ancient Petitions, no. 12549.

[101] Audeley case, Close Roll, 40 Edw. III., m. 15; 41 Edw. III., m. 13.

[102] Close Rolls, Edw. III. and later.

[103] Statutes mentioned on false suggestions. An instance is in Close Roll, 51 Edw. III., m. 6 d.

[104] *Rot. Parl.,* IV. 84 a.

[105] Defendant takes a copy of the charges that he might reply with the aid of counsel. Ancient Petitions, no. 13111.

[106] It seems that complaints were not always presented in writing. Thus in the reign of Henry V. a plaintiff was directed to put her grievances in written form. *Proceedings of the Privy Council,* II. 286.

[107] In the Spynk case, "respondit in forma que sequitur." Patent Roll, 38 Edw. III., pt. 1., m. 15.

rejoinders.[108] A counter-petition was sometimes offered by the defendant.[109] Suitors were instructed to be fully informed as to their contentions and were likely to bring charters, letters, and other instruments. Other than the parties immediately concerned, witnesses were rarely summoned, although in a few instances they do appear.[110] Matters of evidence from outside sources were regularly obtained by writs of *certiorari* or of inquisition, directing sheriffs to employ juries, the courts and other authorities to search their records and return the information.

In criminal cases if the facts could not be determined by any of the simpler methods, resort was taken to the most drastic means within the power of the council, namely, the inquisitorial examination. The practice of putting the parties, particularly the defendant, to the task of answering questions under oath was directly borrowed from the ecclesiastical courts.[111] While nothing was more antagonistic to the practice of the common-law courts,[112] this method proves to have been not unknown also in the exchequer.[113] From the accusations or depositions of the plaintiff questions of fact were drawn up in a series of articles and addressed to the defendant, whose answers were noted.[114] Any discrepancies or self-contradictions in his admissions were quickly turned to his disadvantage and were likely to cause him to break down and confess,[115] while if there were more than one defendant examined inconsistencies in the testimony were all the more probable. Although the examinations were assailed as a subversion of the common law, in an age when the art of cross-questioning was unknown in the regular courts, the need nevertheless of the Star Chamber procedure is manifest. That the examinations were held in secret and "without any record or entry", was another objection expressed in Parlia-

[108] A notably early instance of a replication is found in 24 Henry VI.: "Replicatio Martini et Stephani contra responsionem Johannis Gubbe". Diplomatic Documents, Chancery, no. 525.

[109] John Cheyne *v.* William Brian, 13 Rich. II., unlisted in "Exchequer Box".

[110] In a case of an erroneous writ a clerk whose name was on the writ was brought in and questioned. Close Roll, 12 Rich. II., m. 19 d; also Baildon, *op. cit.*, nos. 95, 126; *Calendars of Proceedings in Chancery*, vol. I., pp. xix, li, etc.

[111] *Cal. Close Rolls*, 30 Edw. I., p. 565, 24 Edw. III., p. 225; Close Rolls, 39 Edw. III., m. 26, 49 Edw. III., m. 40 d; Patent Roll 40 Edw. III., pt. 1., m. 11, etc.

[112] "Solonc la fourme de ley cyvyle et ley de Seinte Esglise, en subvercion de votre commune ley." *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 84 a.

[113] Memoranda Roll, L. T. R., 28 Edw. III., m. 28; transcribed in Putnam, *Enforcement of the Statutes of Labourers* (New York, 1908), app., p. 290.

[114] See articles of accusation in Chesterfield case, Close Roll, 39 Edw. III., mm. 26–23.

[115] *Ibid.*

ment.[116] They were, however, already under Edward III. in written form, as is indicated in one case by the mention of a roll containing the articles handed to the chancellor.[117]

As an illustration of this procedure there is a remarkable privy seal record of a typical Star Chamber case which was heard in the seventeenth year of Henry VI.[118] Attached to a petition is a small roll or fold of paper, written by the clerk of the council, containing the articles of examination with the answers of the defendants concerning the recent Bedford riot.[119] Unlike chancery cases the record is in English. Four of the king's justices of the peace and of *oyer et terminer* had certified that Lord Fanhope with forty-five armed men invaded their court in riotous manner, insulting the judges and breaking up the session. Thereupon Lord Fanhope, who was placed under fine and security, addressed a petition to the king, denying the truth of the charges and asking that an examination be made. The petition was referred to the council, who proceeded to examine the justices on oath in a manner that was said to be severe. The questions consisted of nine articles on the matters of fact contained in their former allegations, as to the number of men, as to the conduct of his lordship, as to their own conduct, and the like. These were addressed in turn to each of the four defendants, and their answers taken. When upon subsequent perusal certain discrepancies in their assertions were found, especially in comparing the answers with the original certification, the judges, though still maintaining the truth of their charges, were forced to admit that they had been moved by motives of anger and malice. The council, therefore, found the charges false and so must have reported to the king, who then commanded the chancellor by a letter of the privy seal to issue a patent of pardon and release for Lord Fanhope. For a record which his lordship desired, this was enrolled after the manner of the chancery with a brief summary of the case.[120] The council would seem to have dealt leniently with the lord, as to whose conduct in breaking up the court the essential facts were not denied, but it was considered that he had not been without excuse.

[116] *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 84 a.

[117] Chesterfield case, *supra*.

[118] "The kings counsaillours examined the persones whoos names here on follow upon the Ryot that was doo at Bedford the XII[e] day of Januar the yere above seid." Unlisted document, "Exchequer Box".

[119] "Hi sunt articuli examinationum quattuor partium sequentium infrascritarum videlicet . . . et responsiones ad eosdem articulos." *Ibid.* One-half the manuscript is torn away but what remains is enough to give a clear observation of the proceedings.

[120] *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 17 Hen. VI., p. 246.

The examinations being the most laborious and technical part of the procedure, it is plain that not many could be held before the council at such length. On one occasion, when an examination was pending, the lords declared that under the many burdens imposed upon them they could not go on with it.[121] Already in the reign of Edward III. the practice of committing inspections and examinations to certain members, or to the chancellor alone, had begun.[122] Inspections of documents could be left to the chancery clerks.[123] The appointment of committees of examination for civil as well as criminal cases came to be a regular practice, of the council more than of the chancery, during the fifteenth century. A number of the justices were usually included, who were declared to be so much occupied in this way as to be kept from their ordinary duties of hearing pleas.[124]

Among the few existing records of such examinations is a noteworthy one of the thirteenth year of Richard II. which explains itself by the following notes: "Les nouns de ceux qi feurent deputez par les conseil du Roy pur examiner [les matires] comprise deinz ceste bille et autres evidences purposeez", etc. The names follow. Later, "le dit conte [of Northumberland] par lui et par les deputez susditz fesoit relation au conseil du Roy qe", etc.[125] As the foregoing note suggests, the committee was to make a report or "relation" to the council of its findings. The council was likely to act and might even agree to act in accordance with the report.[126] The final relation too might be waived, when the parties were induced to submit to the verdict of the committee.[127] To a great extent the committees of examination superseded the older method of delegation to commissions of *oyer et terminer*,[128] a change which possessed certain manifest advantages over the earlier method. Whereas the commissions followed the common-law procedure, the

[121] "Propter varia et ardua eis per dictum dominum Regem injuncta negocia intendere minime potuerunt." The examination was committed to a bishop and a lay member. *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 190–192.

[122] The king caused further examination to be made by some of his council. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 22 Edw. III., p. 131.

[123] Ancient Petitions, no. 10608.

[124] *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 84 a.

[125] An unfiled document in the "Exchequer Box". See also one of 4 Hen. IV.

[126] *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, I. 192.

[127] There is an instance in which the parties agreed to accept the judgment of the justices, but afterwards one of them wished a decree of the council. *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, II. 333–335; also *ibid.*, III. 165.

[128] The commissions were by no means abandoned. There is an instance in which a complaint, having been examined by certain lords and justices of the council, was delivered to a commission of *oyer et terminer*. *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 16 Hen. VI., p. 199.

committees exercised the special powers of the council, and while the former were assigned to render final judgments, the latter reserved this prerogative to the council.

With these agencies of assistance, in most instances no doubt all that took place in the council was a reading or "rehearsal" of the case, sometimes rendered by the chancellor, as contained in the various written forms which have been described. As was once expressed in the appointment of a commission of inquiry, upon their report nothing should remain for the council but to render judgment.[129] If there were points for discussion these were most easily dealt with when drawn up in a succinct series of articles, which could be discussed and decided one by one.[130] In questions of law the justices were commonly summoned or otherwise communicated with for their advice. Indeed it was repeatedly enjoined by ordinances of Parliament[131] that the lords of the council should not decide legal questions without the aid of the justices. Consultation also with the king as expressed by the words *loquendum est cum rege,* might be made before the final decision. In the council this action was required only as the case was one in which the king was interested, but for a decree in chancery it was always necessary, if for no other reason than to obtain a warrant for the use of the great seal; whereas the privy seal could be used by council authority without further warrant. The final judgment or decree was the one essential matter which must be written in the court. In privy seal cases this was regularly inscribed by the clerk upon the back of the bill; in chancery cases the clerks with greater formality took separate membranes upon which to write a longer review. At this time endorsements were rarely made in chancery cases. In no particular is the distinction between the two courts more clearly drawn than in this technical point. In the reign of Richard II. the names of the councillors present were added by the clerk, and later appear as signatures. The various parchments and papers were then sewn together to constitute the "record and process". Few survive, however, in their original condition. From this record an "exemplification" or abstract upon the rolls of the chancery might be ordered, as was done for instance in the Fanhope case, for in the Privy Seal Office no enrollments of judicial decisions were made.

[129] *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 26 Edw. I., p. 384.

[130] Close Roll, 40 Edw. III., m. 6 d; an unlisted document, 13 Rich. II., "Exchequer Box".

[131] *Proceedings of the Privy Council,* II. 80, III. 151, 313, IV. 63; *Rot. Parl.,* IV. 506, V. 408 b, etc.

The council and the chancery were in a word courts of summary jurisdiction, proceeding in the words of the canonists *simpliciter et de plano ac sine strepitu et figura judicii*. As such they were appealed to by suitors against the notorious delays of the common law. "To make an end as speedily as possible", "to ordain hasty remedy", to give justice "without delay", were the desire expressed in many petitions. In the main this reputation was deserved, for while the council was difficult of access its cases once taken up were terminated in the shortest time. Thus an unusually extended case, begun on November 7 and continued with several adjournments, was ended on December 18,[132] while the longest duration of a litigation which the writer has observed lasted from July 9 till April 30.[133] Still one reads of cases postponed from day to day, partly heard or not heard at all, for the reason that the lords of the council were otherwise occupied.[134] This was, to repeat, a reason for the separate growth of the court of chancery. It is probable too that great masses of petitions, particularly those seeking relief against the notorious oppressions of the fifteenth century, were not dealt with at all,[135] and that this was a reason why the Star Chamber though continuously operative was unable to cope with the disorders of the time.

Another reason for the inefficiency of the council in this respect seems to lie in a certain timidity and leniency with which it dealt with the greatest offenders. Criminals who could not give security were sent to prison, but men who were rich enough readily found surety, and even from this through channels of favor they too often obtained release. Bondsmen or *mainpernors* no sooner gave security than they were likely to ask to have their obligations cancelled.[136] Moreover, lesser men had small chance in a struggle, when in order to find bonds they must even treat and accord with their enemies.[137] The weakness of the government also in enforcing obedience to the writs has already been mentioned. Not until a more vigorous policy was operative and a new differentiation of the council was made did the Star Chamber exert its full powers.

[132] Case 16 Rich. II., Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section II., file 3.

[133] Spynk case, Patent Roll, 38 Edw. III., pt. I., m. 15.

[134] "De diebus in dies continuate, quia prefati domini aliunde sic protunc occupati quod circa finalem decisionem prefatam litem non poterant." *Proceedings of the Privy Council*, II. 321; III. 36.

[135] I infer this from the fact that a large number are without endorsements or other marks to indicate that they have been heard. Council sessions also frequently ended leaving numbers of petitions undetermined.

[136] For example, Warrants Privy Seal, series I., section II., file 50.

[137] *Rot. Parl.*, IV. 84 a.

With the definitions made by the famous statute, *pro camera stellata*,[138] this chapter on the council and the chancery may be closed.[139] In declaring a class of crimes, namely those of maintenance and violence, to belong especially to the council, it made a clear distinction from the jurisdiction of the chancery; in designating the councillors who were to sit in the Star Chamber, it named a court separate from the chancery; in sanctioning the writs of privy seal and the inquisitorial examinations, it legitimatized the principal features of council procedure; and in declaring that punishment should be effective, it renounced the greatest weakness of the past.

To summarize the evidence which has been produced, the history of the council may be regarded as a series of special phases and differentiations, which were necessary from its ever-enlarging responsibilities. Of these phases the earliest, which has been described as the "council at the exchequer", was superseded by the "council in chancery", which was the dominant form of the fourteenth century. The later operation of the council on the inner lines afforded by the privy seal was found more expedient in the sphere of politics and in a certain field of justice. This became the dominant form of the fifteenth century. At the same time the older relations with the chancery continued, with a gradual tendency toward separation and independence. Not until the sixteenth century could the chancellor be said to be quite free of all association with the council.

James F. Baldwin.

[138] Statutes, 3 Hen. VII., c. 1.

[139] That the statute did not have the effect intended it is not necessary for me to argue. See Schofield, *Study of the Court of Star Chamber* (Chicago, 1900).

THE CLEAVAGE BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN VIRGINIA

Eastern and western Virginia in the ante-bellum days were unlike socially, politically, and economically. Their differences were due primarily to geographic influences. East of the Blue Ridge of mountains the surface is generally level, the climate even, and the soil adapted to the growth of staples. Here the industrial and social life centred in the large estate,[1] which had its origin in the nature of the agriculture adopted and in the institution of negro slavery. In many respects the plantation was self-sufficing. It furnished the raw materials which negro slaves converted into means of subsistence. Only the surplus staples went to purchase foreign luxuries and such articles as could not be grown or manufactured upon the estate. To the plantation owner the patronage of manufacturing on a large scale was a secondary and incidental thing, designed chiefly to supply luxuries. The broad arms of the Chesapeake, extending far inland, afforded the means of free commercial intercourse and early accustomed the Virginia planter to regard freedom of international trade as a prerogative. To him tariff walls were unnatural, and interference with established institutions was meddlesome, to say the least. From the outsider he desired little except the undisturbed enjoyment of his "rural simplicity".

West of the Blue Ridge of mountains the surface is either mountainous or hilly, the climate uneven, and the soil adapted to grazing and farming. These geographic barriers checked the westward extension of the plantation system and the early development of the transmontane country. When population at last pushed into that section, it came largely from the northern colonies and was composed of a variety of nationalities, the Scotch-Irish and Germans being the most important elements.[2] In both their manner of settlement and their mode of living, the westerners were unlike the eastern planters. Except the earliest pioneers, they had occupied and conquered the wilderness in bands of congenial families. With them the industrial and social life centred in the small farm, which

[1] Bruce, *Economic History of Virginia*, I. 569; *id.*, *Social Life of Virginia*, chs. III. and IV.; Wirt, *Henry*, pp. 32 ff.; Jefferson, *Notes on Virginia* (ed. of 1787), pp. 261–270; Tucker, *Jefferson*, I. 19; Rowland, *Mason*, I. 99.

[2] Kercheval, *History of the Valley*, p. 68.

was usually operated by its owner and the members of his family. The small communities and the villages, which sprang up in their midst, proceeded like the eastern plantations to become largely self-sufficing. The sale of live stock and surplus farm products, which found a ready market in Baltimore and Philadelphia, provided the westerners with those articles of luxury and manufacture which could not be produced at home.[3] A homogeneity of interest taught the various communities to make common efforts to secure better markets and means of access to them. When capital began to accumulate, a desire arose to develop the rich natural resources, the strata of coal and the forests of timber. Already schooled in the defense of community interests the westerners then became the advocates of vast schemes for internal improvements and a protective tariff.

Although the annals of Virginia record the events of sectional contests in the early colonial days,[4] it was not until the cismontane and transmontane societies came into contact that the integrity of the commonwealth was seriously endangered. In the period immediately preceding the American Revolution several schemes for new colonies, to be erected out of Virginia territory in the Trans-Alleghany, were proposed.[5] In Virginia the movement which culminated in national independence was largely a revolt of the democratic interior, under the leadership of Patrick Henry, against the conservative lowland, under the leadership of Pendleton and Randolph.[6] But independence added only new zeal and purpose to the participants in these sectional controversies. To defend his home against attacks by the savages and to secure a more adequate means of internal communication the westerner felt the imperative need of a strong national government.[7] On the other hand, the Whig planters desired the greatest local autonomy. When "a more perfect union" was finally formed, the westerners defended it out of pure patriotism. To them it was their nearest realization of a democratic government; it guaranteed to every thirty thousand of its citizens an equal representation in Congress, whereas the state constitution of 1776 denied to the large western counties an adequate

[3] *Debates of the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829–1830*, p. 452.

[4] Spotswood, *Letters*, II. 98–99.

[5] Alden, *New Governments west of the Alleghanies before 1780* (Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin Historical Series, vol. II., no. 1).

[6] Tyler, *Henry*, p. 56; *Journal of the House of Burgesses* (ed. Kennedy), 1766–1769, pp. x–xxi; Wirt, *Henry*, pp. 69–75. The interior counties of the Piedmont co-operated with the transmontane country in the movement for independence.

[7] *Virginia Historical Collections*, X. 18, 27, 40.

voice in either branch of the state legislature.[8] On the other hand, the easterners maintained their undemocratic rule over their western brethren, while they preached the greatest individualism in federal relations. Accordingly, the westerners voted for the adoption of the federal Constitution,[9] against the Resolutions of 1798,[10] and against the various resolutions favorable to Nullification and Secession proposed in 1832.[11] In the first instance the commercial interests of the Tidewater combined with the west and brought victory, but on each of the subsequent occasions the west was in a hopeless minority.

During the quarter century from 1825 to 1850 the sectional controversies in Virginia were conducted with great zeal but with little organization. The west was the growing and aggressive section; the east the declining and conservative one. Every move on the part of the former for a proportionate representation in the general assembly and a proportionate expenditure of the state revenues was met by the reminder that the taxable property and population of the east were greater than that of the west and that the east possessed a "peculiar species" of property, negro slaves, the possession of which could be guaranteed and secured only by giving to masters a voice in the government adequate to the protection of their interests.[12] It was during this period that the easterners began to ridicule and to declare impracticable the "abstractions" and "metaphysical subtleties" of Thomas Jefferson and thus to insist upon the rule of the minority as opposed to the rule of the numerical majority. On the other hand, the westerners attacked both the practice of unequal representation and the institution of negro slavery. In them they saw the sole causes of their political degradation and of their arrested social and economic development.[13] Arguments opposing and supporting these two extremes were poured forth in profusion in the Constitutional Convention of 1829–1830 and in the assembly of 1831–1832, where the expediency of legislating upon the abolition of negro slavery was the chief subject of discussion. But the west lost in each contest, and there are few years during the period from 1830 to 1850 which did not bring forth schemes for the

[8] *Debates and Proceedings on the Virginia Resolutions of 1798* (ed. of 1835), pp. 81, 176. Each county was allowed two representatives in the House of Delegates. This gave the small eastern counties political control over the larger and more populous western counties.

[9] Elliot, *Debates*, III. 649–650.

[10] *Debates and Proceedings on the Virginia Resolutions of 1798*, p. 212.

[11] Lynchburg *Virginian*, January 7, February 11, 1833; *Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1832–1833, pp. 79, 82, 88.

[12] *Debates of the Constitutional Convention of 1829–1830*, pp. 72–88.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 116, 123–125, 143, 425.

dismemberment of the commonwealth. Long articles appeared in many of the western prints suggesting suitable seats of government and executive officers for a new state to be erected west of the Blue Ridge.[14]

But the events of 1850 and 1851 changed the character of this sectional contest. The census of 1850 showed that western Virginia had a greater free white population than eastern Virginia and that the taxable property of the former section was rapidly increasing in amount. These facts and the necessity for local political accord, because of the impending national crisis, caused the easterners to relent. Accordingly the Reform Convention of 1850–1851 placed the westerners in practical control of the state government. With their citadel of strength in the Valley the Democrats now gained almost undisputed political control. Lavish appropriations for works of internal improvement were made and proposed; Joseph Johnson, the first and only person to be elected from the Trans-Alleghany, was made governor; and J. M. Mason, of the Valley, was re-elected to the United States Senate. The westerners also accepted the Compromise of 1850 as a final settlement of the various questions growing out of the existence of negro slavery in the South and its proposed extension to the Southwest. Since the days of Nullification a majority of the voters of their section had been Democrats of the Jacksonian type, whereas the Whig minority had adhered to the nationalistic wing of their party. It was thus easy for all parties at the west to sacrifice political prejudices and local interests for the preservation of the Union. Robbed of their western allies, the eastern Whigs ceased to be formidable, and the sectional contests ceased temporarily to be menacing.

But the period of political accord following 1851 was only the calm before the storm. The east grew more and more distrustful of the west, and in 1852 the eastern Democrats repudiated the Compromise of 1850.[15] Meanwhile a new opposition party, the Know-Nothing, was forming in the east out of the remnants of the old Whig party and was rapidly extending itself to the west, where grave dissatisfaction with the educational and internal improvement policies of the state continued to exist. The mysteries surrounding the Know-Nothing organization, its liberal policy on the subject of internal improvements, and the avowed determination of its leaders

[14] *Kanawha Banner*, September 17, October 29, November 15, 1830; *Winchester Republican*, October 15, December 3, 1830.

[15] *National Intelligencer*, April 8, 1852.

to suppress further agitation of questions growing out of negro slavery appealed to the westerners.[16]

To avert this threatened defeat and disruption of their party the Democrats brought forward Henry A. Wise as their candidate for governor in 1855. Although in thorough sympathy with the slaveholding interests Wise enjoyed great popularity in the counties west of the Blue Ridge. Like William L. Yancey, of Alabama, who had espoused the cause of woman's suffrage, and other political leaders of southern black-belts, Wise saw, as did few other Virginians of his day, the expediency of political alliances between the comparatively non-slaveholding and the slaveholding districts of the Southern States and the necessity as a means thereto of conceding some of the demands of the non-slaveholding sections. He had long been an advocate of the public free school and the constitutional reforms desired by the west.[17] In the Reform Convention of 1850–1851 he had been the only delegate from the Tidewater who had spoken with and voted with the delegates from the west. Thus he had ingratiated himself in the feelings of the westerners until they felt that he was the only eastern politician whom they could trust. He was hailed by them as the preserver of the integrity of the commonwealth and as "the champion of the Union-loving indomitable Democracy".[18] Had he desired it the Democratic party of Virginia would have united to support him for the presidential nomination of 1856.[19]

The contest between Wise, the Democratic, and Thomas S. Flournoy, the Know-Nothing, candidate for the governorship and the victory of the former were events of political importance.[20] By his brilliant oratory and winning personality Wise clinched his hold upon the west. Its young men became his personal followers and admirers, and several newspapers, devoted to his interests, were established there. In the larger field of politics the result of this contest was to prevent the threatened extension of Know-Nothingism to the Southern States, to kill temporarily the opposition party in Virginia, and to place Wise before the country as a possible candidate for the presidency. A united party under

[16] Wise, *Wise*, pp. 170 ff.; *id.*, *Seven Decades of the Union*; Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 516; Hambleton, *Virginia Politics in 1855 and Life of Henry A. Wise*, pp. 60 ff.

[17] Wise, *Wise*, pp. 105, 162–163.

[18] *Kanawha Valley Star*, April 30, 1856.

[19] *Ibid.*, April 13, 20, 27, 1857; Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 520–526.

[20] Wise's majority was more than ten thousand, less than one thousand of which came from the counties east of the Blue Ridge. *Whig Almanac* for 1856, p. 56.

his leadership gave James Buchanan the largest majority yet given by Virginia to any Democratic candidate for the presidency and secured the election of the first solidly Democratic delegation to represent Virginia in Congress.[21]

Masters at home but alarmed at the successes of the Abolitionists on the far western frontier, Wise and his political associates took up the programme, already popular in the Gulf States, for a united pro-slavery South. Their slogan was slavery extension and the preservation of Southern institutions and ideals. To this proposed new South they hoped, and not without assurances of success, to attach a united Virginia. Wise's popularity in the west and the conciliatory results of the Reform Convention of 1850–1851 were relied upon to win that section. Besides, slavery extension had always been popular in western Virginia. Its most representative citizens boasted of their Southern ancestry and of their devotion to Southern institutions, and its political leaders had always insisted that the extension of slave territory could not increase the number of negro slaves or the evils of slaveholding. In the debate over the admission of Missouri they had argued for the extension of negro slavery, because extension would permit dissemination and a consequent greater intimacy between master and slave.[22]

Despite the devotion of the former Whig element to the Union the Southern propagandists counted upon the united co-operation of eastern Virginia. The Jeffersonian theory of states' rights had always been popular there, and the new doctrine of minority rights, founded upon the Jeffersonian teachings, formulated by Calhoun, and expounded in Virginia by Abel P. Upshur and Benjamin W. Leigh, was every day becoming more and more popular with the masses. Moreover, the slave-owners of this section continued to derive large annual profits from the domestic slave-trade, and some of them, not without encouragement from such industrial leaders as Edmund Ruffin and others, hoped again to see negro slavery profitable economically.

One step in the pro-Southern movement was to make Virginia the intellectual and political head of a new South.[23] For this purpose the state university, whence should emanate the orthodox teachings on the nature of the federal government, was to be made the intellectual centre. To co-operate in this movement ministers and educators deserted their private and denominational institutions to

[21] Buchanan's majority was 25,548. *Tribune Almanac* for 1857, p. 51.

[22] *Annals of Congress*, 16 Cong., 1 sess., I. 996, 1000, 1268–1272.

[23] This plan had its inception with Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson, *Writings* (ed. Ford), VII. 164, 204, 455.

write books and pamphlets in defense of the new educational movement and the institution of negro slavery. The public prints were also active. During the fifties the Richmond press contained many editorial articles written to deter Southerners from attending Northern institutions of learning and to lessen the influence of the "Yankee" school-teacher in the South.[24]

Under these influences the University of Virginia became a close second to Harvard in enrollment and attained a prominence never enjoyed before and scarcely attained since. The attendance rose from less than two hundred in 1848 to almost seven hundred in 1858.[25] The Richmond press praised it as the one institution of the country where "southern youths, who are united by common devotion to southern rights, to southern institutions, to southern manners, and to southern chivalry", could be educated in "like manner" and with "similar thoughts".[26] It also rejoiced in the disappearance of the Yankee school-teacher, in the fact that his place was being filled by those to the "manor born", and in the growing disposition of Southerners to patronize their own institutions of learning.

Notwithstanding the popularity of the university in the slaveholding sections of Virginia and in the lower South, it had few friends west of the Blue Ridge. There the Yankee school-teacher and the public free-school movement continued to hold their own. The inhabitants of western Virginia looked upon their state university as an institution established especially for the sons of eastern and Southern "nabobs". Consequently they opposed all efforts to increase the appropriations for it and to enlarge its faculty.[27] Instead of fostering higher education they maintained that the general assembly should make provision whereby "the men of small farms" could educate their children in the rudiments of learning.[28] E. W. Newton, editor of the *Kanawha Republican*[29] and a former Vermont school-teacher, urged through the columns of his paper the cause of the public free school and condemned higher education, when obtained at the cost of illiteracy to the masses. In 1860 there were twice as many west Virginians attending colleges in the free states as there were students from that section enrolled in all the colleges east of the Blue Ridge in Virginia. Out of a total of three hundred

[24] *Richmond Enquirer*, January 6, 1860.

[25] *House Document No. 12* of the assembly of 1858–1859.

[26] *Kanawha Valley Star*, December 2, 1856; July 12, 1859.

[27] *Journal of the House of Delegates*, 1841–1842, doc. no. 7.

[28] *Kanawha Republican*, May 21, 1842.

[29] The *Republican*, published at Charleston, was the largest and best newspaper in Trans-Alleghany Virginia prior to the Civil War.

and seventeen Virginians attending the university in 1858–1859 only seventeen came from what is now West Virginia.

The westerners opposed also the movement, popular in the east, for a military training for young Southerners. In 1835 they voted against the act of the assembly whereby the academy and arsenal at Lexington were converted into a state military school. They continued to oppose appropriations to this institution and to refuse to patronize it freely, notwithstanding the fact that the state paid a portion of each state cadet's expenses.

The differences between the churches, especially the differences between those denominations which sprang from a division of the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Baptist denominations, had, by 1855, become a part of the political contests and were doing much to shape public opinion on political subjects. The Southern churches which arose from divisions within these denominations were defending Southern interests and institutions, and some of their ministers were defending the doctrine of the divine origin and plan of negro slavery. On the other hand, the Northern churches of a similar origin were condemning negro slavery as a sin and preaching against its extension into the territories.

Because of their greater importance these differences will be traced only as they manifested themselves in the contests between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Since 1844 these two churches had contended with each other for the church membership and property throughout a vast territory embracing the Eastern Shore, the Northern Neck, the Valley, and a large part of the Trans-Alleghany. When the Kansas controversy became acute the Southern church in the border adopted the policy of "carrying everything up to the Mason and Dixon line".[30] To accomplish this undertaking it sent agents and ministers into the disputed territory. On arriving there these representatives were met by persons sent out by the Northern church to retain its foothold in slave territory and to strengthen that hold, if possible. The discussions which took place between these two opposing sets of representatives were marked by the usual vituperation and bitterness of religious controversies and did much during the next half decade to shape antagonistic pro-Southern and pro-Union sentiment.

After 1856 the Methodist Episcopal Church in the border states championed the cause of the Union. Not unfrequently her ministers put to their congregations the plain question "Do you desire the dissolution of the American Union?" They were then plainly

[30] *Kanawha Valley Star*, September 15, 1857; March 9 1859.

told that if they did not desire disunion, it was their duty "to speak out in thunder tones and tell these disunionists [the members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South] that they shall not divide the church of the land by the line which separates the slave states from the free". "Tell them", said Rev. Wesley Smith, "that the Methodist Episcopal Church shall exist on slave territory to the end of time and that as a Heaven appointed instrumentality . . . we shall aid in preserving the integrity of the Union."[31]

In 1856 the radicals in the Methodist Episcopal Church secured control of its publications, which were henceforth used to denounce negro slavery and Southern institutions in general.[32] Those periodicals of the Northern church which circulated in western Virginia spoke without apology of "the stench, the suffocation, and the death" of slave society.[33] The Sunday-school literature in circulation there contained warnings against the temptations of "slave holding, stealing, and intemperance".[34]

By those who adhered to the Southern church these attacks were regarded as purely political. Consequently both the church and the political organs of pro-Southern sentiment felt called upon to answer them. In many instances it would have been difficult to tell from their contents whether or not the pro-Southern newspapers or periodicals of the Valley or the Trans-Alleghany were church or party organs. Both insisted upon it that the Methodist Episcopal Church was "an abolitionist, anti-slavery, anti-southern, and anti-Virginian institution" and that it was "more of a political than a religious organization".[35] Mass-meetings were held to protest against the "dissemination of sentiments derogatory and dangerous to our institutions". The resolutions passed at Boothsville, Marion County (now a part of West Virginia), are given as typical of those passed elsewhere. They are as follows:

1. Resolved, That, as the firm friends of the National Constitution, we pledge ourselves to oppose with manly firmness every attempt of northern abolitionists and of their coadjutors, who are vainly seeking to conceal their dark purposes by fraud and disguise to beguile our people into an alliance with Black Republicanism.

2. That the present position of the northern division of the Methodist Episcopal Church on the slavery question, the action of its general

[31] *Defence of the M. E. Church,* pamphlet, by Rev. Wesley Smith. This pamphlet may be found in the office of the *Pittsburg Christian Advocate,* Pittsburg, Pennsylvania.

[32] Matlack, *Anti-Slavery Struggle,* p. 296.

[33] *Pittsburg Christian Advocate,* August 21, 1857; *Kanawha Valley Star,* September 1, 1857.

[34] *Kanawha Valley Star,* January 12, 1858.

[35] *Ibid.,* October 20, December 8, 1857.

and annual conferences, and the course taken by its editors and clergy prove it to be as thoroughly abolitionist as any party organization in the country.

3. That we ask as a special favor of the Methodist Episcopal Church and any other Church that may consider this country a part of their moral vineyard for the future, to send among us only such ministers as have wisdom and grace enough to enable them to preach the gospel without meddling with our civil institutions.[36]

Because of the political movements which combined with them, the importance which the contests in religious matters had in shaping antagonistic pro-Southern and pro-Union sentiment in Virginia has been greatly minimized. But many of the older residents of northern West Virginia insist to this day that "the Methodist Episcopal Church dismembered Virginia". The historical accuracy of this statement may be justly questioned, but it is significant that the pro-Union and pro-Southern strength of western Virginia in 1861 could have been measured and located by determining the membership and location of the various churches of the Methodist Episcopal Church and Methodist Episcopal Church, South, respectively.

The diverse sectional development along economic lines was as marked as in educational and religious matters. Edmund Ruffin and other leading agriculturists of eastern Virginia now joined their political associates in the assertion that their state could hope to regain her fallen prestige and sunken fortunes only by increasing her slave population and by maintaining the domestic slave-trade. In some of the ablest pro-slavery arguments of the ante-bellum period, these leaders defended negro slavery as an economic good and necessity, ordained and sanctioned by God. For the first time in Virginia history large numbers of the masses joined her politicians to condemn the "political heresies" of Thomas Jefferson.[37] The annual commercial conventions of the South, forerunners of the Confederacy, were attended by many delegates from eastern Virginia, who took a sympathetic part in all the proceedings except those connected with the movement to reopen the African slave-trade. So enthusiastic did certain eastern politicians become over the Southern programme that the Richmond press professed to believe the political union of Virginia consummated. Occasionally it threatened those isolated sections of the west which showed marked Abolitionist tendencies with unfriendly legislation and other marks of disfavor.

On the other hand the west took little or no interest in the Southern commercial conventions. Always true to the individualism of

[36] *Kanawha Valley Star*, September 15, 1857.

[37] De Bow, *Review*, XXIV. 584; XXVI. 415 ff.; see Edmund Ruffin, *Political Economy of Slavery*.

Jefferson, western leaders now contended that the easterners had forgotten their original states'-rights doctrines and that they had become advocates of Southern rights and minority rights instead. They opposed "a union of all parties at the South for the defense of the South", because, said they, "such a course will lead to a union of all parties at the North for the destruction of the South", or the dismemberment of the Union.[38] True to the teachings and plans of the fathers they believed negro slavery an economic evil and hoped for the day when it should be abolished.[39] The western prints also commented freely upon the fact that the Richmond newspapers had "during the discussion over Kansas" changed from "the strictly states rights sentiment to the position of one defending the South".[40] They received the attacks upon the Abolitionist communities of the west as attacks upon the section as a whole. In answer to a threat made by the *Richmond Examiner* against the western Abolitionists the *Guyandotte Union* said: "You know not what it awakens in the bosom of honest patriots! Leave Guyandotte . . . to the quiet and peaceful enjoyment of negro worship! Oh! *Examiner! Examiner!* you know not how you sink the hearts of this people. Thou hast wounded the spirit that loved thee."[41]

The internal improvement legislation and activity of Wise's administration was determined largely by the programme for a united pro-Southern Virginia. To conciliate the west and to counteract the influence of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which was diverting the traffic of northwestern Virginia to Baltimore, the long-neglected scheme for a continuous railroad through central Virginia by way of the James and Kanawha rivers was revived and favorably received in the east. Of this proposed road and its purpose the *Richmond Enquirer* said: "This very region [western Virginia] is the seat of a large portion of the military strength of the state, containing as it does a majority of the white population. *It is as if we had a citadel filled with men and out-works feebly manned with no communication one to the other.*"[42] Of the same scheme the *Kanawha Valley Star,* a western newspaper in sympathy with the pro-Southern programme, said: "We now come to . . . the gradual preparation of Virginia for the great future struggle that every revolving year is hastening upon her: The struggle whose issue will be states rights and constitutional union, or

[38] *Kanawha Valley Star,* July 14, 1857.
[39] *Ibid.,* May 26, September 23, 1857.
[40] *Ibid.,* September 8, 1857, quoting the *Wheeling Argus.*
[41] *Ibid.,* October 13, 1857. quoting the *Guyandotte Union.*
[42] *Richmond Enquirer,* August 10, 1855; see De Bow, *Review,* XIX. 445 ff.

a union of power untempered by law, unchecked by constitutional guarantees, ruled only by a fickle, irresponsible, fanatical majority."[43]

After delays caused by the financial panic of 1857 the scheme for connecting the James and Kanawha rivers was revived, but the railroad as a means thereto had fallen into disfavor. The long-abandoned scheme for a continuous waterway was again proposed. Its promoters thus hoped to divert commerce from the Erie Canal route and to make Norfolk a commercial rival of New York City. To complete these plans William Ballard Preston was sent abroad, and was authorized to negotiate with a French syndicate, which, it was hoped, would furnish means to complete the canal and to establish a direct steamship line between Norfolk and Nantes.[44] Despite the fact that the railroad was daily becoming more practicable as a means of communication, the scheme for a continuous canal through central Virginia gained in favor; and on the eve of Secession the rights and privileges of the old James River Company were given to French parties, who contracted to complete the proposed canal and to maintain direct communications between Virginia and France.[45]

Despite their growing desire for internal improvements the westerners did not co-operate with these belated efforts to connect eastern and western Virginia commercially. The inhabitants of the Kanawha Valley condemned the canal as impracticable and demanded a continuous railway instead. On the other hand, the inhabitants living along the Baltimore and Ohio and the Virginia and Tennessee railroads instructed their representatives in the general assembly to vote against appropriations for either a railroad or a canal to pass through the central part of the state.[46]

These sectional differences manifested themselves most strikingly, however, in the political contests of 1859 and 1860. The absence of a formidable opposition party and a lack of sympathy in the west for the pro-Southern programme threatened again to disrupt the Democratic party. Wise, the former political idol of the west, was now rapidly falling into disfavor there. The western-

[43] February 24, 1857.

[44] *Kanawha Valley Star*, January 19, 1858; Wise, *Wise*, p. 221; *Twenty-fourth Annual Report of the James River and Kanawha Company*, p. 449.

[45] This French syndicate was interested in coal lands in western Virginia. It owned a large tract known as the "Swan Lands". See *Forty-first Report of Board of Public Works*; also *Twenty-sixth Annual Report of the James River and Kanawha Company*.

[46] *Kanawha Valley Star*, April 6, 1858, April 16, 1860; *Journal of the General Assembly*, 1855–1856, p. 486.

ers did not like his activity in behalf of the Southern programme. Their prints now spoke of him as a "southern rights man" and not a "states rights man" and as being "bold without discretion and generous without judgment".[47] They refused to follow any leader who boastfully considered himself "a bold man in place, having their confidence and thus able to effect a union"[48] of the Southern people. Moreover, the old Jacksonian Democrats of the west could not understand why Mr. Wise should repudiate the Buchanan administration.[49]

R. M. T. Hunter, who, since the death of Calhoun, had lost much of his former enthusiasm for a united pro-slavery South, was rapidly displacing Wise as the leader in the west. Besides his conservatism and loyalty to the federal administration Hunter had other qualities which appealed to the westerners. Above all he was a firm believer in the Jeffersonian theory of states' rights. Also, he did not insist, as did Wise, upon committing the Democratic party, by platform or otherwise, on the subject of slavery extension. An easterner and an orthodox Southerner in every respect, he insisted that issues would not soon arise to necessitate such a course by the Democrats.[50]

By 1859 both Wise and Hunter were avowed candidates for the presidency, and as such each sought the support of Virginia to secure the nomination of the Democratic party.[51] Accordingly their respective adherents sought to name the gubernatorial candidate of that party and thus to secure control of the state organization. The supporters of Wise favored the nomination of John W. Brockenbrough, a resident of the east but widely and favorably known in the west, which section he had served for years as a federal judge. On the other hand the Hunter men favored the nomination of "honest John" Letcher,[52] the political idol of the "Tenth Legion", the Democratic stronghold of the Valley, and the choice of Virginia's representatives in Congress.

The contest between Letcher and Brockenbrough for the gubernatorial nomination was severe. It marked a decided departure from the methods and issues of previous campaigns. Despite the repeated assertions of their aversion to the injection of negro slavery into politics and religion Virginians now suffered it to be-

[47] *Kanawha Valley Star*, August 16, 1859.

[48] Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 521.

[49] Wise, *Wise*, p. 236; *id.*, *Seven Decades of the Union*, p. 246.

[50] The *John P. Branch Historical Papers*, vol. II., no. 2, pp. 40–55; *Richmond Examiner*, May 31, 1860.

[51] *Richmond Whig*, March 3, 1859; *New York Tribune*, June 16, 1859.

[52] *Kanawha Valley Star*, October 12, 1858.

come the leading issue in a political contest within their own state. Because he had endorsed the "Ruffner Pamphlet" of 1847,[53] which proposed to divide Virginia into two districts, the eastern to be slaveholding and the western to be free, the Richmond newspapers denounced John Letcher as an "abolitionist and a free-soiler" and favored the nomination of Brockenbrough.[54] The orthodoxy of the candidates upon the subject of negro slavery was really the only issue in the contest. Considering the nature and the location of the opposition, Letcher's victory was doubly significant.

So heated was this contest that it resulted in more than one duel between leaders of the Democratic party. The "affair of honor" between O. Jennings Wise,[55] son of Governor Wise and an ardent pro-Southerner, and Sherrard Clemens, the representative of northwestern Virginia in Congress and leader of the Letcher forces in the Trans-Alleghany, was of subsequent political importance. While Clemens lay at the point of death suffering from the wound which Wise had inflicted upon him, his constituents took up his fight. They assailed the "blood and thunder" methods of the pro-Southern leaders and repeatedly avowed their determination not to follow them. "The gunpowder popularity of Wise is so great", wrote a correspondent to the *Wheeling Intelligencer*, "that he [Clemens] can be re-elected upon an independent ticket."[56]

The strife within the Democratic party revived hope in former Whigs and Know-Nothings, who now again organized themselves into an opposition party and named William L. Goggin, an eastern man of strong pro-Southern sentiments, as their candidate for the governorship.

The contest between Goggin and Letcher was simply a continuation of that between Brockenbrough and Letcher. Wise and the *Richmond Enquirer* gave Letcher only a half-hearted support, both at times being accused of desiring the election of Goggin.[57] Follow-

[53] Dr. W. H. Ruffner, president of Washington College (now Washington and Lee), was the author of the pamphlet which bears his name. It had a wide circulation in western Virginia and received the endorsement of many of her prominent leaders.

[54] *Richmond Whig*, January 7, March 15, 1858; *Richmond Enquirer*, November 2, 1859; *Kanawha Valley Star*, July 6, October 19 and 26, November 9 and 16, 1858.

[55] See *Richmond Enquirer*, September 14, 1858, and the ensuing issues; *Kanawha Valley Star*, September 21 and 30, 1858.

[56] January 17, February 18 and 19, 1859. When the ordinance of Secession was adopted by Virginia, it was Clemens, still upon crutches, who led the delegates from western Virginia to his room in the Ford Hotel and took the first steps leading to the formation of West Virginia.

[57] *Richmond Whig*, March 24, April 22, May 25, 1859; *Kanawha Valley Star*, May 24, 1859.

ing the cue of the *Richmond Whig* the eastern prints repeated the charges of Freesoilism made against Letcher. Editorial combats between the eastern and western newspapers followed. For example the *Richmond Whig* said: "We impeach him [Letcher] of warring upon the fundamental interests of the state . . . upon the institution of slavery itself and of endeavoring to exterminate it root and branch." To this the *Wheeling Intelligencer* replied:

> It is more particularly that part of the sentence which speaks of slavery as "the fundamental interest of the state" that we have singled out and it is to it in particular that we call the white working men of Western Virginia. We ask them if they are disposed to enter into an opposition contest upon this issue with John Letcher? Do they for this reason also impeach John Letcher?[58]

Notwithstanding Letcher's repudiation of his former Abolitionist tendencies, he owed his victory over Goggin to them and to the lack of sympathy in western Virginia for the pro-Southern programme. East of the Blue Ridge the total majority was against him, but west thereof he carried every Congressional district except one. Two Congressional districts bordering upon Ohio and Pennsylvania gave Letcher almost 4500 majority in a total majority vote of only 5569.[59]

That both the cause and the significance of Letcher's election were understood in eastern Virginia and elsewhere is evident from the editorial comments upon it. The *Richmond Whig* said: "Letcher owes his election to the tremendous majority he received in the Northwest Free Soil counties, and in these counties to his anti-slavery record" and "By the vote of Virginia and Virginians Wm. L. Goggin is today the Governor elect by thousands. But the Yankeeism and Black Republicanism of the Pan Handle and other portions of the Northwest have carried John Letcher into the gubernatorial chair."[60] In the following manner the *Richmond Whig* recommended Letcher to the Republicans of northwestern Virginia as a suitable nominee of their party for the presidency: "His majority comes from that neighborhood and his Ruffner antecedents entitle him to the consideration of a convention proposed to be held where his best friends reside."[61]

Hunter's friends regarded Letcher's election as indicative of

[58] January 15, 1859.

[59] *Tribune Almanac* for 1860, p. 51; *Richmond Enquirer*, May 27, 1859.

[60] June 7, 1859. See also *Richmond Whig*, April 26, 1858, August 5, 1859, quoting the *National Era*; *Wheeling Intelligencer*, March 24, 1859, quoting the *Ohio State Journal*.

[61] *Wheeling Intelligencer*, June 10, 1859. In 1860 there was talk of holding the Republican National Convention at Wheeling, Virginia.

success for themselves in the presidential contest. But before they were called upon to show their strength other events occurred which lessened Wise's popularity in the west, if not in all parts of the state. Few Virginians disapproved of Governor Wise's conduct in connection with John Brown's Raid, but many became disgusted with his subsequent voluminous letter-writing in an effort to keep the John Brown affair before the people.[62] They refused to be alarmed because of the acts of an Abolitionist fanatic and insisted that Wise desired to make political capital of them by placing behind his presidential boom a united and alarmed South ready to look to him as its leader and deliverer. Consequently, many of the westerners opposed his plan for a conference of the Southern States to devise means for their protection, as well as the bills proposed by him and introduced in the assembly to provide for the establishment of any armory and for the better organization of the state militia.

When the Democratic State Convention met in the spring of 1860, neither Wise nor Hunter was able to control it, so evenly were their forces divided. Consequently, this convention did not attempt to instruct the delegates from Virginia to the Charleston Convention, but it called upon the voters in the several Congressional districts to express a choice between Wise and Hunter when they selected delegates to the National Convention.[63] A spirited canvass followed, but, to the surprise of many, Hunter received practically all of the delegates from the west and several of those from the east, who at Charleston, under the unit rule, cast the vote of Virginia for him to the very last.[64]

Defeat in the Charleston Convention and the subsequent inability to agree upon one candidate for the presidency brought further disorganization to the Democratic party of Virginia. Notwithstanding, the election of 1860 in that state was a triumph for conservatism and the Union. The only radical tendencies, either Northern or Southern, were shown by the handful of Republicans in the extreme northwest and by the eastern wing of the Breckinridge party. Not one of the three leading parties, the Constitutional Union, which secured the electoral vote of the state, the Breckinridge party, which came within four hundred votes of a plurality, or the Douglas party, was influenced to any great extent by the

[62] Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 551; *Kanawha Valley Star*, December 26, 1859, April 2, 1860; *Richmond Enquirer*, January 6, 1860.

[63] *Richmond Enquirer*, February 28, 1860; Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 557.

[64] *Richmond Enquirer*, February 28, 1860; *Richmond Whig*, July 9 and September 30, 1860; Tyler, *Letters and Times of the Tylers*, II. 557.

Southern programme. The rank and file of each of these parties continued to stand for the "constitutional union of the fathers".

The Douglas Democrats, found in largest numbers in the western counties and in the vicinity of Richmond, were for the "preservation of the Union". They claimed to be the only true Jeffersonian Democrats. On the subject of slavery extension, they opposed the admission of Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution, because that constitution had not been ratified according to the letter and spirit of the doctrine of popular sovereignty. They urged the election of their candidate as necessary to prevent the triumph of a sectional party.

The Breckinridge party made gains in the former Whig counties of the east, but its chief strength was in the old Democratic strongholds of the west. There it had the advantage over the Douglas party of a better claim to regularity. Because of their bitter and long-drawn-out contest with the opposition, party regularity had become a habit with many voters of the mountain and hill sections. Their only question was "What is the Democratic ticket?" The Breckinridge party also controlled the press, which had always been a potent influence with the Virginia voter. Two other factors operated to keep the westerners, many of whom soon joined the Union army, in line for the Breckinridge ticket. It also claimed to stand alone upon the Democratic platform of 1798, and the term "Jeffersonian Democracy" has always been dear to the Virginia mountaineer. Besides, Breckinridge enjoyed great popularity in the western counties. He lived in a neighboring state, and he had long been regarded as the political heir to the conservatism of the Great Pacificator.

The Constitutional Union party acted in the capacity of the old Whig and Know-Nothing opposition parties. Its votes came from former opposition strongholds, and, although it received the electoral vote of the state, its total vote, when compared with that given Breckinridge and Douglas, was not greater than the usual minority poll. The opposition of this party to Democrats of whatever type led the *Richmond Whig*, its mouthpiece, to pledge its support to "Seward a thousand times sooner than to any Democrat, Northern or Southern, in the land".[65] The Constitutional Union party stood for the conservatism of the Whigs and also for the Union of the Fathers as formulated in the doctrines of 1798. But that the eastern and western wings of both this party and the Breckinridge party differed greatly in their respective interpreta-

[65] September 30, 1859.

tion of "Constitutional Union" and the "principles" of 1798, there can be no doubt.

As is frequently the case in political contests, so in this one, the party casting the smallest number of votes soon became the most important. For this reason the Republican party of Virginia in 1860 deserves more than passing notice. Unlike the Constitutional Union and the former Know-Nothing parties, it did not pose as an opposition party. Its platform, adopted at Wheeling in 1860, declared that, since the administration party had come under the absolute leadership of Toombs, Yancey, and Davis, it had ceased to be the party of "Old Hickory" and had become a "Southern-British-Antitariff-Disunion party", and that opposition was no longer necessary or advisable. It insisted that the cotton planters of the lower South had made war upon the manufacturers of the North and that they were trying to drive capital from the mills into agriculture in an endeavor to increase the number and value of negro slaves. It also alleged that the slave interests of Virginia had encroached upon the personal rights of the free white men of her western counties by weighing them down with oppressive taxation and by denying them a proportionate representation in the general assembly. But this platform differs from the others chiefly in its clear exposition of the economic and political differences between eastern and western Virginia. It resembles them in that it, too, stood for the Union of the Fathers.[66]

Thus the dominating element in each of the four political parties in Virginia, in 1860, stood for the preservation of the Union and for conservatism. But when the Southern States began to secede, after the election of Lincoln, states' rights became the paramount issue, political parties began to disintegrate, and the Union-loving west lost its hold upon the political policies of the state. As has been said, the eastern and western factions of both the Constitutional Union and the Breckinridge parties differed widely in their respective interpretations of the principles of 1798 and of the nature of the federal government. For the most part the easterners, irrespective of party affiliations, believed sincerely that the states were sovereign and "in duty bound" to protect their rights and defend their territory. But with them diversity of opinion had been so great and devotion to the Union so strong that they had never been able to agree upon a means for protecting their rights. Some had refused to see serious infringements of rights in given cases; others had insisted upon fighting within the Union; others upon the right of a state to nullify a federal law; and still others

[66] See *Wheeling Intelligencer*, May 3, 1860.

upon the constitutional right of peaceful secession. When Lincoln's call for volunteers raised the question of defending the state's territory, all these differences of opinion immediately crystallized, and the easterners presented a united front in favor of Secession.

On the other hand, the west had never doubted the ultimate sovereignty of the federal government. As has been seen, its representatives had voted for the ratification of the federal Constitution, against the Resolutions of 1798, and for the resolutions condemning Nullification. Thus when it came to a choice of an alliance with the Union or with their own state in a contest to determine the ultimate sovereignty, the inhabitants of the west did not hesitate to choose the former.

During the months immediately preceding the secession of Virginia the eastern and western parts of the state struggled with unprecedented vigor. The west fought for delay, opposing the proposed constitutional convention and extra session of the assembly, but the east held out and secured both. While these assemblies deliberated and other Southern states seceded, the germs of radicalism in the handful of Republicans in the northwest fed upon the discontent of that section and, throughout the district already prepared by the Letcher-Goggin campaign and the contest between the churches, grew into a formidable Union party. On the other hand, the germs of radicalism in the eastern wing of the Breckinridge party, which had long maintained a precarious existence upon the movement for a united pro-slavery South, were resuscitated. The accession of former Whigs increased its strength, and it soon grew into a well-organized Secession party of much greater vitality than its prototypes of 1832 and 1850. Under the influence of subsequent events it was impossible to prevent a clash between these two parties; impossible to keep the eastern radicals from carrying Virginia out of the Union and the radicals of the northwest from dismembering the "Mother of Commonwealths".

Charles H. Ambler.

RECONSTRUCTION AND ITS BENEFITS[1]

THERE is danger to-day that between the intense feeling of the South and the conciliatory spirit of the North grave injustice will be done the negro American in the history of Reconstruction. Those who see in negro suffrage the cause of the main evils of Reconstruction must remember that if there had not been a single freedman left in the South after the war the problems of Reconstruction would still have been grave. Property in slaves to the extent of perhaps two thousand million dollars had suddenly disappeared. One thousand five hundred more millions, representing the Confederate war debt, had largely disappeared. Large amounts of real estate and other property had been destroyed, industry had been disorganized, 250,000 men had been killed and many more maimed. With this went the moral effect of an unsuccessful war with all its letting down of social standards and quickening of hatred and discouragement—a situation which would make it difficult under any circumstances to reconstruct a new government and a new civilization. Add to all this the presence of four million freedmen and the situation is further complicated. But this complication is very largely a matter of well-known historical causes. Any human being "doomed in his own person, and his posterity, to live without knowledge, and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits",[2] is bound, on sudden emancipation, to loom like a great dread on the horizon.

How to train and treat these ex-slaves easily became a central problem of Reconstruction, although by no means the only problem. Three agencies undertook the solution of this problem at first and their influence is apt to be forgotten. Without them the problems of Reconstruction would have been far graver than they were. These agencies were: (a) the negro church, (b) the negro school, and (c) the Freedmen's Bureau. After the war the white churches of the South got rid of their negro members and the negro church organizations of the North invaded the South. The 20,000 members of the African Methodist Episcopal Church in 1856 leaped to 75,000 in 1866 and 200,000 in 1876, while their property increased

[1] Paper read at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association in New York, December, 1909.

[2] State *v.* Mann, *North Carolina Reports*, 2 Devereux 263.

sevenfold. The negro Baptists with 150,000 members in 1850 had fully a half million in 1870. There were, before the end of Reconstruction, perhaps 10,000 local bodies touching the majority of the freed population, centring almost the whole of their social life, and teaching them organization and autonomy. They were primitive, ill-governed, at times fantastic groups of human beings, and yet it is difficult to exaggerate the influence of this new responsibility—the first social institution fully controlled by black men in America, with traditions that rooted back to Africa and with possibilities which make the 35,000 negro American churches to-day, with their three and one-half million members, the most powerful negro institutions in the world.

With the negro church, but separate from it, arose the school as the first expression of the missionary activity of Northern religious bodies. Seldom in the history of the world has an almost totally illiterate population been given the means of self-education in so short a time. The movement started with the negroes themselves and they continued to form the dynamic force behind it. "This great multitude rose up simultaneously and asked for intelligence."[3] The education of this mass had to begin at the top with the training of teachers, and within a few years a dozen colleges and normal schools started; by 1877, 571,506 negro children were in school. There can be no doubt that these schools were a great conservative steadying force to which the South owes much. It must not be forgotten that among the agents of the Freedmen's Bureau were not only soldiers and politicians but school-teachers and educational leaders like Ware and Cravath.

Granted that the situation was in any case bad and that negro churches and schools stood as conservative educative forces, how far did negro suffrage hinder progress, and was it expedient? The difficulties that stared Reconstruction politicians in the face were these: (a) They must act quickly. (b) Emancipation had increased the political power of the South by one-sixth: could this increased political power be put in the hands of those who, in defense of slavery, had disrupted the Union? (c) How was the abolition of slavery to be made effective? (d) What was to be the political position of the freedmen?

Andrew Johnson said in 1864, in regard to calling a convention to restore the state of Tennesee,

> who shall restore and re-establish it? Shall the man who gave his influence and his means to destroy the Government? Is he to participate in the great work of re-organization? Shall he who brought this

[3] First General Report of the Inspector of Schools, Freedmen's Bureau.

misery upon the State be permitted to control its destinies? If this be so, then all this precious blood of our brave soldiers and officers so freely poured out will have been wantonly spilled.[4]

To settle these and other difficulties, three ways were suggested: (1) the Freedmen's Bureau, (2) partial negro suffrage, and (3) full manhood suffrage for negroes.

The Freedmen's Bureau was an attempt to establish a government guardianship over the negroes and insure their economic and civil rights. Its establishment was a herculean task both physically and socially, and it not only met the solid opposition of the white South, but even the North looked at the new thing as socialistic and over-paternal. It accomplished a great task but it was repudiated. Carl Schurz in 1865 felt warranted in saying

> that not half of the labor that has been done in the south this year, or will be done there next year, would have been or would be done but for the exertions of the Freedmen's Bureau. . . . No other agency, except one placed there by the national government, could have wielded that moral power whose interposition was so necessary to prevent the southern society from falling at once into the chaos of a general collision between its different elements.[5]

Notwithstanding this the Bureau was temporary, was regarded as a makeshift and soon abandoned.

Meantime, partial negro suffrage seemed not only just but almost inevitable. Lincoln in 1864 "cautiously suggested" to Louisiana's private consideration, "whether some of the colored people may not be let in, as, for instance, the very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks. They would probably help, in some trying time to come, to keep the jewel of liberty in the family of freedom."[6] Indeed, the "family of freedom" in Louisiana being somewhat small just then, who else was to be intrusted with the "jewel"? Later and for different reasons, Johnson in 1865 wrote to Mississippi:

> If you could extend the elective franchise to all persons of color who can read the Constitution of the United States in English and write their names, and to all persons of color who own real estate valued at not less than two hundred and fifty dollars, and pay taxes thereon, you would completely disarm the adversary and set an example the other States will follow. This you can do with perfect safety, and you thus place the southern States, in reference to free persons of color, upon the same basis with the free States. I hope and trust your convention will do this.[7]

[4] McPherson, *Reconstruction*, p. 46.

[5] Schurz. Report to the President, 1865. *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. 40.

[6] Letter to Hahn, March 13. McPherson, p. 20.

[7] Johnson to Sharkey, August 15. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

Meantime the negroes themselves began to ask for the suffrage—the Georgia Convention in Augusta, 1866, advocating "a proposition to give those who could write and read well, and possessed a certain property qualification, the right of suffrage". The reply of the South to these suggestions was decisive. In Tennessee alone was any action attempted that even suggested possible negro suffrage in the future, and that failed. In all other states the "Black Codes" adopted were certainly not reassuring to friends of freedom. To be sure it was not a time to look for calm, cool, thoughtful action on the part of the white South. Their economic condition was pitiable, their fear of negro freedom genuine; yet it was reasonable to expect from them something less than repression and utter reaction toward slavery. To some extent this expectation was fulfilled: the abolition of slavery was recognized and the civil rights of owning property and appearing as a witness in cases in which he was a party were generally granted the negro; yet with these went in many cases harsh and unbearable regulations which largely neutralized the concessions and certainly gave ground for the assumption that once free the South would virtually re-enslave the negro. The colored people themselves naturally feared this and protested as in Mississippi "against the reactionary policy prevailing, and expressing the fear that the Legislature will pass such proscriptive laws as will drive the freedmen from the State, or practically re-enslave them".[8]

The Codes spoke for themselves. They have often been reprinted and quoted. No open-minded student can read them without being convinced that they meant nothing more nor less than slavery in daily toil. Not only this but as Professor Burgess (whom no one accuses of being negrophile) says:

> Almost every act, word or gesture of the Negro, not consonant with good taste and good manners as well as good morals, was made a crime or misdemeanor, for which he could first be fined by the magistrates and then be consigned to a condition of almost slavery for an indefinite time, if he could not pay the bill.

These laws might have been interpreted and applied liberally, but the picture painted by Carl Schurz does not lead one to anticipate this:

> Some planters held back their former slaves on their plantations by brute force. Armed bands of white men patrolled the country roads to drive back the negroes wandering about. Dead bodies of murdered negroes were found on and near the highways and by-paths. Gruesome reports came from the hospitals—reports of colored men and women whose ears had been cut off, whose skulls had been broken by blows,

[8] October 7, 1865.

whose bodies had been slashed by knives or lacerated with scourges. A number of such cases I had occasion to examine myself. A veritable reign of terror prevailed in many parts of the South. The negro found scant justice in the local courts against the white man. He could look for protection only to the military forces of the United States still garrisoning the "States lately in rebellion" and to the Freedmen's Bureau.

All things considered, it seems probable that if the South had been permitted to have its way in 1865 the harshness of negro slavery would have been mitigated so as to make slave-trading difficult, and to make it possible for a negro to hold property and appear in some cases in court; but that in most other respects the blacks would have remained in slavery.

What could prevent this? A Freedmen's Bureau, established for ten, twenty or forty years with a careful distribution of land and capital and a system of education for the children, might have prevented such an extension of slavery. But the country would not listen to such a comprehensive plan. A restricted grant of the suffrage voluntarily made by the states would have been a reassuring proof of a desire to treat the freedmen fairly, and would have balanced, in part at least, the increased political power of the South. There was no such disposition evident. On the other hand, there was ground for the conclusion in the Reconstruction report of June 18, 1866, that so far as slavery was concerned "the language of all the provisions and ordinances of these States on the subject amounts to nothing more than an unwilling admission of an unwelcome truth." This was of course natural, but was it unnatural that the North should feel that better guarantees were needed to abolish slavery? Carl Schurz wrote:

> I deem it proper, however, to offer a few remarks on the assertion frequently put forth, that the franchise is likely to be extended to the colored man by the voluntary action of the Southern whites themselves. My observation leads me to a contrary opinion. Aside from a very few enlightened men, I found but one class of people in favor of the enfranchisement of the blacks: it was the class of Unionists who found themselves politically ostracised and looked upon the enfranchisement of the loyal negroes as the salvation of the whole loyal element. . . . The masses are strongly opposed to colored suffrage; anybody that dares to advocate it is stigmatized as a dangerous fanatic.
>
> The only manner in which, in my opinion, the southern people can be induced to grant to the freedman some measure of self-protecting power in the form of suffrage, is to make it a condition precedent to "readmission".[9]

[9] Report to the President, 1865. *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. 44.

Even in Louisiana, under the proposed reconstruction

not one negro was allowed to vote, though at that very time the wealthy intelligent free colored people of the state paid taxes on property assessed at $15,000,000 and many of them were well known for their patriotic zeal and love for the Union. Thousands of colored men whose homes were in Louisiana, served bravely in the national army and navy, and many of the so-called negroes in New Orleans could not be distinguished by the most intelligent strangers from the best class of white gentlemen, either by color or manner, dress or language, still, as it was known by tradition and common fame that they were not of pure Caucasian descent, they could not vote.[10]

The United States government might now have taken any one of three courses:

1. Allowed the whites to reorganize the states and take no measures to enfranchise the freedmen.
2. Allowed the whites to reorganize the states but provided that after the lapse of a reasonable length of time there should be no discrimination in the right of suffrage on account of "race, color or previous condition of servitude".
3. Admitted all men, black and white, to take part in reorganizing the states and then provided that future restrictions on the suffrage should be made on any basis except "race, color and previous condition of servitude".

The first course was clearly inadmissible since it meant virtually giving up the great principle on which the war was largely fought and won, *i. e.*, human freedom; a giving of freedom which contented itself with an edict, and then turned the "freed" slaves over to the tender mercies of their impoverished and angry ex-masters was no gift at all. The second course was theoretically attractive but practically impossible. It meant at least a prolongation of slavery and instead of attempts to raise the freedmen, it gave the white community strong incentives for keeping the blacks down so that as few as possible would ever qualify for the suffrage. Negro schools would have been discouraged and economic fetters would have held the black man as a serf for an indefinite time. On the other hand, the arguments for universal negro suffrage from the start were strong and are still strong, and no one would question their strength were it not for the assumption that the experiment failed: Frederick Douglass said to President Johnson: "Your noble and humane predecessor placed in our hands the sword to assist in saving the nation, and we do hope that you, his able successor, will favorably regard the placing in our hands the ballot with which to save ourselves."[11] And when Johnson demurred

[10] Brewster, *Sketches of Southern Mystery, Treason, and Murder*, p. 116.
[11] Frederick Douglass to Johnson, February 7, 1866. McPherson, p. 52.

on account of the hostility between blacks and poor whites, a committee of prominent colored men replied:

> Even if it were true, as you allege, that the hostility of the blacks toward the poor whites must necessarily project itself into a state of freedom, and that this enmity between the two races is even more intense in a state of freedom than in a state of slavery, in the name of Heaven, we reverently ask, how can you, in view of your professed desire to promote the welfare of the black man, deprive him of all means of defence, and clothe him whom you regard as his enemy in the panoply of political power?[12]

Carl Schurz expressed this argument most emphatically:

> The emancipation of the slaves is submitted to only in so far as chattel slavery in the old form could not be kept up. But although the freedman is no longer considered the property of the individual master, he is considered the slave of society, and all independent State legislation will share the tendency to make him such.
>
> The solution of the problem would be very much facilitated by enabling all the loyal and free-labor elements in the south to exercise a healthy influence upon legislation. It will hardly be possible to secure the freedman against oppressive class legislation and private persecution, unless he be endowed with a certain measure of political power.[13]

To the argument of ignorance Schurz replied:

> The effect of the extension of the franchise to the colored people upon the development of free labor and upon the security of human rights in the south being the principal object in view, the objections raised on the ground of the ignorance of the freedmen become unimportant. Practical liberty is a good school. . . . It is idle to say that it will be time to speak of negro suffrage when the whole colored race will be educated, for the ballot may be necessary to him to secure his education.[14]

The granting of full negro suffrage meant one of two alternatives to the South: (a) the uplift of the negro for sheer self-preservation; this is what Schurz and the saner North expected; as one Southern superintendent said: "the elevation of this class is a matter of prime importance since a ballot in the hands of a black citizen is quite as potent as in the hands of a white one." Or (b) a determined concentration of Southern effort by actual force to deprive the negro of the ballot or nullify its use. This is what happened, but even in this case so much energy was taken in keeping the negro from voting that the plan for keeping him in virtual slavery and denying him education failed. It took ten years to

[12] McPherson, p. 56.

[13] Report to the President, 1865. *Senate Ex. Doc. No. 2*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. 45.

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 43.

nullify negro suffrage in part and twenty years to escape the fear of federal intervention. In these twenty years a vast number of negroes had risen so far as to escape slavery forever. Debt peonage could be fastened on part of the rural South, and was, but even here the new negro landholder appeared. Thus despite everything the Fifteenth Amendment and that alone struck the death knell of slavery.

The steps that ended in the Fifteenth Amendment were not, however, taken suddenly. The negroes were given the right by universal suffrage to join in reconstructing the state governments and the reasons for it were cogently set forth in the report of the Joint Committee on Reconstruction in 1866, which began as follows:

> A large proportion of the population had become, instead of mere chattels, free men and citizens. Through all the past struggle these had remained true and loyal, and had, in large numbers, fought on the side of the Union. It was impossible to abandon them without securing them their rights as free men and citizens. The whole civilized world would have cried out against such base ingratitude, and the bare idea is offensive to all right-thinking men. Hence it became important to inquire what could be done to secure their rights, civil and political.[15]

The report then proceeded to emphasize the increased political power of the South and recommended the Fourteenth Amendment, since

> It appeared to your committee that the rights of these persons by whom the basis of representation had been thus increased should be recognized by the General Government. While slaves, they were not considered as having any rights, civil or political. It did not seem just or proper that all the political advantages derived from their becoming free should be confined to their former masters, who had fought against the Union, and withheld from themselves, who had always been loyal.[16]

It was soon seen that this expedient of the Fourteenth Amendment was going to prove abortive and that determined and organized effort would be used to deprive the freedmen of the ballot. Thereupon the United States said the final word of simple justice, namely: the states may still regulate the suffrage as they please but they may not deprive a man of the right to vote simply because he is a negro.

For such reasons the negro was enfranchised. What was the result? No language has been spared to describe these results as the worst imaginable. Nor is it necessary to dispute for a moment that there were bad results, and bad results arising from negro suffrage; but it may be questioned if the results were as bad as painted or if negro suffrage was the prime cause.

[15] *House Reports No. 30*, 39 Cong., 1 sess., p. xiii.
[16] *Ibid.*

Let us not forget that the white South believed it to be of vital interest to its welfare that the experiment of negro suffrage should fail ignominiously, and that almost to a man the whites were willing to insure this failure either by active force or passive acquiescence; that beside this there were, as might be expected, men, black and white, Northern and Southern, only too eager to take advantage of such a situation for feathering their own nests. The results in such case had to be evil but to charge the evil to negro suffrage is unfair. It may be charged to anger, poverty, venality, and ignorance; but the anger and poverty were the almost inevitable aftermath of war; the venality was much greater among whites than negroes, and while ignorance was the curse of the negroes, the fault was not theirs, and they took the initiative to correct it.

The chief charges against the negro governments are extravagance, theft, and incompetency of officials. There is no serious charge that these governments threatened civilization or the foundations of social order. The charge is that they threatened property, and that they were inefficient. These charges are in part undoubtedly true, but they are often exaggerated. When a man has, in his opinion, been robbed and maltreated he is sensitive about money matters. The South had been terribly impoverished and saddled with new social burdens. In other words, a state with smaller resources was asked not only to do a work of restoration but a larger social work. The property-holders were aghast. They not only demurred, but, predicting ruin and revolution, they appealed to secret societies, to intimidation, force, and murder. They refused to believe that these novices in government and their friends were aught but scamps and fools. Under the circumstances occurring directly after the war, the wisest statesman would have been compelled to resort to increased taxation and would in turn have been execrated as extravagant and even dishonest. When now, in addition to this, the new legislators, white and black, were undoubtedly in a large number of cases extravagant, dishonest, and incompetent, it is easy to see what flaming and incredible stories of Reconstruction governments could gain wide currency and belief. In fact, the extravagance, although great, was not universal, and much of it was due to the extravagant spirit pervading the whole country in a day of inflated currency and speculation. The ignorance was deplorable but a deliberate legacy from the past, and some of the extravagance and much of the effort was to remedy this ignorance. The incompetency was in part real and in part emphasized by the attitude of the whites of the better class.

When incompetency gains political power in an extravagant age the result is widespread dishonesty. The dishonesty in the reconstruction of the South was helped on by three circumstances:

1. The former dishonesty in the political South.

2. The presence of many dishonest Northern politicians.

3. The temptation to Southern politicians at once to profit by dishonesty and to discredit negro government.

4. The poverty of the negro.

(1) Dishonesty in public life has no monopoly of time or place in America. To take one state: In 1839 it was reported in Mississippi that ninety per cent. of the fines collected by sheriffs and clerks were unaccounted for. In 1841 the state treasurer acknowledges himself "at a loss to determine the precise liabilities of the state and her means of paying the same". And in 1839 the auditor's books had not been posted for eighteen months, no entries made for a year, and no vouchers examined for three years. Congress gave Jefferson College, Natchez, more than 46,000 acres of land; before the war this whole property had "disappeared" and the college was closed. Congress gave to Mississippi among other states the "16th section" of the public lands for schools. In thirty years the proceeds of this land in Mississippi were embezzled to the amount of at least one and a half millions of dollars. In Columbus, Mississippi, a receiver of public moneys stole $100,000 and resigned. His successor stole $55,000, and a treasury agent wrote: "Another receiver would probably follow in the footsteps of the two. You will not be surprised if I recommend his being retained in preference to another appointment." From 1830 to 1860 Southern men in federal offices alone embezzled more than a million dollars—a far larger sum then than now. There might have been less stealing in the South during Reconstruction without negro suffrage but it is certainly highly instructive to remember that the mark of the thief which dragged its slime across nearly every great Northern state and almost up to the presidential chair could not certainly in those cases be charged against the vote of black men. This was the day when a national secretary of war was caught stealing, a vice-president presumably took bribes, a private secretary of the president, a chief clerk of the Treasury, and eighty-six government officials stole millions in the whiskey frauds, while the Credit Mobilier filched fifty millions and bribed the government to an extent never fully revealed; not to mention less distinguished thieves like Tweed.

Is it surprising that in such an atmosphere a new race learning the a-b-c of government should have become the tools of thieves?

And when they did was the stealing their fault or was it justly chargeable to their enfranchisement?

Undoubtedly there were many ridiculous things connected with Reconstruction governments: the placing of ignorant field-hands who could neither read nor write in the legislature, the gold spittoons of South Carolina, the enormous public printing bill of Mississippi—all these were extravagant and funny, and yet somehow, to one who sees beneath all that is bizarre, the real human tragedy of the upward striving of down-trodden men, the groping for light among people born in darkness, there is less tendency to laugh and gibe than among shallower minds and easier consciences. All that is funny is not bad.

Then too a careful examination of the alleged stealing in the South reveals much. First, there is repeated exaggeration. For instance it is said that the taxation in Mississippi was fourteen times as great in 1874 as in 1869. This sounds staggering until we learn that the state taxation in 1869 was only ten cents on one hundred dollars, and that the expenses of government in 1874 were only twice as great as in 1860, and that too with a depreciated currency. It could certainly be argued that the state government in Mississippi was doing enough additional work in 1874 to warrant greatly increased cost. A Southern white historian acknowledges that

> the work of restoration which the government was obliged to undertake, made increased expenses necessary. During the period of the war, and for several years thereafter, public buildings and state institutions were permitted to fall into decay. The state house and grounds, the executive mansion, the penitentiary, the insane asylum, and the buildings for the blind, deaf, and dumb were in a dilapidated condition, and had to be extended and repaired. A new building for the blind was purchased and fitted up. The reconstructionists established a public school system and spent money to maintain and support it, perhaps too freely, in view of the impoverishment of the people. When they took hold, warrants were worth but sixty or seventy cents on the dollar, a fact which made the price of building materials used in the work of construction correspondingly higher. So far as the conduct of state officials who were intrusted with the custody of public funds is concerned, it may be said that there were no great embezzlements or other cases of misappropriation during the period of Republican rule.[17]

The state debt of Mississippi was said to have been increased from a half million to twenty million when in fact it had not been increased at all.

The character of the real thieving shows that white men must

[17] Garner, *Reconstruction in Mississippi*, p. 322.

have been the chief beneficiaries and that as a former South Carolina slaveholder said:

> The legislature, ignorant as it is, could not have been bribed without money, that must have been furnished from some source that it is our duty to discover. A legislature composed chiefly of our former slaves has been bribed. One prominent feature of this transaction is the part which native Carolinians have played in it, some of our own household men whom the state, in the past, has delighted to honor, appealing to their cupidity and avarice make them the instruments to effect the robbery of their impoverished white brethren. Our former slaves have been bribed by these men to give them the privilege by law of plundering the property-holders of the state.[18]

The character of much of the stealing shows who were the thieves. The frauds through the manipulation of state and railway bonds and of bank-notes must have inured chiefly to the benefit of experienced white men, and this must have been largely the case in the furnishing and printing frauds. It was chiefly in the extravagance for "sundries and incidentals" and direct money payments for votes that the negroes received their share.

That the negroes led by astute thieves became tools and received a small share of the spoils is true. But two considerations must be added: much of the legislation which resulted in fraud was represented to the negroes as good legislation, and thus their votes were secured by deliberate misrepresentation. Take for instance the land frauds of South Carolina. A wise negro leader of that state, advocating the state purchase of lands, said:

> One of the greatest of slavery bulwarks was the infernal plantation system, one man owning his thousand, another his twenty, another fifty thousand acres of land. This is the only way by which we will break up that system, and I maintain that our freedom will be of no effect if we allow it to continue. What is the main cause of the prosperity of the North? It is because every man has his own farm and is free and independent. Let the lands of the South be similarly divided.

From such arguments the negroes were induced to aid a scheme to buy land and distribute it; yet a large part of $800,000 appropriated was wasted and went to the white landholder's pockets. The railroad schemes were in most cases feasible and eventually carried out; it was not the object but the method that was wrong.

Granted then that the negroes were to some extent venal but to a much larger extent ignorant and deceived, the question is: did they show any signs of a disposition to learn better things? The theory of democratic government is not that the will of the people is always right, but rather that normal human beings of average

[18] Hon. F. F. Warley in Brewster's *Sketches*, p. 150.

intelligence will, if given a chance, learn the right and best course by bitter experience. This is precisely what the negro voters showed indubitable signs of doing. First, they strove for schools to abolish ignorance, and, second, a large and growing number of them revolted against the carnival of extravagance and stealing that marred the beginning of Reconstruction, and joined with the best elements to institute reform; and the greatest stigma on the white South is not that it opposed negro suffrage and resented theft and incompetence, but that when it saw the reform movement growing and even in some cases triumphing, and a larger and larger number of black voters learning to vote for honesty and ability, it still preferred a Reign of Terror to a campaign of education, and disfranchised negroes instead of punishing rascals.

No one has expressed this more convincingly than a negro who was himself a member of the Reconstruction legislature of South Carolina and who spoke at the convention which disfranchised him, against one of the onslaughts of Tillman:

> The gentleman from Edgefield [Mr. Tillman] speaks of the piling up of the State debt; of jobbery and peculation during the period between 1869 and 1873 in South Carolina, but he has not found voice eloquent enough, nor pen exact enough to mention those imperishable gifts bestowed upon South Carolina between 1873 and 1876 by Negro legislators—the laws relative to finance, the building of penal and charitable institutions, and, greatest of all, the establishment of the public school system. Starting as infants in legislation in 1869, many wise measures were not thought of, many injudicious acts were passed. But in the administration of affairs for the next four years, having learned by experience the result of bad acts, we immediately passed reformatory laws touching every department of state, county, municipal and town governments. These enactments are today upon the statute books of South Carolina. They stand as living witnesses of the Negro's fitness to vote and legislate upon the rights of mankind.
>
> When we came into power town governments could lend the credit of their respective towns to secure funds at any rate of interest that the council saw fit to pay. Some of the towns paid as high as twenty per cent. We passed an act prohibiting town governments from pledging the credit of their hamlets for money bearing a greater rate of interest than five per cent.
>
> Up to 1874, inclusive, the State Treasurer had the power to pay out State funds as he pleased. He could elect whether he would pay out the funds on appropriations that would place the money in the hands of the speculators, or would apply them to appropriations that were honest and necessary. We saw the evil of this and passed an act making specific levies and collections of taxes for specific appropriations.
>
> Another source of profligacy in the expenditure of funds was the law that provided for and empowered the levying and collecting of special taxes by school districts, in the name of the schools. We saw its evil and by a constitutional amendment provided that there should

only be levied and collected annually a tax of two mills for school purposes, and took away from the school districts the power to levy and to collect taxes of any kind. By this act we cured the evils that had been inflicted upon us in the name of the schools, settled the public school question for all time to come, and established the system upon an honest, financial basis.

Next, we learned during the period from 1869 to 1874, inclusive, that what was denominated the floating indebtedness, covering the printing schemes and other indefinite expenditures, amounted to nearly $2,000,000. A conference was called of the leading Negro representatives in the two houses together with the State Treasurer, also a Negro. After this conference we passed an act for the purpose of ascertaining the bona fide floating debt and found that it did not amount to more than $250,000 for the four years; we created a commission to sift that indebtedness and to scale it. Hence when the Democratic party came into power they found the floating debt covering the legislative and all other expenditures, fixed at the certain sum of $250,000. This same class of Negro legislators led by the State Treasurer, Mr. F. L. Cardoza, knowing that there were millions of fraudulent bonds charged against the credit of the State, passed another act to ascertain the true bonded indebtedness, and to provide for its settlement. Under this law, at one sweep, those entrusted with the power to do so, through Negro legislators, stamped six millions of bonds, denominated as conversion bonds, "fraudulent". The commission did not finish its work before 1876. In that year, when the Hampton government came into power, there were still to be examined into and settled under the terms of the act passed by us providing for the legitimate bonded indebtedness of the state, a little over two and a half million dollars worth of bonds and coupons which had not been passed upon.

Governor Hampton, General Hagood, Judge Simonton, Judge Wallace and in fact, all of the conservative thinking Democrats aligned themselves under the provision enacted by us for the certain and final settlement of the bonded indebtedness and appealed to their Democratic legislators to stand by the Republican legislation on the subject and to confirm it. A faction in the Democratic party obtained a majority of the Democrats in the legislature against settling the question and they endeavored to open up anew the whole subject of the state debt. We had a little over thirty members in the house and enough Republican senators to sustain the Hampton conservative faction and to stand up for honest finance, or by our votes place the debt question of the old state into the hands of the plunderers and peculators. We were appealed to by General Hagood, through me, and my answer to him was in these words: "General, our people have learned the difference between profligate and honest legislation. We have passed acts of financial reform, and with the assistance of God when the vote shall have been taken, you will be able to record for the thirty odd Negroes, slandered though they have been through the press, that they voted solidly with you all for honest legislation and the preservation of the credit of the State." The thirty odd Negroes in the legislature and their senators, by their votes did settle the debt question and saved the state $13,000,000. We were eight years in power. We had built school houses, established charitable institutions, built and maintained the penitentiary system, provided for the education of the deaf and dumb, rebuilt the jails and

court houses, rebuilt the bridges and re-established the ferries. In short, we had reconstructed the State and placed it upon the road to prosperity and, at the same time, by our acts of financial reform transmitted to the Hampton Government an indebtedness not greater by more than $2,500,000 than was the bonded debt of the State in 1868, before the Republican Negroes and their white allies came into power.[19]

So, too, in Louisiana in 1872 and in Mississippi later the better element of the Republicans triumphed at the polls and joining with the Democrats instituted reforms, repudiated the worst extravagance, and started toward better things. But unfortunately there was one thing that the white South feared more than negro dishonesty, ignorance, and incompetency, and that was negro honesty, knowledge, and efficiency.

In the midst of all these difficulties the negro governments in the South accomplished much of positive good. We may recognize three things which negro rule gave to the South:

1. Democratic government.
2. Free public schools.
3. New social legislation.

Two states will illustrate conditions of government in the South before and after negro rule. In South Carolina there was before the war a property qualification for office-holders, and, in part, for voters. The Constitution of 1868, on the other hand, was a modern democratic document starting (in marked contrast to the old constitutions) with a declaration that "We, the People", framed it, and preceded by a broad Declaration of Rights which did away with property qualifications and based representation directly on population instead of property. It especially took up new subjects of social legislation, declaring navigable rivers free public highways, instituting homestead exemptions, establishing boards of county commissioners, providing for a new penal code of laws, establishing universal manhood suffrage "without distinction of race or color", devoting six sections to charitable and penal institutions and six to corporations, providing separate property for married women, etc. Above all, eleven sections of the Tenth Article were devoted to the establishment of a complete public-school system.

So satisfactory was the constitution thus adopted by negro suffrage and by a convention composed of a majority of blacks that the state lived twenty-seven years under it without essential change and when the constitution was revised in 1895, the revision

[19] Speech of Thomas E. Miller, one of the six negro members of the South Carolina Constitutional Convention of 1895. The speech was not published in the *Journal* but may be found in the *Occasional Papers* of the American Negro Academy, no. 6, pp. 11–13.

was practically nothing more than an amplification of the Constitution of 1868. No essential advance step of the former document was changed except the suffrage article.

In Mississippi the Constitution of 1868 was, as compared with that before the war, more democratic. It not only forbade distinctions on account of color but abolished all property qualifications for jury service, and property and educational qualifications for suffrage; it required less rigorous qualifications for office; it prohibited the lending of the credit of the state for private corporations—an abuse dating back as far as 1830. It increased the powers of the governor, raised the low state salaries, and increased the number of state officials. New ideas like the public-school system and the immigration bureau were introduced and in general the activity of the state greatly and necessarily enlarged. Finally, that was the only constitution ever submitted to popular approval at the polls. This constitution remained in force twenty-two years.

In general the words of Judge Albion W. Tourgee, a "carpet-bagger", are true when he says of the negro governments:

> They obeyed the Constitution of the United States, and annulled the bonds of states, counties, and cities which had been issued to carry on the war of rebellion and maintain armies in the field against the Union. They instituted a public school system in a realm where public schools had been unknown. They opened the ballot box and jury box to thousands of white men who had been debarred from them by a lack of earthly possessions. They introduced home rule into the South. They abolished the whipping post, the branding iron, the stocks and other barbarous forms of punishment which had up to that time prevailed. They reduced capital felonies from about twenty to two or three. In an age of extravagance they were extravagant in the sums appropriated for public works. In all of that time no man's rights of person were invaded under the forms of law. Every Democrat's life, home, fireside and business were safe. No man obstructed any white man's way to the ballot box, interfered with his freedom of speech, or boycotted him on account of his political faith.[20]

A thorough study of the legislation accompanying these constitutions and its changes since would of course be necessary before a full picture of the situation could be given. This has not been done, but so far as my studies have gone I have been surprised at the comparatively small amount of change in law and government which the overthrow of negro rule brought about. There were sharp and often hurtful economies introduced marking the return of property to power, there was a sweeping change of officials, but the main body of Reconstruction legislation stood.

[20] *Occasional Papers* of the American Negro Academy, no. 6, p. 10; Chicago *Weekly Inter Ocean*, December 26, 1890.

This democracy brought forward new leaders and men and definitely overthrew the old Southern aristocracy. Among these new men were negroes of worth and ability. John R. Lynch when speaker of the Mississippi house of representatives was given a public testimonial by Republicans and Democrats and the leading Democratic paper said:

> His bearing in office had been so proper, and his rulings in such marked contrast to the partisan conduct of the ignoble whites of his party who have aspired to be leaders of the blacks, that the conservatives cheerfully joined in the testimonial.[21]

Of the colored treasurer of South Carolina, Governor Chamberlain said:

> I have never heard one word or seen one act of Mr. Cardozo's which did not confirm my confidence in his personal integrity and his political honor and zeal for the honest administration of the State Government. On every occasion, and under all circumstances, he has been against fraud and jobbery, and in favor of good measures and good men.[22]

Jonathan C. Gibbs, a colored man and the first state superintendent of instruction in Florida, was a graduate of Dartmouth. He established the system and brought it to success, dying in harness in 1874. Such men—and there were others—ought not to be forgotten or confounded with other types of colored and white Reconstruction leaders.

There is no doubt but that the thirst of the black man for knowledge—a thirst which has been too persistent and durable to be mere curiosity or whim—gave birth to the public free-school system of the South. It was the question upon which black voters and legislators insisted more than anything else and while it is possible to find some vestiges of free schools in some of the Southern States before the war yet a universal, well-established system dates from the day that the black man got political power. Common-school instruction in the South, in the modern sense of the term, was begun for negroes by the Freedmen's Bureau and missionary societies, and the state public-school systems for all children were formed mainly by negro Reconstruction governments. The earlier state constitutions of Mississippi "from 1817 to 1865 contained a declaration that 'Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government, the preservation of liberty and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.' It was not, however, until 1868 that encouragement was given to any general system of public schools meant to embrace

[21] Jackson (Mississippi) *Clarion*, April 24, 1873.
[22] Allen, *Governor Chamberlain's Administration in South Carolina*, p. 82.

the whole youthful population." The Constitution of 1868 makes it the duty of the legislature to establish "a uniform system of free public schools, by taxation or otherwise, for all children between the ages of five and twenty-one years". In Alabama the Reconstruction Constitution of 1868 provided that "It shall be the duty of the Board of Education to establish throughout the State, in each township or other school district which it may have created, one or more schools at which all the children of the State between the ages of five and twenty-one years may attend free of charge." Arkansas in 1868, Florida in 1869, Louisiana in 1868, North Carolina in 1869, South Carolina in 1868, and Virginia in 1870, established school systems. The Constitution of 1868 in Louisiana required the general assembly to establish "at least one free public school in every parish", and that these schools should make no "distinction of race, color or previous condition". Georgia's system was not fully established until 1873.

We are apt to forget that in all human probability the granting of negro manhood suffrage and the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment were decisive in rendering permanent the foundation of the negro common school. Even after the overthrow of the negro governments, if the negroes had been left a servile caste, personally free, but politically powerless, it is not reasonable to think that a system of common schools would have been provided for them by the Southern States. Serfdom and education have ever proven contradictory terms. But when Congress, backed by the nation, determined to make the negroes full-fledged voting citizens, the South had a hard dilemma before her: either to keep the negroes under as an ignorant proletariat and stand the chance of being ruled eventually from the slums and jails, or to join in helping to raise these wards of the nation to a position of intelligence and thrift by means of a public-school system. The "carpet-bag" governments hastened the decision of the South, and although there was a period of hesitation and retrogression after the overthrow of negro rule in the early seventies, yet the South saw that to abolish negro schools in addition to nullifying the negro vote would invite Northern interference; and thus eventually every Southern state confirmed the work of the negro legislators and maintained the negro public schools along with the white.

Finally, in legislation covering property, the wider functions of the state, the punishment of crime and the like, it is sufficient to say that the laws on these points established by Reconstruction legislatures were not only different from and even revolutionary to the

laws in the older South, but they were so wise and so well suited to the needs of the new South that in spite of a retrogressive movement following the overthrow of the negro governments the mass of this legislation, with elaboration and development, still stands on the statute books of the South.

Reconstruction constitutions, practically unaltered, were kept in

Florida, 1868–1885	17 years.
Virginia, 1870–1902	32 years.
South Carolina, 1868–1895	27 years.
Mississippi, 1868–1890	22 years.

Even in the case of states like Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, and Louisiana, which adopted new constitutions to signify the overthrow of negro rule, the new constitutions are nearer the model of the Reconstruction document than they are to the previous constitutions. They differ from the negro constitutions in minor details but very little in general conception.

Besides this there stands on the statute books of the South to-day law after law passed between 1868 and 1876, and which has been found wise, effective, and worthy of preservation.

Paint the "carpet-bag" governments and negro rule as black as may be, the fact remains that the essence of the revolution which the overturning of the negro governments made was to put these black men and their friends out of power. Outside the curtailing of expenses and stopping of extravagance, not only did their successors make few changes in the work which these legislatures and conventions had done, but they largely carried out their plans, followed their suggestions, and strengthened their institutions. Practically the whole new growth of the South has been accomplished under laws which black men helped to frame thirty years ago. I know of no greater compliment to negro suffrage.

W. E. Burghardt Du Bois.

DOCUMENTS

Documents relative to the Adjustment of the Roman Catholic Organization in the United States to the Conditions of National Independence, 1783–1789.

It was the general policy of the Roman Catholic Church to recognize in its ecclesiastical administration the actual governmental conditions in America. The Spanish possessions, as they changed from time to time, were under the direction of the Spanish crown and the papal nuncio at Madrid; those of France were under the more immediate superintendence of the nuncio at Paris;[1] and the responsibility for those of England, at least from 1746,[2] rested upon the vicar-general at London, who reported through the nuncio at Brussels.[3] At Rome the management of all these fell to the Congregation of the Propaganda. The cession of Canada to England in 1763 led to a practical modification of this system, as the bishop and chapter of Quebec kept up their connection with Rome through an agent at Paris, generally the director of the Seminary of Foreign Missions, and the nuncio at Paris;[4] but the patronage of the see passed from the hands of the King of France.[5]

It was natural, therefore, that the situation created by the treaty of Paris in 1783 should engage the attention of the papal statesmen, even though the ravages of the Barbary pirates made any temporal relations between the Pontifical and the United States improbable. To continue the spiritual direction in the hands of the vicar-general at London would seem to court the disfavor of the Americans; and besides, that direction had never been very effective, and was likely to be less so now that the Society of Jesus, to which the American priests belonged, had been dissolved.[6] An element of novelty was introduced by the fact that the United States were the first independent nation in America, and were without a European metropolis. It was therefore natural to consider the possibility that

[1] Propaganda Archives, Atti, vol. I., f. 3; February 4, 1622.

[2] *Id.*, Atti, ff. 176–182; July 9, 1746.

[3] See note 1.

[4] Propaganda Archives, Scritture Riferite, America Settentrionale, Canada, etc., 1668 al 1791, vol. I., *passim*. "Congregazioni Particolari", vol. 137, ff. 1–71.

[5] *Id.*, ff. 47–50.

[6] July 21, 1773. Shea, *Carroll*, p. 38.

France, their ally, might act as intermediary. Another novel element was the refusal of the United States government to intermeddle in ecclesiastical affairs, while instructing Franklin to testify to the papal nuncio their respect "to his sovereign and state".[7] The following letters show the care and good judgment devoted to this delicate situation, although the fact that no special congregation was appointed to consider it, and that the first settlement was reached without even referring the matter to the full congregation,[8] would seem to indicate that its importance was underestimated.

The correspondence furnishes another illustration of the divergence of French and American interests which was apparent in the peace negotiations. The French government was undoubtedly influenced in making its liberal offers of educational assistance by the desire to strengthen in America the party which favored the French alliance, and it was only the protest of the American Catholics which prevented their being brought into closer dependence upon France.[9]

The documents given here are all from the archives of the Propaganda at Rome. The regular diplomatic correspondence between the papal secretary of state and the nuncio at Paris contains nothing pertinent.[10] None of these documents have been previously published, although some of them have been used by Dr. J. D. G. Shea in his *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*.[11] He cites also documents from the papers of Archbishop Carroll, and from the French archives, which are pertinent to this subject, but which are not given here.[12]

Carl Russell Fish.

I. Instructions for the Nuncio in Paris (Doria Pamphili).[13]

I. *Istruzione per Monsignor Nunzio di Francia mandata con Lettera di Congregazione il 15 Gennaro 1783 dopo averne riportata l'Approvazione di Nostro Signore.*

In occasione delle paci generali, che sonosi conchiuse fra i principi dell' Europa, la Santa Sede è stata solita di sempre invigilare con somma

[7] *Secret Journals of Congress*, IV. 493; May 11, 1784.

[8] The documents presented to the full congregation in 1789, at the time of the creation of the bishopric of Baltimore, were chiefly of a formal character; the real adoption of a policy was in 1784.

[9] Shea, *Carroll*, pp. 204–248. Dr. Shea seems to exaggerate the maliciousness of the French government, not entirely escaping that animus which influences nearly all writing on the subject, on whichever side.

[10] Archivio Vaticano, Nunziatura di Francia, vol. 556, July 14, 1783, notes the formal calls of Franklin, Adams, and Jay.

[11] Shea, *Carroll*, pp. 204–248.

[12] The typewritten copies of most of these letters reached me after leaving Rome, and I was consequently unable to collate them with the originals, and I have refrained from making any changes save in one or two cases where it was obvious that the wrong letter had been struck.

[13] Istruzioni, vol. I., ff. 41–44.

sollecitudine per gl' intressi o comuni della religione, o suoi particolari, cioè de' propri patrimonj e giurisdizioni. Quindi è che ai congressi di dette paci ha spediti o dei cardinali legati a latere, o dei prelati nunzi apostolici. Il trattato che va a conchiudersi tra le potenze belligeranti d'Europa non è certamente di quell' importanza, nè ha quei rapporti alla religione, e ai diritti della Sede Apostolica, ch' esigga una spedizione di un ablegato. Contuttociò essendosi già stabilita l'indipendenza delle provincie unite d'America dall' Inghilterra, e potendosi pur prevedere, che qualche altro paese o provincia passi in altrui dominio, sembra necessario che Nostro Signore prenda qualche pensiere e sollecitudine per l'esercizio, e conservazione della religion cattolica in quegli stati.

A quest' effetto è necessario che monsignor nunzio resti informato, che tutte le possessioni dell' Inghilterra o nel continente o nell' isole dell' America, eccettuatone il Canadà ove dopo il passaggio di questo regno al dominio Britannico si è sempre conservato il proprio vescovo in Quebec, come si era in tempo del governo francese, in vigore dell' articolo IV di pace segnato in Parigi li 10 Febbraio 1763, dipendevano nello spirituale dal vicario apostolico di Londra, e ciò non solo per un' antichissima consuetudine, ma ancora per autorità dei decreti della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda approvati da Sommi Pontefici. Tutti i missionarj pertanto di quelle vaste contrade ricevevano le facoltà per l'esercizio del ministero apostolico dal sopradetto vicario apostolico di Londra. Non si sa precisamente, qual sia al presente il numero dei cattolici, e quanto vi fiorisca la cattolica religione in quelle possessioni degli Inglesi. Da una relazione del 1756,[14] che è l'ultima mandata alla congregazione di Propaganda dal vicario apostolico di Londra si rileva, che nella Marylandia vi erano da diecimila cattolici comunicanti, i quali venivano assistiti da dodici sacerdoti della soppressa Compagnia di Gesù: nella Pensilvania se ne contavano cinquemila, serviti essi pure da quattro missionarii Gesuiti; nella Virginia, nella nuova Yorck, nella Jersey vi erano soltanto dei cattolici dispersi quà e là, ed ignoravasi anche dal vicario se avessero sacerdoti, che loro potessero amministrare i sagramenti, e se in quegli abitanti vi fosse tollerato l'esercizio della cattolica religione. Or siccome la prossima dichiarazione dell' indipendente sovranità di tutte queste provincie rompe tutti i vincoli di subordinazione politica e civile, che avevano col governo Britannico, così ancora rimarrà sciolto di sua natura ogni legame nelle materie religiose, e perciò verrà tolta ogni influenza e direzione, che vi ha avuta fino a questi tempi il vicario apostolico di Londra. Le parti dunque del nunzio apostolico alla corte di Francia nelle presenti circostanze dovrebbero esser quelle di impegnare efficacemente lo zelo e la pietà di Sua Maestà Cristianissima, acciocchè mediante l'efficace influsso, che egli ha sui principali capi del congresso Americano, si compiaccia d'interporre la valevole sua autorità in farsi, che tra le convenzioni solenni di pace, da rimaner garantite dalla pubblica fede, non sia dimenticato l'importantissimo articolo concernente il libero esercizio e conservazione della religione cattolica, e tanto più che dopo la dimora, che hanno fatto in quelle provincie le truppe francesi, vi abbia la religione cattolica fatto qualche progresso.

Oltre poi questo generale interesse, che come figlio primogenito dee

[14] This is apparently the relation found in this archive, in the Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. I., ff. 290–291, and dated August 2, 1763. See also Shea, *Carroll*, p. 52.

prendere il re cristianissimo alla dilatazione della chiesa cattolica, non può essere a meno che molti sudditi della Maestà Sua, o si fermino in quelle provincie, o vi abbiano luoghi, o frequenti accessi per ragion di commercio, e quindi a vantaggio della salute spirituale di essi debb' essere pure a cuore della Maestà Sua che i suoi sudditi trovino colà dei sacerdoti, i quali amministrino loro i sagramenti, e gli assistano in tutti gli altri loro bisogni spirituali.

Altre volte ha sperimentato la Sede Apostolica quanto efficace fosse la protezione del re di Francia a pro della religione in occasione di simili trattati di pace. Vaglia per tutti l'articolo quarto della pace di Riswich seguita nell' anno 1697. Luigi XIV avea colle sue vittoriose armi invaso tutti i stati della Casa Palatina infetti dall' eresia, e siccome durante la stazione delle truppe francesi, la religione cattolica vi avea fatto de' progressi, perciò nell' articolo quarto di detta pace fu convenuto così: Religione tamen catholica Romana in locis sic restitutis in statu quo nunc est, remanente. E non meno efficace e favorevole alla religione cattolica è il sopracitato articolo 4° del trattato di Parigi del 1763, per cui nel Canadà quantunque dominato da una potenza eretica, vi si conserva e fiorisce il cattolicismo. Quanto pertanto si trovasse alla corte di Francia l'opportuno favore per l'inserzione di un articolo preservativo del pubblico esercizio della religion cattolica nella repubblica delle provincie unite d'America farebbe pur di mestieri implorare il patrocinio di Sua Maestà Cristianissima per concertare un piano di missioni e missionarj in servizio dei cattolici colà dimoranti. Siccome prima dipendevano dal vicario apostolico di Londra, così il sistema più ovvio e anche più proficuo sarebbe di stabilire in qualcuna delle principali città un vicario apostolico col carattere vescovile scelto tra i sudditi della nuova repubblica, il quale avesse dalla Sede Apostolica le facoltà per governare spiritualmente i cattolici di tutte quelle regioni, e a lui poi dovrebbe darsi l'incarico di stabilire varie stazioni di missionari più o meno numerose, a proporzione del bisogno di ciascuna provincia. Si propone un vescovo Vicario apostolico, poichè potrebbe questo supplire a tutti i bisogni e per l'amministrazione della cresima, e per l'ordinazione ancora di qualche chierico tra sudditi della nuova repubblica, e così si toglierebbe la gelosia di stato, se questi nuovi repubblicani fossero costretti per ricevere i detti sagramenti, ricorrere ai vescovi soggetti ad altro dominio. Ma quando per altri riflessi alieni fossero i capi del Congresso Americano di ammettere nel seno della loro patria alcun vescovo, potrebbesi in sua vece sostituire un prefetto generale di quelle missioni, a cui, fuori delle ordinazioni, dandosi l'istesso titolo e facoltà di Vicario Apostolico, ne potrebbe adempiere come quello perfettamente le veci. Se si trovassero de nazionali, dovrebbero esser questi sempre preferiti tanto pel vicariato apostolico con carattere vescovile, quanto per la semplice prefettura, e per il solo ufficio altresì di missionario, ma se non vi fossero, o non vi fossero degl'idonei, dovrebbe esser permesso di chiamarli dagli esteri dominj, ma sempre tra quelli che fossero più imparziali e più accetti al governo.

Dovrebbe anche convenirsi dei mezzi della sussistenza temporale di questi ministri evangelici. Sarà difficile, che a questo voglia concorrere la pubblica dominante sovranità, quantunque la ragion delle genti richieda, che i sudditi d' uno stato vengano istruiti sufficientemente di quella ragione, che loro si concede di professare, e che quei, che sono impiegati in questa istruzione, che rende gli uomini buoni e fedeli citta-

dini, e che è coerente al pubblico bene, siano dal pubblico mantenuti. Ma per non difficultare per cagion d'interesse temporale, il bene spirituale di tante anime, sarà pronta la congregazione di propaganda di dare un congruo assegnamento o al Vescovo, o al prefetto Vicarii Apostolici sperandosi, che gli altri missionarii potranno ricevere il loro sostentamento dalle elemosine dei fedeli, e molto più se saranno Francesi, e per servire ai sudditi di Sua Maestà Cristianissima lo riceveranno dalla sua regia e liberale munificenza.

II. The Nuncio in Paris to the Cardinal Prefect (Antonelli).[15]

Emin. e Revmo Sig. Sig. Padrone Colendissimo.
(*Sig. Card. Antonelli, prefetto della*
S. Congregazione di Propaganda, Roma.)

Resi consapevole il signor conte di Vergennes nella conferenza di martedì della scorsa settimana della istanza, che coll' oracolo di Nostro Signore della Sagra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide per mezzo di Vostra Eminenza mi è stata fatta, affinchè nel trattato di pace, che è per farsi tra le potenze, che sin quì sono state in guerra, si abbia il pensiero d'inserire qualche articolo per la conservazione e dilatazione della religione cattolica. Il nominato regio ministro, che di già all' articolo VIII dei preliminari di pace, sottoscritti in Versailles da esso come ministro plenipotenziario del re Cristianissimo, e dal signor Alleyne Fitz-Herbert ministro plenipotenziario del re della Gran Brettagna, ha avuto premura di assicurare la tranquillità in materia di religione a quei sudditi, che ritornano sotto la dominazione inglese, l'avrà ancora similmente nell' estensione del trattato di pace, al qual' effetto non lascerà di osservare quel che in riguardo della religione si stabilì nel trattato di pace del 1763. In quanto agli Stati Uniti dell'America Settentrionale che in avvenire saranno riconosciuti una nuova sovrana repubblica, il prelodato signor conte si lusinga, che, oltrechè nella stessa repubblica per massima fondamentale si tollerano tutte le religioni, e se ne ammette il pubblico esercizio, non solamente si acconsentirà, che vi siano de' missionarj cattolici, ma che altresì si elegga un vicario apostolico nazionale di carattere vescovile. Fu da me pregato di prevenire il signor Francklin ministro plenipotenziario della repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale, che io gli avrei parlato di quest' affare, come farò, allorquando dal signor conte di Vergennes avrò inteso quel che su di ciò dal signor Francklin avrà riportato. E riserbandomi d'informare l'Eminenza Vostra dell' esito, che avranno tali mie diligenze, pronto sempre ad eseguire i suoi veneratissimi comandi, con tutto l'ossequio mi pregio di essere

Di Vostra Eminenza
Umilissimo, divotissimo, obbligatissimo servitore
G. Arcivescovo di Seleucia.

Parigi 10 Febbraio 1783.

[Endorsed]: Buoni ufficii fatti da Monsignor Nuncio per garantire la religione nel trattato di pace.
Risposto 15 Marzo 1783.

[15] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 186.

III. The Cardinal Prefect to the Nuncio in Paris.[16]

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

19 Marzo 1783.

Mi è poi riuscito di gran consolazione l'intendere la premura che tiene codesto degno ministro signor conte di Vergennes di assicurare nel trattato di pace con l'Inghilterra la tranquillità della nostra santa religione cattolica, e le speranze che ci dà, che anche nelle provincie degli Stati Uniti dell' America non solo si acconsentirà, che vi siano de' missionarj cattolici, ma che si elegga altresì un Vicario Apostolico nazionale col carattere vescovile, cosa che potrà molto giovare al bene delle anime e alla propagazione della fide. Attenderò frattanto con impazienza l'esito dell' abboccamento, che Ella sperava di fare su questo proposito col Signor Franklin ministro plenipotenziario di quella repubblica. . . .

IV. The Nuncio to the Cardinal Prefect.[17]

Eminentissimo e Revmo Signore Signore Padrone Colendissimo.

(*Sig. Card. Antonelli, prefetto della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Roma.*)

Accompagnati dal presente mio rispettoso foglio ho l'onore di trasmettere a Vostra Eminenza tre altri distinti colle lettere A. B. C., e relativi al raccomandatomi stabilimento delle missioni apostoliche nella nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale. Il primo è una copia di una nota, o sia memoria da me inviata al Signor Franklin ministro plenipotenziario della detta nuova repubblica; ed il secondo, e terzo sono le copie di una nota, e di alcune osservazioni sulla mia fatte dal medesimo signor Franklin, a cui, per prender tempo a dargli una categorica risposta, mi son ristretto di semplicemente assicurare la ricevuta degli accennati suoi fogli. Da questi l'Eminenza Vostra rileverà che il Signor Franklin pensa, che la nostra corte, o sia la Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda da se stessa potrà prendere tutte quelle misure utili ai cattolici di America, senza ledere le costituzioni e che il Congresso non mancherà di approvare tacitamente la scelta, che la Sagra Congregazione di concerto col ministro plenipotenziario degli Stati Uniti farà di un ecclesiastico Francese, che, residente sempre in Francia, col mezzo di un suffraganeo in America regolerà gli affari de' cattolici, che vi sono stabiliti, o vi si vorranno stabilire. Su di ciò sono di parere, che non un ecclesiastico francese, ma il nunzio apostolico pro tempore di Francia colla intelligenza di cotesta Sagra Congregazione potrà incaricare un ecclesiastico col carattere di vescovo, di prefetto, o di vicario apostolico per l'accennato regolamento. Non essendovi però in America, come dice il Signor Franklin, nella sua nota C, alcun collegio, o stabilimento, nè speranza di una imposizione pubblica per l'istruzione necessaria di un ecclesiastico cattolico, Vostra Eminenza ben riconoscerà, convien pensare ad altro partito, e che quello, che il signor Franklin mette in vista de' quattro stabilimenti de' religiosi Inglesi, esistenti in Francia, non può e non deve esser proposto, non che accettato. L'ultimo paragrafo di detta nota C. merita tutta la considerazione, e tende al conseguimento di quel, che si puo desiderare. Del contenuto

[16] Lettere, vol. 242, f. 196.

[17] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., ff. 206–213.

degli accennati fogli ho creduto bene fare la comunicazione al signor Conte di Vergennes, uomo veramente di stato, e pieno di zelo, e attaccamento per la nostra santa cattolica religione, ed avendolo pregato ad interporsi per vedere di rinvenire la maniera di poter fissare in Francia pel desiderato stabilimento un collegio, ove si possano formare tanti preti, quanti saranno necessarii pel bene spirituale de' cattolici Romani, che si trovano, o si troveranno negli stati dell' anzidetta nuova repubblica, il medesimo regio ministro, nell' assicurarmi, che ben volentieri darà tutta la mano per l'esecuzione dell' attual progetto, mi suggerì di parteciparlo a Monsignor Vescovo di Autun, affinchè egli, che ha il foglio de' beneficii ecclesiastici di questo regno, co' suoi lumi, e buoni uffici concorra allo stabilimento del progettato collegio o a San Malò o a Nantes, o a l'Orient o in qualche altra città di quel regno prossima all' oceano, essendo però necessario, che avanti si trovino gli occorrenti fondi, e si sappia all' incirca qual numero di preti abbisogneranno per i cattolici romani abitanti negli Stati Uniti dell' America, e se vi sono soggetti portati ad abbracciare gli studi, e lo stato ecclesiastico. Mercoledì pertanto ebbi un abboccamento con Monsignor Vescovo d'Autun; ed insieme restammo di conferirne sabato della scorsa settimana col signor conte di Vergennes. A quest' effetto in detto giorno mi trasferii a Versailles, ed il signor conte di Vergennes, ed il nominato prelato mi si mostrarono impegnati per trovare gli occorrenti fondi per un affare di tanta importanza. Mentre a ciò si andrà pensando, l'Eminenza Vostra si compiacerà di darmi quelle notizie che ha della missione dell' America settentrionale, e procurarsene le altre da quell' ecclesiastico, che vi presiede, incaricandolo a significarle quanti preti si trovano in quegli stati, e quanti ve ne possano abbisognare. Per avere tali notizie io ancora procurerò, dopo aver ricevuto la risposta di Vostra Eminenza, di fare scrivere dal signor conte di Vergennes al signor cavaliere de la Luzerne ministro plenipotenziario del re cristianissimo presso gli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale da tre anni a questa parte, ed amato e stimato grandemente da quei popoli. Ma, eccettuato il Santo Padre, l'Eminenza Vostra avrà la degnazione di non comunicare al suddetto ecclesiastico, nè a qualunque altra persona quel che da me si è trattato col signor conte di Vergennes, e con Monsignor Vescovo d'Autun, poichè riducesi ad un puro progetto, del quale non è bene di parlare sintantochè non sarà eseguito, o almeno avanzato in maniera, che non possa più frastornarsi da chi forse non vedrà di buon occhio il suddetto stabilimento. Pronto sempre ad eseguire i veneratissimi comandi dell'Eminenza Vostra, passo per fine a rassegnarmi con tutto l'ossequio

Di Vostra Eminenza

Umilissimo, divotissimo, obbligatissimo servitore

G. Arcivescovo di Seleucia.

Parigi primo Settembre 1783.

[Endorsed]: America settentrionale.

I° Settembre 1783.

Monsignor Nunzio di Parigi scrive dello stabilimento delle missioni nella nuova Repubblica degli Stati Uniti di America.

Risposto 27 Settembre 1783.

A. Notte.[18]

Avant la révolution qui vient d'être consommée dans l'Amérique septentrionale, les catholiques et les missionaires de ces provinces dépendoient dans le spirituel du Vicaire Apostolique résidant à Londres. On sent bient que cet arrangement ne peut plus avoir lieu, mais comme il est essentiel que les catholiques sujets des Etats Unis ayent un ecclesiastique qui les gouverne en ce qui concerne leur religion, la Congrégation de Propaganda fide existante à Rome pour l'établissement et la conservation des missions est venue dans la determination de proposer au congrès d'établir dans quelques villes des Etats Unis de l'Amerique septentrionale un de leurs sujets catholiques avec les pouvoirs de Vicaire Apostolique et avec le caractère d'evêque, ou simplement en qualité de préfet apostolique. L'établissement d'un Evêque Vicaire Apostolique paroit le plus convenable d'autant plus que les sujets catholiques des Etats Unis se trouveroient à portée de recevoir la confirmation et les ordres dans leur propre pays, sans être obligé de se rendre à cet effet dans des pays d'une domination étrangère, et comme il pourroit arriver quelque fois que parmi les sujets des Etats Unis, il n'y eut personne en état d'être chargée du Gouvernement spirituel, soit comme evèque, soit comme préfet apostolique, il seroit necessaire dans une telle circonstance que le congrès voulut bien consentir à ce qu'on le choisit parmi les sujets d'une nation etrangère la plus amie des Etats Unis.

B. Observations sur la Notte de M. le Nonce Apostolique.

M. Franklin après avoir lu la notte de M le Nonce et y avoir murement réflechi, croit absolument inutile d'envoyer cette notte au congrès, qui d'après ses pouvoirs et ses constitutions ne peut ni ne doit dans aucun cas se mêler des affaires ecclesiastiques d'aucune secte ni d'aucune religion établie en Amérique. Chaque Etat particulier s'est reservé par ses propres constitutions le droit de protéger ses membres, de tolérer leurs opinions religieuses, et de ne s'en mêler en aucune façon tant qu' elles ne troubleroient point l'ordre civil.

M. Franklin pense donc que la Cour de Rome peut prendre d'elle même toutes les mésures utiles aux catholiques d'Amérique, sans blesser les constitutions, et que le congrès ne manquera pas d'approuver tacitement le choix qu'elle voudra faire de concert avec le ministre des Etats Unis, d'un Ecclesiastique françois toujours residant en France, qui conduira par l'entremise d'un suffragant résident en Amérique toutes les affaires spirituelles des catholiques qui vivent ou qui voudront s'établir dans ces Etats.

Outre beaucoup de raisons politiques qui peuvent faire désirer cet arrangement, M. le Nonce Apostolique doit y en voir beaucoup d'autres qui peuvent être favorables aux intentions de la Cour de Rome.

C. Notte sur les Catholiques Américains.

La revolution d'Amérique séparant les interets des colonies de ceux de la métropole, change ainsi les rapports qui lioient les catholiques Américains avec ceux qui vivent sous la domination Angloise. L'unité du gouvernement actuel semble même exiger qu' on tende à diminuer et affoiblir ces liaisons en ôtant toute influence au ministère Britannique sur les sujets des Etats Unis.

[18] A translation of this note is published in Sparks, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, IV. 158–159; and in many other places.

Il n'existe dans la plupart des colonies aucune fondation, aucun revenu fixe pour l'entretien d'un clergé de quelque religion que ce soit, la legislation envisageant cet objet sous le point de vue d'une liberté plus générale, n'a point voulu faire une surcharge publique d'une imposition qui pourroit n'être que voluntaire et particulière.

Il n'existe point non plus de collège ni d'établissement public pour l'instruction nécessaire à un Ecclésiastique catholique, voila deux points également essentiels à considerer.

Il existe en France 4 etablissements de moines Anglois dont le revenu total peut se monter à 50 ou 60 mille livres. Ces moines sont en petit nombre. La disette de sujets rend ceux qui restent au moins inutiles.

Il seroit possible que le roi de France pour complaire a la Cour de Rome et resserrer les liens d'amitié avec les Etats Unis permit que ces établissements servissent à former, instruire et faire subsister en partie les Ecclesiastiques qui seroient employés en Amérique.

Il conviendroit pour mieux remplir l'objet qu' un des Eveques nommé par le Saint Siège fut un sujet du roi residant en France, toujours à portée d'agir de concert avec le Nonce de Sa Sainteté, et le ministre Américain, et de prendre avec eux les moyens de former les Ecclesiastiques agréables au congrés et utiles aux catholiques Américains.

V. The Cardinal Prefect to the Nuncio.[19]

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

27 Settembre 1783.

Esibitore di questa sarà il signor Giovanni Thayer[20] nativo di Boston nella nuova Inghilterra, il quale dopo essersi trattenuto qualche tempo in Roma, se ne viene a Parigi, per indi far ritorno in America. Io lo raccomando efficacemente alla cortese gentilezza di Vostra Signoria, pregandola voler degnarsi di favorirlo ove potesse aver bisogno della sua protezione. Esso è persona di molta probità, e nel soggiorno che quì ha fatto si è sentito mosso da Dio ad abjurare gli errori della sua setta, e rendersi cattolico, dopo di che ha sempre dato buon saggio di una vera e stabile conversione. Sicchè Vostra Signoria impiegherà i suoi uffici in soggetto assai meritevole. E mentre non lascio di assicurarla dell' obligo e del gradimento, che questa Sacra Congregazione le ne averà, di vero cuore me le offero, e resto.

VI. The Cardinal Prefect to the Nuncio.[21]

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

27 Settembre 1783.

Ha così bene incominciato Vostra Signoria il grande affare del piano di missione nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale che non dubito di sentirlo anche presto da Lei medesima condotto a felicissima conclusione. Il Santo Padre, a cui se ne è fatta relazione, ha molto commendato il di Lei zelo, e la di Lei sagacità nell' aver interessato in questa salutare opera il signor conte di Vergennes e Monsignor Vescovo d'Autun, quegli per la pro-

[19] Lettere, vol. 242, f. 733.

[20] 1755–1815. See Appleton's *Cyclopaedia of American Biography.*

[21] Lettere, vol. 242, f. 753.

tezione come degnissimo primo ministro, questi per la sussistenza dei nuovi operaj, per il foglio che tiene dei benefizi in codesto regno. Però questa Sacra Congregazione non si ritira dalla prima esibizione fatta di concorrere al mantenimento del vicario apostolico insignito di carattere vescovile, o anche di un vescovo quando si volesse, che sarà d'uopo di mettere alla testa dei cattolici, che ritrovansi in detti Stati Uniti.

Secondandosi pertanto le ben sensate insinuazioni di Vostra Signoria, si dovranno fissare i seguenti punti:

I. Di rigettare affatto, e non ammettere ulterior discorso sul progetto fatto dal signor Franklin ministro plenipotenziario della detta nuova repubblica di sopprimere i quattro monasterj dei Benedettini Inglesi, che sono in Francia. Oltre l'odiosità, che s'incontrarebbe colla nazione, e che altererebbe il genio pacifico e generoso di S. M. Cristianissima, sarebbe gravissimo il danno, che ne risentirebbono le missioni dell' Inghilterra, se si sopprimessero i detti quattro monasteri; poichè la congregazione Benedettina Anglicana, che somministra circa quaranta missionari, i quali travagliano al bene delle anime in Inghilterra, si ridurrebbe al solo monistero, che, unito ai quattro di Francia, forma il pieno di tutti i monasteri di detta benemerita congregazione.

II. Il nunzio di Francia, e Vostra Signoria l'ha opportunamente rilevato al signor Franklin, dovrebbe avere la sopraintendenza di queste missioni Americane, come accade nel nunzio di Brusselles per le missioni di Olanda, ed esso poi se l'intenderebbe col ministro degli Stati Uniti residente in Parigi, sempre che vi fosse d'uopo di andar con esso di concerto per il maggior bene di quelle missioni. Questo stabilimento sarebbe anche compatibile con un agente, che dal vicario apostolico, o dal vescovo da stabilirsi negli Stati Uniti, si volesse tenere in Parigi in persona di qualche ecclesiastico Francese, il quale nei bisogni facesse capo dal ministro dei medesimi stati, e dal nunzio. È da desiderare che questa nuova repubblica giunga un giorno a tenere in Parigi un ministro cattolico, ma nel presente sistema, in cui il ministro è eretico, forse della setta dei presbiteriani, o dei non conformisti, che sono le sette dominanti in detti stati, un ecclesiastico francese per agente, che tenesse privato carteggio con il capo della missione, non sarebbe inopportuno, salva sempre la formale corrispondenza tra il nunzio ed il ministro.

III. Si è accennato di sopra, e si replica ora, che par troppo necessario di stabilire che il capo, il quale dovrà avere la giurisdizione sopra tutti i cattolici sudditi della Repubblica Americana sia insignito del carattere di vescovo con titolo di Vicario Apostolico, e quando piacesse, anche di vescovo incardinato, il quale da qualche città in una delle provincie della medesima repubblica, che più si credesse a proposito per la sua residenza, prendesse il titolo. Siccome il maggior numero dei cattolici era nella Marilandia, e nella Pensilvania parrebbe che in una di queste si dovesse fissare detta residenza, ma su questa modalità converrà riportarsi a ciò, che sarà di maggior soddisfazione del ministro, e degli stati. Non vi ha poi dubbio, che i missionari dovrebbero tutti dipendere dal Vicario Apostolico, o vescovo, e da esso ricevere le facoltà, e la destinazione nelle varie stazioni ove fosse maggiore il bisogno. E per tale effetto il Prelato sarà munito delle facoltà più ample, quali appunto sono quelle della formola prima.

IV. Quanto poi ai soggetti da scegliersi non meno per il vicariato apostolico o vescovado, che per missionarj, pare che il presente sistema chiaramente lo indichi, cioè che si debbano per ora prendere dal ceto

degli ecclesiastici suddetti di Sua Maestà Cristianissima. Ma se col tempo vi fosse qualche naturale del paese abile al sacro ministero, non si dubita, che sarà libero al Vicario o Vescovo di ordinarlo, e di impiegarlo nella missione.

V. Utilissimo poi sarebbe di formare un collegio ecclesiastico per queste sole missioni, o a Nantes, o a S. Malò o al Orient, o in altri luoghi vicini all' Oceano. Ma si prevede, che la vastità dell' idea malagevole ne renderebbe l'esecuzione. Si comprende che monsignor d'Autun col suo favore potrebbe superar tutto, ma non conviene impegnarsi a cose grandi, e dispendiose come sarebbe l'impianto di un nuovo collegio.

VI. Si potrebbe adunque pensare di accrescere di qualche rendita il seminario delle missioni straniere, ove già si formano gli ecclesiastici per l'Indie Orientali, o pure, e parrebbe più al caso, quello di S. Esprit, gli ecclesiastici del quale sono addetti alle missioni dell' America meridionale nella Caienna e Guiana, imponendo l'obbligo di mantenervi per ora un discreto numero di ecclesiastici da mandarsi sotto l'accennata dipendenza in America nella provincia degli Stati Uniti. Quando sulle prime si facesse una spedizione di otto, o dieci missionari, oltre al vicario, o vescovo, sarà ben provveduto al presentaneo bisogno di que' cattolici, il numero de' quali non è precisamente noto a questa Sacra Congregazione, come neppur quello dei vecchi operaj, che per la massima parte erano della soppressa compagnia; giacchè da molti anni, nè in dirittura, nè col mezzo del Vicario Apostolico di Londra, sonosi avute più notizie di quel cattolicismo del quale colla istruzione rimessa fin dal giorno 15 Gennaro del presente anno si diede a Vostra Signoria una qualche idea.

VII. Se poi detto numero di operaj si troverà scarso al bisogno, allora vi sarà luogo di crescer le idee per la fissazione di un maggior numero di soggetti, e potranno anche, volendosi formar clero nazionale. stabilirsi in questo collegio di Propaganda due o tre luoghi per gli Americani, come ve li anno tante nazioni di Asia, Affrica ed Europa.

Ma Vostra Signoria che è meglio al fatto delle cose, saprà quali delle notate siano da affacciarsi al ministro, e quali no, su di che Sua Santità e questa Sacra Congregazione riposano nel conosciuto di lei zelo ed attività, di che se ne anno tante splendide riprove; e ringraziandola della lettera acclusami di Monsignor Vicario Apostolico di Londra, resto con vera stima, e di tutto cuore me le offro.

VII. The Nuncio to the Cardinal Prefect.[22]

Eminentissimo e Revmo Signore, Signore, Pädrone Colendissimo.
(*Sig. Card. Antonelli, prefetto della*
S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, Roma.)

Dopochè avrò informato il signor conte di Vergennes di quanto Vostra Eminenza si è compiaciuta significarmi colla veneratissima sua de' 27 dell' antecedente mese in proposito dell' affare delle missioni da stabilirsi nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America Settentrionale, continuerò a tenerne discorso sino all' ultimazione col signor Franklin ministro plenipotenziario della medesima repubblica; godendo intanto, che piaccia al Santo Padre, e a cotesta Sagra Congregazione quel che sin quì da me si è trattato, ed incaminato.

[22] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 230.

Quando mi si presenterà il signor Giovanni Thayer nativo di Boston colla commendatizia della Sagra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide sarà da me accolto bene; e persistendo nella intenzione di abbracciare lo stato ecclesiastico per rendersi utile in qualità di missionario alla propria patria, e non incontrandosi in ciò alcuna difficoltà per parte del signor Franklin, farò uso delle facoltà fornitemi col pontificio rescritto, che l'Eminenza Vostra mi ha trasmesso.

Di Vostra Eminenza umilissimo, divotissimo, obbligatissimo servitore

G. Arcivescovo [di Seleucia].[23]

Fontainebleau 20 Ottobre 1783.

VIII. The Cardinal Prefect to Father Alexander.

R. P Alexandro Ordinis Cappuccinorum, Vassejum in Gallia.

29 Novembris 1783.

Quod Te ad obeundam in America septentrionali apostolicam missionem promptum paratumque exhibeas, id Sacra Congregatio de propaganda fide pergratum habet, laudatque majorem in modum tuam istam pietatem, et religionis zelum. Verumtamen, quam non ita brevi confici posse videatur negotium, quod in praesens geritur, de catholicorum directione in iis regionibus constituenda, neque adhuc constet, quinam, quibusque ex provinciis desumendi erunt sacerdotes qui illuc mittantur, idcirco nihil certi tuae petitioni respondere possum. Hoc tamen pro certo habeas, si in America septentrionali Cappuccinis locus aliquis esse poterit, me tui desiderii rationem esse habiturum. Interim Deum precor, ut tibi fausta omnia concedat, tuisque me orationibus plurimum commendo.

IX. Luzerne to Vergennes (Extract).[24]

(*Traduzione.*) *Estratto della spedizione del signor Cavalier della Luzerne al signor conte de Vergennes in data d'Annapoli 31 Gennaro 1784.*

Da Monsignor Nunzio Apostolico sono state fatte in nome di Sua Santità alcune proposizioni al Dottor Franklin riguardanti la spedizione d'un vescovo, o vicario apostolico, che il S. Padre desidera far presiedere nelle chiese cattoliche romane di questo continente. Il congresso ha rispettosamente abbracciata una tale apertura. Non ha però potuto prender alcuna cognizione di questo affare, che non è di sua giurisdizione. Concerne il medesimo unicamente i cattolici; ed i delegati, che vi hanno parlato a questo oggetto, m'hanno assicurato, che un vescovo cattolico sarebbe molto ben ricevuto nelli stati di Pensilvania, e molto più in quelli del Maryland, ove sono molti cattolici, purchè ingegnosamente si astenga dal pretendere alcuna giurisdizione, ed autorità temporale. Il congresso in generale vederebbe con piacere la residenza di un prelato, il quale conferendo gl' ordini per i sacerdoti cattolici di questi luoghi, li esimesse dall' obbligo di riceverli o in Londra, o a Quebec, conforme si è fatto per il passato. Alcuni delegati credevano ancora, che un vescovo cattolico non ricusarebbe di conferir gl' ordini a ministri anglicani dell' America, che fino ad ora sono stati costretti

[23] Lettere, vol. 242, f. 847.

[24] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 241.

andarli a procurare in Londra, ma questa pratica non mi sembra conciliabile con la professione, che devono fare quelli che ricevono gl' ordini, nè con l'esame che devon subire. L'assemblee legislative ed il congresso si astengono dall' intrigarsi in affari di religione.

X. The Cardinal Prefect to the Nuncio.[25]

A Monsignor Doria Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

7 Aprile 1784.

Vostra Signoria ha operato, come suol far sempre, molto saviamente, posponendo l'affare di Monsignor Miroudot all' altro più premuroso assai, riguardante lo stabilimento delle missioni nelle provincie unite della nuova repubblica Americana. Io starò attendendo con quella premura, che Ella può immaginarsi, il risultato della conferenza, vincie unite della nuova repubblica Americana. Io starò attendendo con Monsignor Vescovo d'Autun, e col signor conte di Vergennes, regio ministro, sperando non meno nella di lei zelante attività, che nella bontà della causa di veder conchiuso felicemente un affare di tanta importanza.

XI. The Cardinal Prefect to Luzerne.[26]

(*Traduzione.*) *Copia della nota spedita al Signor Cavalier de la Luzerne, 12 Maggio 1784.*

Prima della rivoluzione dell' America settentrionale gli cattolici e missionarj di questi stati per ciò che riguarda la religione, erano affidati alla vigilanza, e direzione del vicario apostolico residente in Londra. Avendo una tale rivoluzione separati gl' interessi dei Stati Uniti da quelli dell' Inghilterra, e cangiata intieramente l'antica loro giurisdizione, ha ben conosciuto la Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda il bisogna di far altre disposizioni per il regolamento di queste missioni: onde Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia nunzio apostolico in Parigi venne incaricato dalla medesima Sacra Congregazione di avanzare al congresso degli Stati Uniti dell' America alcune proposizioni sopra un tale oggetto non meno utile alla religione, ed all' assistenza spirituale dei cattolici, che di gradimento al governo dei Stati medesimi.

Ne fece parola Monsignor Nunzio al signor Franklin, questo ministro però gli rispose, che avendo su di ciò seriamente riflettuto credeva assolutamente inutile il farne parte al congresso, il quale, secondo le di lui costituzioni, e facoltà non puote, nè deve in alcun modo intrigarsi negli affari ecclesiastici; onde essere in potere della Corte Romana di prendere tutte le risoluzioni vantaggiose a cattolici dell' America settentrionale senza offendere le costituzioni. Dopo una tale risposta la Sacra Congregazione per comando di Sua Santità incaricò monsignor nunzio di concertare con i ministri di sua Maestà Cristianissima, e con quello dei Stati Uniti, i mezzi più convenevoli per dare alle missioni dell' America settentrionale lo stabilimento ed estensione, di cui fossero capaci.

Avendo la Maestà del Re Cristianissimo voluto in tale occasione dare un nuovo argomento di sua pietà e dell' interesse che si prende par la conservazione, e dilatazione della religione in tutte le parti del mondo,

[25] Lettere, vol. 244, f. 250.

[26] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 253.

non ha avuto difficoltà di convenire in un piano utile non meno ai cattolici degli Stati Uniti che al governo di dette provincie; ma per formare una stabile disposizione, ed allontanare tutti gl' inconvenienti e difficoltà, che potessero incontrarsi in esecuzione, fa d'uopo avere alcuni schiarimenti che mettano in istato di compiere quest' oggetto.

1°. Avere esatte istruzioni sopra la condotta e capacità degli ecclesiastici, e missionarj, che trovansi nelle varie provincie dell' America settentrionale; quale di essi sarebbe il più degno e più gradito all' assemblea di tali provincie per essere rivestito del carattere vescovile *in partibus*, e delle qualità di vicario apostolico, riflettendosi, che converrà fissargli la residenza in quella provincia, ove è più grande il numero de' cattolici.

2°. Se tra questi ecclesiastici siavi qualche nazionale del paese mentre essendo questi uno de' più degni in uguaglianza di meriti sarebbe preferito ad ogn' altro di diversa nazione, che si sceglierebbe in mancanza di un nazionale; e qualora le provincie restassero sprovviste di missionarj, si spedirà un francese, perchè vada a stabilirvisi, risiedendo nella provincia di sopra indicata.

3°. Sapere quale sia il numero degl' ecclesiastici e missionarj, quale de cattolici delle differenti provincie, e loro estensione, supponendosi, che in Pensilvania e nel Maryland trovisi il maggior numero. Sarebbe però bene sapere se nelle altre provincie sia anche lo stesso.

4°. Sapere, se nelle dette provincie sianvi le scuole per apprendere la lingua latina, onde quelli giovani, che vogliono incaminarsi allo stato ecclesiastico, possano aver fatto lo studio di umanità, prima d'inoltrarsi nella Francia, o in Roma per applicarsi agli studi di filosofia e teologia.

XII. The Nuncio to Luzerne.[27]

(*Traduzione.*) *Copia di una lettera di Monsignor Nunzio al signor Cavaliere della Luzerne ministro plenipotenziario di Sua Maestà Cristianissima presso gli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale.*

Parigi 12 Maggio 1784.

Ho l'onore di indirizzarle una nota relativa allo stabilimento delle missioni nei Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale. Il Signor Conte de Vergennes mi ha fatto sperare, che Vostra Signoria vorrà procurarci quei schiarimenti, che sono descritti nella nota medesima, e che potranno condurci a prendere le convenevoli disposizioni per la spedizione di un piano, nel quale per ordine della mia corte sono io d'accordo con li ministri di Sua Maestà Cristianissima, e con quello degli Stati Uniti sopra un oggetto tanto interessante per la religione. Mi stimo felice in potermi dirigere a Vostra Signoria per quest' affare. La di lei perspicacia, ed il zelo mi accertano l'esattezza di tali istruzioni, per le quali la mia corte le professerà obbligazioni. Mi prendo la libertà di accluderle una lettera, che per ordine della S. Congregazione di Propaganda ho io scritto, e che la prego rimettere ad uno dei più antichi missionarj di queste provincie. Ella rileverà dalla medesima che da lui ricerco qualche schiarimento, senza però manifestarmi sull' articolo riguardante il vescovo vicario apostolico e scelta del medesimo. In un' affare così delicato, ed interessante ho creduto dovermi unicamente dirigere alla di Lei saviezza, che con elogio mi è stato parlato dell' Ex-Gesuita Signor Carrol di Maryland, il quale è stato educato in St. Omer, e nel 1776 dal Congresso fu mandato nel Canadà col signor Franklin, ed altri commissarii. Spero che Vostra Signoria vorrà su

[27] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 257.

di ciò darmi qualche avviso, e significarmi, se lo stima degno d'esser nominato vescovo in partibus, e vicario apostolico.

XIII. The Nuncio to the Cardinal Prefect.[28]

Eminentissimo e Revmo Sig. Sig. Padrone Colendissimo.
(*Sig. Card. Antonelli, Prefetto della*
S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide—Roma—con 4 fogli.)

Come prevenni Vostra Eminenza colla mia rispettosa lettera de' 26 Aprile, la sessione dell' importantissimo affare relativo allo stabilimento della missione nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America Settentrionale, per varie cause differita, ebbe luogo in Versailles il dì 3 del corrente tra il signor conte di Vergennes, monsignor vescovo d'Autun e me. Il signor conte di Vergennes lesse un' estratto del dispaccio del signor cavalier de la Luzerne ministro plenipotenziario del re Cristianissimo presso la detta repubblica in data di Annapolis 31 Gennaio 1784, del quale si è poi compiaciuto darmi la copia, che unita al presente foglio ho l'onore di trasmettere all' Eminenza Vostra, affinchè si compiaccia rilevare dalla medesima, che, quantûnque il signor Franklin si fosse espresso, che credeva assolutamente inutile d'inviare al congresso la nota, che io gli diedi, non ha lasciato di farla pervenire al medesimo congresso, e che da questo si è ricevuta bene, e con rispetto la istanza del Santo Padre da me fatta per l'invio d'un vescovo, o d'un vicario apostolico, e che sarebbe benissimo ricevuto un vescovo nello stato di Pensylvania, e particolarmente in quello del Maryland, ove si trovano più cattolici; ma che il congresso non ha potuto prendere cognizione di quest' affare non essendo in alcuna maniera della sua ispezione.

Dopo aver partecipato quanto Vostra Eminenza si compiacque significarmi colla veneratissima sua lettera de' 27 Settembre 1783, e fatto osservare che a cotesta Sagra Congregazione, ed a me non era noto il numero de' cattolici esistenti negli Stati Uniti della repubblica americana, e perciò che non potevasi fissar quello de' missionarj, e degli alunni; ma che si credeva, che otto missionarj potranno per ora essere sufficienti, e che otto, o dieci alunni si potranno far studiare in Francia, e due o tre nel collegio di cotesta Sagra Congregazione, la quale penserà al mantenimento non solo di detti due o tre alunni, ma anche al vescovo *in partibus* vicario apostolico da inviarsi nel Maryland, si convenne unanimemente, che in sequela dell' esposto dal signor cavalier de la Luzerne, io senza perdimento di tempo gli trasmettessi una nota accompagnata da una mia lettera, e di altra mia lettera per uno de' missionarj, dimoranti in America, del tenore delle quì accluse copie, le quali lettere e nota, dopo averne fatta la comunicazione martedì della scorsa settimana, per andar d'accordo, al signor conte di Vergennes, questo regio ministro s'incaricò volentieri di raccomandare, ed inviare nel suo dispaccio al ripetuto signor cavaliere, ed in assenza di lui, che è per rivenire in Europa, a quell' incaricato degli affari di Sua Maestà Cristianissima, col paquebot, che dall' Oriente parte il martedì della terza settimana di ogni mese per l'America settentrionale, e che va, e ritorna nello spazio di soli tre mesi: il che potrà servire di regola, e lume a cotesta Sagra Congregazione, quando si risolva di scrivere, e mandare qualche lettera in quelle parti. Si parlò del luogo più proprio e conveniente per gli studj degli alunni, che, allorquando si saranno renduti

[28] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., ff. 258–260.

idonei, dovranno passare in quella missione. Si rilevò, che ne' seminarj di Parigi altro non si studia, che la filosofia, l'una e l'altra legge, e la teologia, ma non la grammatica, l'umanità, le matematiche, e la rettorica, che per queste vi sono de' collegi, ne' quali si paga certamente più, che in quelli di provincia, e che i seminarj delle missioni straniere, e du Saint Esprit di questa capitale per lo stesso motivo non potrebbero essere a proposito, qualora gli alunni non fossero già pratici della lingua latina in maniera di potersi subito occupare negli studj della filosofia, legge e teologia. E Monsignor vescovo d'Autun propose che gli alunni, che si stimeranno necessarj, dopo aver ricevute le risposte d'America, si potrebbero inviare a Bordeaux, che, come l'Eminenza Vostra non ignora, è una grande, ricca, e popolata città vicina all' oceano, ove tra gli altri mercanti concorrono quelli dell' America settentrionale colle loro navi cariche di mercanzie, e quel monsignor arcivescovo di lui intimo amico potrebbe far collocare detti alunni in uno de' seminarj o collegi della medesima città, stimando, che la spesa annua ascenderà a circa mille lire per ogni alunno. Spero che dalla Santità di Nostro Signore, non meno che da cotesta Sacra Congregazione si gradirà non solamente quanto fu trattato nell' accennata sessione, e si è scritto dal Signor Cavalier de la Luzerne, ma altresì quanto io ho esposto nelle ripetute lettere e nota, giacchè queste son relative alle facoltà communicatemi colla sopradette lettera, di Vostra Eminenza de' 27 Settembre 1783, ed alla favorevole informazione datami dal Signor Franklin, del merito, e credito del signor Carrol, Ex-Gesuita dello stato del Maryland inviato nel 1776 dal congresso nel Canadà unitamente col signor Franklin e gli altri commissarj, qual soggetto, se a merito uguale venisse prescelto per vicario apostolico da destinarsi nel Maryland sarebbe assai gradito da molti membri del congresso, e particolarmente dal Signor Franklin che con premura me lo ha raccomandato. Quando l'Eminenza Vostra avrà osservato l'esposto, che in nome della Sagra Congregazione senza prendere verun impegno, e senza renderne avanti consapevole la medesima per guadagnare due mesi di tempo ho fatto, attenderò gli ulteriori ordini, che si dovranno da me eseguire, per ridurre al desiderato fine il presente affare, pel quale il signor conte di Vergennes, secondando le pie, e religiose intenzioni del re cristianissimo, prende il più grande interesse. Non tralascio di partecipare a Vostra Eminenza, che, trovandosi il signor Franklin incomodato dal male di pietra, ora per lui si rende il suo nipote in Versailles, ove perciò non avendo l'opportunità di vederlo, martedì passato fui a trovarlo nella sua casa di Passy, e lo resi inteso di quanto si era trattato nella enunciata sessione, e da me scritto al signor cavalier de la Luzerne, non senza ringraziarlo per l'attenzione obbligante che aveva avuta di prevenire il congresso, e pregarlo a voler i suoi buoni uffizj. Egli si mostrò di esserne infinitamente penetrato di riconoscenza, e contento, e mi assicurò che la sua repubblica gradirà al sammo, che due o tre sudditi suoi passino per alunni nel collegio di cotesta Sagra Congregazione in Roma, avendo un' alta idea, che le scienze vi s'insegnino all' ultima perfezione, e che in tal maniera si avranno soggetti abili pel bene della religione, e dello stato. E per fine, augurandomi la continuazione de' veneratissimi comandi dell' Eminenza Vostra passo a rassegnarmi col più rispettoso ossequio

Di Vostra Eminenza umilissimo, divotissimo,
obligatissimo servitore
G. Arcivescovo di Seleucia.

Parigi 17 Maggio 1784.

XIV. The Nuncio to a Missionary in America.[29]

Copie d'une lettre de Mgr le Nonce à l'un des missionaires demeurantes en Amérique du 12 May 1784.

L'interêt de la religion exigeant de nouveaux eclaircissement aux missions établies dans les Etats Unis de l'Amérique septentrionale, la Congrégation de la Propagande me charge de vous demander des renseignemens détaillés sur l'état actuel de ces missions. Je vous prie de me marquer en même tems quel seroit le nombre nécessaire de missionaires, pour les desservir, et pour procurer aux catholiques sujets des Etats Unis les secours spirituels, quelles sont les provinces ou il y a des catholiques, et ou il y en a le plus grand nombre, enfin si parmi les naturels du pays il y auroit des sujets capables de recevoir les ordres sacrée, et d'exercer les fonctions de missionaire. Je vous serai très obligé dans mon particulier de l'exactitude et de la célérité, que vous voudrez bien mettre pour me procurer ces renseignemens, et me les faire parvenir.

J'ai l'honneur, etc., etc.

XV. The Cardinal Prefect to the Nuncio.[30]

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

29 Maggio 1784.

Secondo ciò, che Vostra Signoria si compiacque motivarmi nella sua de' 26 Aprile, dovrebbe già da più giorni esser tenuta la sessione riguardante l'affare degli Stati Uniti della nuova repubblica Americana, onde ne sto attendendo il risultato con quel desiderio, che Ella può immaginarsi.

XVI. The Nuncio to the Cardinal Prefect.[31]

Emin. e Revmo Sig. Sig. Padrone Colendissimo.

Avend' io accompagnate con una mia lettera sotto il dì 12 Maggio diretta a signor conte di Vergennes quelle, che scrissi al signor cavalier de la Luzerne ministro plenipotenziario del re Cristianissimo presso gli stati della nuova republica americana, e ad uno di quei missionarj, e la nota, delle quali trasmisi copia a Vostra Eminenza sotto il dì 18 dello spirante, il nominato regio ministro si è compiaciuto di accusarmene la ricevuta, e la premura colla quale si è prestato a secondare la mia instanza, per mezzo di una sua lettera in data de' 25 Maggio, del tenore della quì acchiusa copia. La trasmetto all' Eminenza Vostra persuaso, che gradirà di leggerla, ed unirla agli altri fogli, che riguardano lo stabilimento delle missioni nelle provincie della suddetta repubblica. E pieno del più rispettoso ossequio, mentre mi auguro l'onore de' suoi comanti pregiati, costantemente mi rassegno

Di Vostro Eminenza umilissimo, divotissimo, obbligatissimo servitore

G. Arcivescovo di Seleucia.

Parigi 31 Maggio 1784.

[Endorsed]: Risposta 30 Giugno 1784.

[29] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 261. In a letter to Rayneval, August 15, 1784, of which a translation appears in Bancroft's *Formation of the Constitution*, I. 378, Marbois writes, "I sent to Mr. [Charles] Carroll the letter of the nuncio for the oldest missionary."

[30] Lettere, vol. 244, f. 444.

[31] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 266.

XVII. The Cardinal Prefect to the Nuncio.[32]

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia nunzio apostolico in Parigi.

9 Giugno 1784.

Dall' annessa lettera che Vostra Signoria favorirà di inviare al Signor Carroll,[33] Ella intenderà con quanta prontezza siasi secondato da Sua Santità non meno che da questa Sacra Congregazione il desiderio mostrato dal signor Franklin, anche per parte di molti membri del congresso d'incaricare detto Carrol della superiorità delle missioni nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale, togliendole così dalla dipendenza del Vicario Apostolico di Londra, al quale da prima erano state delegate.

Precedentemente all' ultimo dispaccio di Vostra Signoria de' 17 del passato Maggio, erano giunte a questa Sacra Congregazione a nome dei missionari della Marylandia e Pensylvania alcune carte, le quali ne informavano del presente stato di quelle cristianità, e richiedevano, che se ne dasse la cura al signor Lowis,[34] cioè a quel medesimo soggetto, al quale dal suddetto Vicario Apostolico di Londra era stata affidata. Dalle copie di dette carte, che rimetto a Vostra Signoria, ella vedrà che tra i soggetti postulanti il Lowis per superiore è notato in ultimo luogo anche il Carrol. Quest' atto ne fa vedere, che il Carrol non ha cooperato all' impegno, che si è per lui affacciato dal signor Franklin, e per conseguenza ha pur giovato a dargli la prelazione sopra il Lowis, il quale contando ormai anni 64, come si nota nelle medesime carte, par che si meriti riposo. Per l'impianto di un nuovo sistema di missioni, richiedesi non solo l'esperienza, ma anche età robusta per operare ed agire. Non ci è nota l'età del Carrol, ma può ben credersi molto più vegeta di quella del Lowis, da che nella supplica è notato per ultimo. Tre poi furono i punti affacciati nel progetto, che con nostro dispaccio de' 27 Settembre 1783 le fu comunicato. Il primo era quello di stabilire negli stati della nuova repubblica Americana un vescovo o Vicario Apostolico insignito di carattere vescovile. Questo punto sta assai a cuore di Sua Santità, e vuole che si maturi al più presto. Si disse, che la Sacra Congregazione avrebbe anche supplito con assegnamento del suo erario per questo vescovo o vicario apostolico. Dalla lettera, che si scrive al Signor Carrol Ella vedrà, che con qualche delicatezza gli si domanda notizia dei fondi, che vi possono essere in America addetti a quelle missioni, non già che si ricusi di supplire, ma per scandagliare su di quanto dovrà cadere questo supplemento, tanto più che si rimane ancora al bujo del quanto possa importare la sussistenza di un vescovo o Vicario Apostolico in America. Per quella parte di mondo la Sacra Congregazione non ha finora avuto carico di spesa sopra il suo erario, e per conseguenza è d'uopo di aver delle notizie peculiari per regolarsi, le quali niuno meglio di Vostra Signoria, che con tanto zelo e destrezza ha maneggiato tutto l'affare, saprà fornircele. Gli stipendj consueti dei vescovi, e vicarj apostolici, che si mantengono dalla Sacra

[32] Lettere, vol. 244, f. 487.

[33] This letter, given in Lettere, vol. 244, f. 492, is not printed here, as it is published, in translation, in Shea, *Carroll*, pp. 243–245. The original is in Latin. The decree and the audience giving authority to the decision are printed, in translation, in *id.*, p. 224.

[34] Father John Lewis, *olim* S. J.

Congregazione nell' altre tre parti di mondo, sono di scudi 200 o 300 annui al più, oltre quegli incerti che anche nelle terre più barbare soglionsi ritrarre da chi in qualità di pastore ne sostiene tutto il peso. Fissato il piano del supplemento per il mantenimento del Vescovo o Vicario Apostolico, rimarrà l'altro di maturarne la scelta. Questa potrebbe cadere nel signor Carrol, quante volte sia fornito dei necessarj requisiti, e per questi pure è d'uopo che Ella prenda lume per nostra regola. Intanto la superiorità appoggiatagli ne farà vedere la condotta dell' uomo, ed il gradimento di questa presso dei cattolici non solo, ma anche presso il congresso, il quale sebbene saviamente pensi a non mischiarsi negli affari della nostra santa religione, pure merita, ed esigge tutte le possibili considerazioni, per la protezione che dal congresso medesimo deve attendersi nei casi contingibili. Dilucidati pertanto questi due punti, si verrà alla destinazione del vescovo, o vicario apostolico, come si crederà meglio per il bene di quelle cristianità.

Il secondo punto fu l'esibizione degli alunnati nel nostro collegio Urbano; e non abbisognando questo punto di altre indagini, si scrive al signor Carrol, che mandi per ora due giovani per educarvisi. Con questa missione il nostro collegio si glorierà in Domino di prestarsi all'educazione della gioventù di tutte e quattro le parti del mondo. Si motiva soltanto a detto Carrol di fare un piano delle spese, che occorreranno per i viaggi, e questo piano servirà di norma per il tratto avvenire.

Finalmente il terzo punto era di provvedere all' educazione anche più estesa di operaj evangelici, con procurare dalla generosa pietà di Sua Maestà Cristianissima ricovero in qualche seminario di Francia ad un maggior numero di giovani Americani. Il progetto, che sopra di questo le ha fatto Monsignor Vescovo di Autun, cioè di prevalersi di alcuno dei seminarj, che sono in Bordeaux, città vicina all' Oceano, e commerciante coll' America Settentrionale, è bellissimo, ed è assai piaciuto a Sua Santità. Una sola cosa non si è ben capita dal dispaccio di Vostra Signoria, ed è se Mgr d'Autun abbia inteso nel fattole progetto di assegnare un qualche fondo per la sussistenza di questo alunnato, che si richiedeva per otto o dieci giovani Americani. Quando la cosa sia così, i voti del Santo Padre sono compiti; in caso differente, non potendo la Sacra Congregazione gravarsi anche di questa spesa, converrà che Vostra Signoria faccia nuovo tentativo per riuscire nell' affare, agevolando sul numero dei giovani a misura delle offerte, cosicchè se non si volessero otto, o dieci, almeno se ne ricevessero per ora quattro o sei da sostentarsi con qualche pensione, o fondo ecclesiastico da assegnarsi dalla liberalità di codesto Cristianissimo Monarca. È troppo necessario di aver su di ciò qualche ulterior schiarimento per nostra quiete e governo.

Nel resto Sua Santità e la Sacra Congregazione hanno assai commendata la diligenza e zelo di Vostra Signoria in tutto il maneggio di questo importante affare; e siccome il congresso ben vede non essere della sua ispezione le cose di chiesa, così; salvo il punto dei giovani, che si vuol sperare saranno ricevuti dei seminarj di Bordeaux, e per il quale Vostra Signoria potrà continuare il negoziato con Monsignor d'Autun, o chiunque altro ne potrà agevolare l'ultimazione, si è risoluto di trattare degli affari per lettere in dirittura con i medesimi missionarj Americani, ed ora col signor Carrol, che se n'è costituito capo. Non

lascierà poi Vostra Signoria di contestare al signor conte di Vergennes, come anche al signor Franklin la compiacenza del Santo Padre, e di questa Sacra Congregazione in tutto l'affare, e lo stesso pratticherà anche con monsignor d'Autun, quante volte si venga a conclusione dell' alunnato in Bordeaux, mentre raffermandole le grandi nostre obbligazioni, di vero cuore me le offro, e resto.

XVIII. Memorandum respecting Catholic Missions in the United States.[35]

Missio catholica in regionibus Americae Septentrionalis tunc subjectis dominio Magnae Britanniae ante annum 1640 regnante Carolo I. incepta et fundata fuit a presbyteris Societatis Jesu provinciae Anglicanae, qui hanc propriis expensis, multis magnisque laboribus excoluerunt primo in ora maritima Marilandiae, mox dilatarunt in partes interiores et remotissimas eiusdem provinciae, et etiam hinc inde in Pensylvaniam et Virginiam, magno ubique fidei et religionis incremento. Iidem, successoresque illorum ex eadem Societate et provincia inter varias frequentesque vexationes constanter perseverarunt in dilatanda catholica fide per praedictas regiones, et in procuranda ubique incolarum salute donec sub finem anni 1773 authoritate Congregationis de Propaganda fide indicatum illis est Breve suppressionis Societatis Jesu, cuius omnes missionarii erant socii. Verum cum nec alii sacerdotes cujuscumque Instituti praesto essent, nec aliunde adscribi poterant, qui huic missioni tunc in extremis periclitanti subvenirent, iidem missionarii licet jam a fratrum suorum auxilio, et religiosis legibus dejecti, ne fideles in longe dissitis regionibus sparsos, et inter molestias belli quotidie ubique recrudescentis, omni ope spirituali destitutos desererent, approbati denuo, et laudati a Vicario Apostolico Londinensi singuli stationes tenuerunt, eodemque zelo et industria vineam Domini excolere perseverarunt inter varia discrimina, et etiamnum perseverant. Coeterum ad paucos redacti, eosque partim laboribus fractos, partim annis provectos, invitarunt in messem illos praecipue sacerdotes, qui nati in America septentrionali, modo in Anglia aut alibi degebant. Numerus eorum, qui nunc laborant in hac missione, vix supra viginti ascendit, sed stabilita[ta] propria jurisdictione ecclesiastica plures idonei sacerdotes facilius aggregabuntur. Concessa enim et per reipublicae leges confirmata libertate conscientiae, catholica fides tandem hic respirare videtur, numerusque fidelium ubique in dies accrescit: quinimmo plures familiae catholicae modo se accingunt ad demigrandum ex locis, in quibus frequentiores sunt incolae, et ad colonias deducendas in apertos fertilissimosque terrarum tractus, qui flumini Mississippi adjacent et reipublicae Americanae dominium agnoscunt: hae enim omnes familiae sacerdotes catholicos enixe efflagitant, qui se comitentur ad novas sedes, ibique secum commorentur.

[Endorsed]: America settentrionale.

9 Giugno 1784.

Origine delle missioni cattoliche nei paesi soggetti al re d'Inghilterra.

Mandatane copia a Mgr Nunzio di Parigi con lettera de' 9 Giugno 1784.

[35] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 268.

XIX. The Cardinal Prefect to Dr. John Carroll.[36]

Domino Joanni Caroll Superiori missionum in tredecim confederatae Americae septentrionalis provinciis.

16 Junii 1784.

Ut fidelibus istis bellorum calamitatibus diu vexatis divinae misericordiae jam pateant uberrimi fontes, et coelestibus iidem thesauris participes fiant, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa VI votis indulgens missionariorum, benigne extendit, ac dimanavit in omnes et singulos utriusque sexus catholicos in tredecim confederatae Americae septentrionalis provinciis commorantes, qui injuncta opera juxta insertum documentum impleverint, jubilaeum magnum anni salutis 1775 unius anni spatio duraturum, et computandum a die, quo praesentes literae ad Dominationem Tuam pervenerint. Tuum itaque erit Apostolicam hanc concessionem in praefatis provinciis per alios operarios indicere, ac promulgare, ut catholici omnes de tanto Ecclesiae thesauro proficiant, et refervescente charitate ad magnam divini auxilii spem erigantur. Interim Dominationi Tuae longaevam a Deo cum omni bonorum copia apprecor incolumitatem.

XX. The Cardinal Prefect to Bishop James Talbot.[37]

Domino Jacobo Talbot Episcopo Birthano, Vicario Apostolico in regno Angliae. Londinum.

19 Junii 1784.

Cum catholici in tredecim confederatae Americae septentrionalis provinciis commorantes ab illius reipublicae magistratibus vetiti fuerint, ne vicarios apostolicos in alieno dominio existentes habeant amplius superiores; cumque ad conservandam ibidem religionem missionarii petierint, ut spiritualibus eorumdem necessitatibus Sancta Sedes consuleret, Sacra haec Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, approbante Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa VI, superiorem illius missionis constituit Dominum Joannem Caroll virum probatae pietatis, ac studii, cumque facultatibus necessariis, et opportunis independenter a qualibet alia ecclesiastica potestate, praeterquam a Sacra Congregatione, communivit. Quin imo ea Sanctitatis Suae mens est, atque consilium, ut in iis provinciis episcopum, seu vicarium apostolicum episcopali titulo et charactere decoratum mox decernat, qui ea omnia, quae postulant episcopale munus, fidelibus illis valeat administrare. De his igitur Amplitudinem Vestram, cui antea commissa fuerat spiritualis eorumdem catholicorum cura, certiorem facere non praetermitto; nec dubitans, quin hujusmodi Sacrae Congregationis providentia, utpote ad bonum religionis valde conducens, pergrata quoque Amplitudini Vestrae sit futura, Deum precor, ut eam diutissime servet, ac sospitet.

XXI. The Cardinal Prefect to the Nuncio.[38]

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

30 Giugno 1784.

Debbo alla conosciuta diligenza di Vostra Signoria la pronta partecipazione del felice risultato degli uffizi fatti agli Stati Uniti di America dal signor cavalier de la Luzerne ministro di codesta corte presso

[36] Lettere, vol. 244, f. 508.
[37] *Id.*, f. 524.
[38] *Id.*, f. 541.

dei medesimi stati. Io già pregai Vostra Signoria di ringraziare, anche in nome di Sua Santità, codesto benemerito Signor Conte di Vergennes per l'efficacia, colla quale si è prestato a dar mano al ristabilimento di quelle missioni. In vista della favorevole risposta del cavaliere suddetto potrà Ella replicare anche questi uffizi. Intanto essendosi intrapreso carteggio in dirittura col signor Carroll, costituito superiore di quelle missioni, si anderanno spianando le altre cose senza recare per questo conto ulterior fastidio ed incomodo a codesto ministro. Solo, come se le scrisse, si attendeva schiarimento da Monsignor di Autun sul punto dell' alunnato in uno dei seminarj di Bordeaux, cioè se il Prelato consentiva di applicare a questo alunnato qualche rendita fissa, senza della quale la Sacra Congregazione non è al caso di subirne il peso, e non sarà poco quello degli alunnati offerti in questo collegio, e del supplemento per il mantenimento del vescovo, o vicario apostolico in America.

XXII. The Nuncio to the Cardinal Prefect.[39]

Emin. e Revmo Sig. Sig. Padrone colendissimo.
(*Sig. Cardinale Antonelli, Prefetto della S. C. di Propaganda fide—Roma.*)

Senza comunicare la veneratissima lettera, che Vostra Eminenza si compiacque scrivermi sotto il dì 9 dello scorso mese, relativamente all' affare delle missioni nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale, al signor conte di Vergennes martedì io stesso dissi, che cotesta Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda fide coll' oracolo del Santo Padre veniva di prescegliere per superiore di quelle missioni il Signor Carroll e che a quest' effetto gl' inviava con una lettera di offizio tutte le facoltà, ed istruzioni necessarie, riserbandosi di eleggerlo vicario apostolico col carattere vescovile, quando si saranno avute le prove della di lui abilità, e capacità, e le notizie dimandate al signor cavalier de la Luzerne ministro plenipotenziario del re cristianissimo presso gli stati della suddetta repubblica, il quale tra pochi giorni sarà di ritorno in Francia. Tanto il signor conte di Vergennes, che si incaricò di far pervenire nel suo piego quello dell' Eminenza Vostra con una mia lettera al signor Carroll, quanto il signor Franklin si mostrarono di tutto ciò infinitamente contenti, e m'imposero di renderlene distinte grazie. Il signor Franklin per altro avrebbe di più desiderato che già il signor Carroll fosse eletto vescovo, assicurandomi, che il congresso americano ne avrà sommo piacere, e che non si opposerà, che il signor Carroll si renda nel Canadà per farsi consagrar vescovo da monsignor vescovo di Quebec, come un luogo il più vicino, e non di tanto incomodo, e dispendioso, come sarebbe, se dovesse per la sua consagrazione venire in Francia o trasferirsi nell' isola di S. Domingue. Per non far credere al signor Franklin, che per motivo d'interesse, cioè per non saper quanto possa importare la sussistenza di un vescovo, o Vicario Apostolico col carattere vescovile il signor Carroll, mi astenni di fare su di ciò alcun discorso. Domandai bensì al signor Franklin quanto all' incirca sarebbe stata la spesa per far venire due giovani dall' America in Francia; ed egli mi rispose che, non essendone ancor regolato il passaggio, non poteva darmene una positiva notizia, ma che tale spesa non dovrebbe esser' maggiore di 70 o 80 luigi d'oro,

[39] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 272.

che vale a dire di 1680 o 1920 lire tornesi. Rispetto poi agli otto o dieci giovani americani, che, come mi diedi l'onore di avvisare a Vostra Eminenza colla mia lettera de' 17 Maggio Monsignor vescovo d'Autun propose di collocare in uno de' seminarii di Bordeaux per farvi gli studi necessarii e divenire abili missionarij, la spesa occorrente si assegnerà, e fornirà dal re cristianissimo, che ha sommamente a cuore di ben provvedere quelle missioni di soggetti capaci; ma monsignor vescovo d'Autun non è ancor determinato, se per tale spesa si destinerà un fondo o si darà ogni anno una somma di denaro occorrente per otto, dieci o più alunni secondo il bisogno; e perciò mi restrinsi a dire che: "due o tre alunni si potranno far studiare nel collegio di cotesta Sacra Congregazione, la quale penserà al mantenimento non solo di detti due o tre alunni, ma anche del vescovo *in partibus* vicario apostolico da inviarsi nel Maryland". L'Eminenza Vostra riconoscerà pertanto, che l'affare è incamminato a maraviglia bene, e che, per ultimarlo, altro non resta, che ricevere le notizie dimandate in America, e che probabilmente verranno fornite dal signor cavalier de la Luzerne. Che è quanto mi occorre di parteciparle, mentre con tutto l'ossequio, mi pregio di essere.

Di Vostra Eminenza umilissimo, divotissimo,
obbligatissimo servitore
G. Arcivescovo di Seleucia.

Parigi 5 Luglio 1784.

[Endorsed]: Risposto 31 Luglio 1784.

XXIII. The Cardinal Prefect to the Nuncio.[40]

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico. Parigi.

31 Luglio 1784.

La nota saviezza di Vostra Signoria ha così bene portato l'affare del felicemente incominciato ristabilimento delle missioni nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale, che la Santità di Nostro Signore, alla quale se ne è fatta piena relazione, non solo ne è rimasta assai contenta, ma le ne ha data ancora molta lode, e specialmente per la fissata educazione in uno dei seminarii di Bordeaux di otto o dieci giovani Americani da mantenervisi dalla liberalità di Sua Maesta Cristianissima. Brama pertanto Sua Santità, che Vostra Signoria si compiaccia di passarne al più presto ufizio speciale di ringraziamento a Monsignor Vescovo d'Autun, al dipartimento del quale si appartiene la Materia. Con questa occasione vegga, se lo crede espediente, di far gustare a detto Prelato che lo stabilimento di un fondo fisso sarà sempre più spedita e meno sogetta a variazioni. Si è poi Vostra Signoria egregiamente diportata nella participazione fatta al signor conte di Vergennes, ed al Signor Franklin della scelta del nuovo superiore delle suddette missioni in persona del Signor Carroll. Non dubiti il signor Franklin che dal canto nostro si solleciterà d'insignirlo del carattere vescovile subito, che il detto Signor Carroll ci averà ragguagliato dello stato della cattolica religione in quelle provincie, e del sistema da darsi alle cose. Intanto si attenderanno i due giovani Americani richiesti per questo nostro collegio, e Vostra Signoria che è in carteggio col signor Carroll, potrà sollecitare la trasmissione, e farsi a nome nostro carico del rimborso della spesa per il loro viaggio. Che è

[40] Lettere, vol. 244, f. 624.

quante mi occorre di doverle significare e raffermandole le grandi nostre obligazioni, di vero cuore me le offro, e resto.

XXIV. Franklin to the Nuncio.[41]

Monsieur Franklin assure de son respect son Excellence le Nonce, et lui envoye copie de l'instruction du congrès qu' il a eu l'honneur de lui communiquer hier avec une traduction qu' il a paru desirer.

Passy ce 18 Août 1784.

XXV. The Nuncio to the Cardinal Prefect.[42]

Emin. e Revmo Signore, Signore, Padrone Colendissimo.

(*Sig. Card. Antonelli, prefetto della S. Cong. de propaganda fide, Roma.*)

Puo essere Vostra Eminenza ben persuasa della consolazione, che mi deriva dal rilevare dalla veneratissima sua lettera de' 31 Luglio che il Santo Padre siasi degnato di restare assai contento della maniera da me tenuta per ridurre al bramato termine l'affare dello stabilimento delle missioni nelle provincie della nuova repubblica degli Stati Uniti dell' America settentrionale, e specialmente per la fissata educazione in uno de' seminarj di Bordeaux di otto o dieci giovani Americani da mantenervisi dalla liberalità del re cristianissimo. Quanto prima eseguirò l'ordine, che in nome di Sua Santità l'Eminenza Vostra si è compiaciuta darmi, di passare uffizio di speciale ringraziamento a Monsignor Vescovo d'Autun per la parte, che prende pel collocamento degli accennati giovani Americani; ma non mi lusingo, che si presti a stabilire un fondo fisso, perchè è incerto, che la Repubblica Americana col tempo continui ad esser grata per i segnalati servigi, e favori, che le ha renduti la Francia, e che non accadono delle rivoluzioni simili a quella del Canadà. Convien gradire e contentarsi di quel, che si puo ottenere, e per l'avvenire rimettersi a quel, che piacerà a Dio di disporre.

Al signor Franklin parteciperò che la Sagra Congregazione de Propaganda Fide è infinitamente propensa di sollecitare dal canto suo, perchè il signor Carroll sia insignito del carattere vescovile, subito che lo stesso signor Carroll avrà dato ragguaglio dello stato della cattolica religione nelle provincie della sua repubblica Americana e del sistema da darsi alle cose; come ancora che la medesima Sagra Congregazione attende con piacere che si solleciti la trasmissione de' due giovani Americani richiesti per cotesto suo collegio, e che di già mi ha incaricato di fare la spesa occorrente pel di loro viaggio.

Il Signor Franklin avendomi comunicato un estratto delle istruzioni avute dal congresso sotto il dì 11 Maggio 1784, relativamente alla dimanda che gli feci, lo pregai di fornirmene una copia, ed una traduzione. Egli mi trasmise l'una e l'altra accompagnate da un suo biglietto in data de' 18 del corrente mese, che originalmente invio a Vostra Eminenza unite a questa mia rispettosa lettera. Non dubito, che alla Santità di Nostro Signore ed a cotesta Sagra Congregazione piacerà di rilevare dal medesimo estratto i sentimenti rispettosi del congresso verso Sua Santità, e lo stato pontificio; e che il congresso dichiara, che la

[41] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 275. The instructions enclosed are printed in the *Secret Journals of Congress*, IV. 493.

[42] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., ff. 279–280.

dimanda, essendo puramente spirituale, è estranea ai di lui poteri, e giurisdizione, e che non ha autorità per permetterlo, o ricusarlo, essendo questo potere riservato individualmente a ciascuno stato. E sempre più ansioso di eseguire i pregiatissimi comandi dell' Eminenza Vostra, con tutto l'ossequio mi rassegno,

Di Vostra Eminenza,

Umilissimo, devotissimo, obbligatissimo servitore

G. Arcivescovo di Seleucia.

Parigi 23 Agosto 1784.

[Endorsed]: Risposto 18 Settembre 1789.

XXVI. The Cardinal Prefect to the Nuncio.[43]

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

25 Settembre 1784.

Con particolare soddisfazione ho veduta la risposta data dal congresso degli Stati Uniti d'America al signor Franklin sul proposito della dimanda, che Vostra Signoria gli fece, e non si è mancato di rappresentare a Nostro Signore i sentimenti rispettosi del medesimo congresso verso la Santità Sua, e per lo stato pontificio. Io le rendo distinte grazie di tanta, e così gentile sua attenzione, ringraziandola altresì degli ulteriori offici, ch' elle pensava di fare al detto ministro Americano relativamente all' assicurarlo della disposizione, che si ha dal nostro canto, perchè il signor Carrol venga insignito del carattere vescovile.

In questo incontro debbo significarle il contento provato da questa Sacra Congregazione per l'arrivo di due giovanetti dell' isola di Madagascar da allevarsi in questo collegio Urbano, sperandosi che a suo tempo possano riuscire di gran giovamento a quella nuova missione, per la quale si sono già prese varie opportune misure. Non lascio pertanto di raccomandar nuovamente allo sperimentato zelo ed efficacia di Vostra Signoria, affinchè voglia rinnovare al signor maresciallo di Castries quegli offici in questo proposito, de' quali già la pregai con lettera de' 7 Luglio prossimo passato; e promettendomi dagli autorevoli suoi maneggi ogni più prospero effetto, di vero cuore me le offero, e resto.

XXVII. The Nuncio to the Cardinal Prefect.[44]

Emin. e Revmo Signore, Signor Padrone Colendissimo.

(*Sig. Cardinal Antonelli, Prefetto della S. C. de Propaganda fide, Roma.*)

Dopo aver provata e fatta provare la stabilità della vocazione del signor Giovanni Thayer nativo di Boston nella nuova repubblica Americana per lo stato ecclesiastico, in vista di quanto Vostra Eminenza si compiacque parteciparmi colla veneratissima sua lettera de' 27 Settembre 1783, ed attese le facoltà accordatemi dalla Santità di Nostro Signore nel foglio di udienza de' 21 dello stesso mese, jeri in questa mia cappella domestica diedi la tonsura clericale al suddetto Signor Giovanni Thayer. Questo nuovo chierico da me raccomandato a diverse persone, e particolarmente a monsignor arcivescovo di Parigi, che lo ha collocato in questo seminario di S. Sulpizio, vi continuerà a fare gli

[43] Lettere, vol. 244, f. 781.

[44] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 284.

studi necessarii, per avanzarsi nello stato, che viene d'intraprendere. Di tanto mi occorre rendere informata l'Eminenza Vostra, affinchè ne faccia tener registro in cotesta segreteria della Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, mentre con tutto l'ossequio mi rassegno

Di Vostra Eminenza,

Umilissimo, divotissimo, obbligatissimo servo

G. Arcivescovo di Seleucia.

Parigi 15 Novembre 1784.

[Endorsed]: Risposto 11 Decembre 1784.

XXVIII. The Cardinal Prefect to the Nuncio (Doria).[45]

A Monsignor Arcivescovo di Seleucia Nunzio Apostolico in Parigi.

11 Decembre 1784.

Di particolar contentezza mi è stata la notizia, che Vostra Signoria si è compiaciuta darmi intorno al signor Giovanni Thayer nativo di Boston, cioè che dopo d'aver provare e fatta provare la stabilità della di lui vocazione alla vita ecclesiastica, Ella in vigore della facoltà accordatele da Sua Beatitudine sotto il dì 21 Settembre 1783, gli abbia nella sua cappella domestica conferita la tonsura clericale, e di più le sia anche riuscito di farlo collocare da Monsignor Arcivescovo di Parigi in cotesto seminario di S. Sulpizio, ove potrà proseguire gli studi necessarj per lo stato che he intrapreso. Io non saprei esprimere a Vostra Signoria quanto obbligo le tenga questa Sacra Congregazione per la prontezza, e felicità con cui Ella suol condurre a fine ogni sua premura, effetto non solo del molto di lei zelo, ma anche della prudente desterità ed autorevole sua efficacia. Non lascio pertanto di renderlene le più distinte ed affettuose grazie, assicurandola del più perfetto gradimento e della più viva riconoscenza di questi Eminentissimi miei Signori, e mia. Di che mentre attenderò dalla solita sua accuratezza qualche consolante riscontro, di vero cuore me le offero, e resto.

XXIX. Instructions for the Nuncio (Dugnani).[46]

Istruzione per Monsignor Dugnani nuovo nunzio di Francia 24 Maggio 1785.

Perchè Monsignor Illmo Dugnani nuovo nunzio di Parigi abbia fin d'ora una qualche idea delle cose, che per l'organo di quella nunziatura si trattano dalla Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda è d'uopo che resti informato che in Parigi vi sono due cospicui seminari, che hanno carteggio colla Propaganda, cioè il seminario delle missioni straniere, ed il seminario di S. Spirito. . . .

Finalmente deve monsignor nunzio sapere lo stabilimento che si è pensato di dare al cattolicismo della nuova repubblica delle provincie unite in America. Questo affare ha coronato la nunziatura dell' Emin. Doria, al cui zelo ed attività si deve il merito di tutta l'opera.

Si è pertanto fissato il piano di un vicario apostolico da eriggersi in quella parte della nuova repubblica che si crederà più opportuna. La Sacra Congregazione ha esibito di contribuire al mantenimento del vicario, che sarà anche insignito del carattere vescovile. Per questa dignità è stato pur scelto il soggetto, che è un certo signor Caroll, che

[45] Lettere, vol. 244, f. 942.

[46] Istruzioni, vol. I., f. 385.

si trova in quelle terre in qualità di missionario, e del quale la Sacra Congregatione tiene ottime informazioni. Questo soggetto fu anche bramato dal ministro signor Franklin residente a Parigi.

Ma per avere un impianto di nuovi operai per quella cristianità si pensò dall' Emin. Doria di riportare dalla munificenza di Sua Maestà Cristianissima un assegnamento per otto o dieci giovani da chiamarsi da America e da educarsi in uno dei seminari di Bordeaux, e ne ebbe da Monsignor di Autun che tiene il foglio dei benefici piena sicurezza.

In vista di ciò anche la Sacra Congregazione ha esibito nel suo collegio Urbano due luoghi per due giovani Americani da educarvisi a sue spese.

Tutto questo piano fu interamente gradito al signor Franklin, ed anche al congresso in America, al quale fu raccomandato dal benemerito signor conte di Vergennes; ma non se ne sono ancora ricevute le risposte autentiche, che si attendono da detto signor Caroll.

Monsignor nunzio, dalle carte originali che se gli comunicano, vedrà come sia passato tutto questo negoziato. Che à quanto ecc.

XXX. Cristoforo Pieracchi to the Cardinal Prefect.[47]

Illmo e Revmo Signore, Signore Padrone colendissimo.

Per mezzo di questo ministro plenipotenziario delli Stati Uniti di America ho travato la favorevole occasione di alcuni Americani di conoscenza, e dello stesso paese del signor Carroll per trasmetterli con celerità e sicurezza il piego, che V. S. Illma e Revma si è degnata diriggermi. . . .

Di Vostra Signoria Illma e Revma umilissimo,
devotissimo e obbligatissimo servitore
Cristoforo Pieracchi.

Parigi 5 Settembre 1785.

XXXI. Extract from the Acts of the Congregation.[48]

In congregatione generali de propaganda fide habita die 14 Septembris 1789 interfuerunt Eminentissimi et Reverendissimi Domini Cardinales sequentes videlicet: Antonelli praefectus, Carrara, Valenti, Archinto, Busca, Borgia. Nec non R. P. D. de Carpineo pro secretarius et protonotarius apostolicus.

Relationes Illmi et Revmi Domini de Carpineo prosecretarii. . . .

5.[49] Nella congregazione generale de 23 Giugno dell' anno scorso fu riferito un memoriale avanzato a nome di tutto il clero delle provincie confederate di America da tre deputati del medesimo Signor Giovanni Caroll, Roberto Molineux e Giovanni Ashton, nel quale si rappresentava, che per tenere a freno alcuni ecclesiastici contumaci, i quali si vantavano di non esser tenuti ad obbedire ad un semplice vicario, che non esercita che una giurisdizione precaria, e vietata dalle leggi di quella repubblica, e per provvedere altresì più stabilmente al buon ordine e alla propagazione della religione cattolica in quegli stati era assolutamente necessario, che la Santità di Nostro Signore si degnasse di devenire all'erezione di un vescovato, soggetto immediatamente alla Sede Apostolica, e che per render meno sospetta a quel governo, così l'elezione, come l'autorità del nuovo prelato, pareva molto opportuno,

[47] Scritture Riferite, America Centrale, vol. II., f. 324.

[48] Atti, 1789, f. 369.

[49] *Ibid.*, f. 378 v.

che la Santità Sua si compiacesse altresì di accordare, almeno per questa prima volta, la nomina di esso vescovo a quella parte del clero, che di presente esercita la cura delle anime in dette provincie. Le Eminenze Vostre in vista di tale istanza, dopo un maturo esame, si degnarono di rescrivere: "Consulendum Sanctissimo pro designatione hac vice tantum novi Episcopi, et D. Carroll certioret Sacram Congregationem de loco, ubi episcopatus erigendus sit, vel potius constituendus sit episcopus titularis", e questa determinazione fu benignamente approvata da Sua Beatitudine nell' udienza dei 6 Luglio. Fu pertanto in conformità data notizia a quei deputati della grazia, che loro si accordava da Nostro Signore, ordinando che in primo luogo esaminassero bene di fissare la sede vescovile, e poi se il vescovo si dovesse denominare dal luogo della sede, oppure stabilirvisi un vescovo titolare, dopo di che si permetteva loro di procedere alla nomina di quella persona, che per pietà, prudenza e dottrina avessero stimata più meritevole di questa dignità, per poi riportarne da questa Santa Sede la conferma.

Ora li suddetti deputati, rendendo umilissime grazie al Santo Padre, e a questa Sacra Congregazione della grazia benignamente accordata loro per consolazione e vantaggio spirituale di quel popolo cattolico, scrivono sotto il dì 18 Maggio prossimo passato, che in primo luogo il comune sentimento è stato che un vescovo con giurisdizione ordinaria dovesse essere molto più a proposito pel governo spirituale che un titolare, e anche più gradito e meno sospetto agli stati, di poi che per sede vescovile fu unanimemente prescelta Baltimoria, città situata nel mezzo della Marilandia, dove si trova la maggior parte de' fedeli e de' sacerdoti, e d'onde si è felicemente propagata la religione nelle altre provincie. E finalmente dicono, che dopo celebrata la messa dello Spirito Santo e implorato l'aiuto del Padre dei lumi, esaminati i voti dei presenti, e gli altri trasmessi dai lontani, fu trovato restar legittimamente eletto per nuovo vescovo il Revmo D. Giovanni Carroll attual superiore di quelle missioni, avendo avuto in favore 24 voti, quando due altri candidati, quali furono D. Ignazio Mattheros, e D. Enrico Pile non ebbero che un solo, facendo avvertire, che tre dei votanti, o non vollero, o trascurarono di mandare il loro voto.

Supplicano pertanto la Santità di Nostro Signore perchè si degni di approvare e confermare questa scelta con accordar loro la detta sede vescovile, molto desiderata dal popolo cattolico, e non disgradevole agli stessi protestanti, e si raccomandano a tale effetto alla sperimentata benignità e protezione dell' Eminenze Vostre.

RESCRIPTUM.

Relatis per me litteris sacerdotum animarum curam gerentium in foederatis Americae provinciis, qui indicarunt civitatem Baltimori aptissimam esse pro sede episcopali, et R. D. Joannem Carroll in eiusdem primum Episcopum designarunt, EE. DD. utrumque probaverunt, facto verbo cum Sanctissimo.

Die 17 Septembris eiusdem anni 1789.

Facta per me Sanctissimo relatione, Sanctitas Sua Sacrae Congregationis sententiam benigne probavit, mihique mandavit ut litteras apostolicas conficerem, transmittendas in secreteria Brevium pro expeditione.

L. Card. ANTONELLUS, praefectus.

[In the margin]: Vedi il Registro de' decreti pag. 458. Scritto ai missionari principali degli Stati Uniti ai 14 Novembre. Vedi lettere della S. C. Pag. 599. Scritto all' eletto Carroll. Pag. 668.

XXXII. Decree of the Congregation.[50]

Decretum Sacrae Congregationis generalis de Propaganda fide habitae die 14 Septembris 1789.

Cum Sacrae hujus Congregationis decreto a SSmo. D.N. approbato sancita fuerit maximopere ad catholicae religionis incrementum conducere, si ad spirituale regimen Christi fidelium in Foederatae Americae provinciis degentium constitueretur Episcopus cum ordinaria iurisdictione, atque propterea demandatum fuerit sacerdotibus illuc curam animarum gerentibus, ut inquirerent, in qua potissimum urbe nova sedes episcopalis figenda videretur, tum etiam ex speciali gratia, et pro prima tantum vice iisdem sacerdotibus concessum fuerit, ut situm eligerent huic muneri idoneum Apostolicae Sedi praestandum, atque cum nuper ex eorum litteris Sacrae Congregationi significatum fuerit urbem Baltimori in Marilandia prae omnibus aptissimam indicari, utpote quae sit commercio cum reliquiis provinciis opportunior, ex eaque primum in reliquas catholica religio propagata fuerit; virum autem dignissimum huic tanto ferendo oneri in eorumdem sacerdotum conventu, fere cunctis suffragiis renunciatum fuisse R. D. Joannem Caroll, qui jam Vicarii Apostolici munere egregie fungebatur, de iisque rebus omnibus abs se gestis instrumentum etiam ad Sanctam Sedem transmiserint: hinc est quod hic omnibus per me Sacrae Congregationi relatis, EE. DD. censuerunt supplicandum esse Sanctissimo pro erectione urbis Baltimori in sedem episcopalem, et pro confirmatione electionis Joannis Carroll in ejusdem urbis episcopum cum ordinaria jurisdictione super clerum, et populum, omnesque catholicos degentes in provinciis Foederatae Americae imperio subiectis, et cum omnibus aliis facultatibus necessariis et opportunis. Die autem 17 Septembris ejusdem anni facta per me ipsum SSmo Domino Nostro relatione, Sanctitas Sua S Congregationis sententiam benigne approbavit, et litteras apostolicas in forma Brevis expediri mandavit. Datum etc. die etc.

XXXIII. The Congregation to Father Molineux and the other Priests in America.[51]

R. D. Roberto Molineux, Joanni Ashton, Carolo Sewall aliisque praesbyteris in Foederatis Americae provinciis curam animarum gerentibus.

14 Novembris 1789.

Nihil profecto gratius, atque jucundius nobis accidere poterat, quam quod omni ambitione posthabita, nulloque partium aestu abrepti unanimi pene consensu Joannem Caroll primum episcopum novae istius Baltimorensis ecclesiae designastis. Quum enim SSmus D. N. Pius VI perpetuam plane haberet ejusdem viri probitatem, ac studium singulare, quo isthic diu multumque animarum saluti incubuit, vobis ex speciali gratia, primae huius electionis libertatem, qua tam recte sapienterque usi estis, vestramque electionem ratam habens, literis apostolicis confirmavit. Postquam igitur novus antistes rite consecratus fuerit, nihil aliud restat quam ut vos eidem manus auxiliares certatim porrigatis ad florentissimam istiusmodi vineam excolendam, et in partem pastoralis sollicitudinis admissi, ad istius gregis custodiam collatis viribus satagatis. Sic enim opus a vobis egregie incoeptum felicitatem absolvetis, et in

[50] Decreti, 1779–1789, f. 458.

[51] Lettere, vol. 255, f. 599.

mystico corpore cui modo caput impositum est, fiet, quod in primis Christi cultoribus mirari licuit, cor unum, et anima una. Quod quidem quum certum habeamus fore, ut vos exacto praestetis, nos quoque vobiscum Deum Optimum Maximum deprecabimur, ut vestri Episcopi electio justissimo optatis vestris, nostrisque votis respondeat.

XXXIV. The Congregation to Bishop Carroll.[52]

D. Joanni Caroll Episcopo Baltimorensi.

14 Novembris 1789.

Quam mirifice laetati simus, quod praestantissimus iste presbyterorum conventus jussu Sacrae hujus Congregationis coactus, cunctis fere suffragiis in te conspiraverit, ac ad novam sedis Baltimorensis cathedram occupandam designaverit, non satis verbis explicare possumus. Nam primum maximam in spem erigimur, quod christiana plebs novi episcopi solatio corroborata in fide, ac fidei operibus conlalescat magis, et confirmetur. Deinde nobismetipsis gratulamur te nova hac dignitatis acceptione ab isto clero indicatum fuisse. Ea enim est virtutum tuarum in nobis praeconcepta opinio, ut nullo modo dubitare possimus, quin et novi pariter, atque oneri cumulatissime satisfacias. Huius tam juste a nobis susceptae laetitiae particeps etiam fuit SSmus D. N. Pius Papa VI qui cum te pridem vicarium apostolicum in istis provinciis deputasset, libentissime etiam augendae dignitatis tuae occasionem amplexus est, ideoque te ipsum novum episcopum Baltimorensem litteris apostolicis, quae heic alligatae transmittuntur, ex plenitudine apostolicae potestatis declaravit. Itaque de hac nova amplissima tua dignitate gratulamur, utque gregis tuae curae commissis custodiam alacri animo suscipias, Dei omnipotentis auxilio fretus, vehementer hortamur. Illustre ac gloriosum est Dominicae istius vineae primas Deo quasi fruges offerre posse. Fruere igitur tanto bono in tuam non modo, quam aliorum salutem, et catholicae fidei incrementum quam in dissitis novi istius orbis provinciis in dies magis magisque radices propagaturam fore confidimus. Ne iis destitutus sis facultatibus, quas Sedes Apostolica Indiarum atque Americae Episcopis concedere consuevit, adiungimus tibi earum formulam primam, quibus uti poteris cum dioecesanis tuis, prout salubriter in Domino expedire judicaveris, utere tamen etiam tamquam Episcopus iis facultatibus extraordinariis quae tibi tamquam Vicario Apostolico pridem concessae sunt. Si cuiuslibet alterius indigeas, refer a me omnia diligenter, et quaecumque ad animarum salutem pertinent officia desiderari non sinam. Cum primum peteris omnes provincias et catholicorum loca visita per te ipsum, dissolutos mores corrige, abusus extermina, hortare missionarios, ut naviter sua munera exequantur, neminem patiaris sine tua venia animarum curam gerere, et sacramenta ministrare. Si eorum penuria laboras, vide ex quo potissimum regno sint evocandi, sed diligenter etiam animadverte, ne ex varia indolis, ac ingenii, prout fere sunt diversarum regionum homines, rixae, ac discordiae exoriantur. Ob quam potissimum causam Italos sacerdotes, qui praeterea anglicum sermonem perraro callent, isthuc transire non permittimus. Nemini cito manus imponas, sed eos solum, qui in seminario pietati, ac studiis egregiam operam navarunt, in cleri militiam adscribe. Coeterum Deus te sospitet in multos annos ad istius Ecclesiae salutem, et incrementum.

[52] Lettere, vol. 255, f. 668.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL BOOKS AND BOOKS OF ANCIENT HISTORY

Historical Essays. By James Ford Rhodes, LL.D., D. Litt. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. ix, 335.)

We who have read with admiration Mr. Rhodes's great history are pleased to find in this volume a series of essays and biographical sketches which take us into his confidence and reveal to us so much of the man and his method of work. It may be that his associates, the older historical students, have known these things, but the younger men, though they have ever found a hearty welcome when they have ventured to approach him, have not felt free to pry into the secrets of his historical trade. In these essays we are admitted at once. Of his preparation for history writing he says: "Whatever training I had beyond that of self came from the mastery, under the guidance of teachers, of certain general historians belonging to an epoch when power of expression was as much studied as the collecting and sifting of evidence." This lack of the technical training, enjoyed by a generation of students younger than himself, was, Mr. Rhodes tells us candidly in his sympathetic essay on Edward G. Bourne, compensated for by the aid and advice given by that distinguished scholar. Perhaps the history of the Civil War as a great human production is the better for Mr. Rhodes's having brought to it not the critic's training, but the hard sense and the charm of a big, honest, sincere nature. He has taken first of all a man's interest in his subject. Few historians could have dispensed with technical training as Rhodes has done, but he by common-sense, patience, and fairness has won from critics the reputation for telling the truth and never sacrificing it because tempted by the opportunity for effect. Even in the manner of taking his notes he is not orthodox, for he tells us that he has taken them mainly in note-books, and by colored pencils of emphasis and summary kept before him the prominent facts which he wished to combine. He aimed to study his authorities in logical succession, in the order of their estimated importance. In some cases he did draw off his memoranda from note-books to cards. He could digest his materials better this way, but in the main found that frequent re-perusal of his notes answered fully as well. He quotes Carlyle with approval on trying "to keep the whole matter *simmering* in the living mind". The emphasis which he places upon the writing of history as compared with the investigation is revealed in all of his essays wherein history is the subject. He tells of striving to acquire a style by reading a page of some admired author and then trying to reproduce it from memory.

Macaulay and Lecky he found lent themselves to this exercise, but Shakespeare, Hawthorne, and Thucydides defied his efforts. Speaking of his use of a dictionary, he says that in its use he learned to pay little attention to the definition, but to regard with care the illustrative citation. He declares himself a slow reader, very envious of Macaulay.

His literary and historical tastes are revealed with refreshing candor. The reading of Latin has always been for him a "grinding labor", and for German he confesses the frequent need of a dictionary, but French is a favorite language wherein his best loved authors seem to be Balzac, Molière, and Sainte-Beuve. In the field of English he speaks only of such historical writers as have been most helpful to him. Of Parkman's works he has read only *Montcalm and Wolfe*, and of Motley's only the *Dutch Republic*. He admires Curtius's chapter on the Years of Peace. Carlyle and Gibbon he holds in the highest estimation. Shakespeare and Homer have helped him most in the study of human character. The first part of Faust, he speaks of as having profoundly affected his life. He is a great admirer of Godkin and expresses his obligation to the *Nation* for his right-thinking upon the tariff, civil service reform, and the silver question.

The address on the Profession of Historian shows clearly the emphasis which the author puts upon writing as compared with investigation. Except that the would-be historian must have an insatiable love of reading little is said about the latter. He urges the mastery of French and Latin, and suggests the uselessness of mathematics. As to physics and natural sciences he suggests getting them at second hand to avoid intellectual scattering. One should read Fiske, Huxley, and Tyndall for that purpose, and the lives of Darwin, Pasteur, and Huxley. Economics he regards as useful. Gibbon, Grote, and Macaulay, he thinks gained strength as historians from their public and business experience, but on the other hand Gardiner and Carlyle had none. Rhodes himself was "immersed in business" from the age of twenty-two to thirty-seven, and began to write his history at forty.

C. H. Van Tyne.

La Campagna Romana Antica, Medioevale e Moderna. Volume I. *La Campagna Romana in Genere.* By Giuseppe Tomassetti. (Rome: E. Loescher and Company. 1910. Pp. 354.)

The veteran author of *La Campagna Romana nel Medio Evo* has now published the first volume of what will doubtless be his *magnum opus*, and has put all who are interested in the history and topography of central Italy under still greater obligations to him. In this history of the Campagna from the earliest times, he proposes (p. 1) "to set forth in historical and topographical order all the notes that he has collected in thirty-two years from earlier publications and from public and private archives". This volume, the first of three, is divided into four main sections, the first of which contains a description of the

natural conditions, geological, geographical, etc., of the Campagna, and the second a sketch of its cities and inhabitants during the prehistoric and Roman periods, with an account of their institutions, political, social, and economic. The third section is devoted to a discussion of the gradual changes that were brought about in those institutions during the Middle Ages, and to a description of life in the Campagna from various points of view. The last section deals with the Campagna of modern times in a somewhat similar way, and contains much information that has hitherto been almost inaccessible upon many interesting topics. Thus we have a discriminating account of all the maps of the Campagna that have been published since 1500 A. D., and a complete list of the 428 *tenute*, or farms, into which the district is now divided, with the exact area of each.

As was to be expected of Tomassetti, the emphasis is laid on the medieval and modern rather than on the ancient period, and the usefulness of the book for the classical student is very limited. The treatment of the prehistoric and Roman periods is meagre, perfunctory, and unsatisfactory, and it would have been better if the author had intrusted this part of his work to some collaborator, or had at least submitted it to some one for revision. Errors are not infrequent, and but little use has been made of recent literature, if one may judge from the views that are advanced, and from such notes as that on page 57 where the reader is referred for the history of the imperial post to Naudet's work of 1858. There is no ground for even a possible identification of the illusive Pelasgians with the Philistines (p. 28), and the modern hamlet of Isola Farnese is not the site of the acropolis of Veii (p. 37). On page 34 one Kennedy is associated with Bopp as a contemporary investigator in the field of comparative philology, and in the list of bridges (pp. 60–61) which "preserve their original construction in whole or in part" we find the Ponte Lupo, but no mention of the Ponte S. Gregorio, Ponte S. Pietro, and Ponte S. Antonio, which are in the immediate neighborhood and belong to the same period. Early Roman religion was not "derived exclusively from pasturage and agriculture" (p. 92), nor were the Lares the "twelve sons of Acca Larentia" (p. 93). In spite of Mommsen's partial authority, *Parilia* probably has nothing to do with the verb *pario* (p. 95), and it is misleading to say (p. 98) that in the celebration of the *ludi saeculares* Diana and Apollo "represented the divinities of the woods".

Criticisms of this sort, however, do not apply to the main portion of the work which will be found very interesting and valuable. It represents an enormous amount of patient labor, but one cannot help feeling that the observance of a somewhat more rigorous method in the sifting and arrangement of the material would have added to the pleasure of the reader and to the value of the book. It is very encouraging to find the voice of so influential a man as Tomassetti raised in protest against the eagerness of the modern Italian to cut down every tree which may still be found standing. S. B. P.

The Roman Republic. In three volumes. By W. E. Heitland, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909. Pp. xiv, 355; 534; 563.)

This work, opening with an introduction of fifty pages, which deals with the geographical and ethnographical conditions of Italy and the institutions under the kings, covers the history of Rome to 42 B. C. The author does not aim to reconstruct the story of the Republic on new lines. He makes no radical readjustments of the political and economic factors which enter into it, and no novel changes in our conceptions of the character and the importance of those who take part in it. Although his work appears to rest on a fresh study of the sources, he does not seem to be familiar in all cases with the critical examinations which have been made of them by modern scholars, and many readers will think that in some parts of his narrative he has accepted the statements and conclusions of the ancient historians with too much confidence. A case in point is furnished by his interpretation of Rome's policy in Greece and the East, in chapters XXVII.–XXXI. However, Professor Heitland is free from prejudice; he has no preconceived theories into which the facts are made to fit, no craving for dramatic effects, and shows throughout his work a remarkably sound judgment in dealing with the evidence before him.

Given these qualities, naturally he does not incline to speculate. His treatise is in fact a descriptive history, and has the defects and merits of such a work. At many points in reading it we have asked ourselves the why and the how, but have found no answer in the text. How did the kingship develop out of the political and social conditions of the earlier period? What connection, if any, have the financial duties of the Republican quaestor with the police duties of his regal predecessor? How did the tribune acquire the power to sit in the senate and preside over it? How did the two colleges of aediles, which were at first very different from each other in respect of technical character and official dignity, amalgamate later into what was practically a single college made up of members whose duties and position in the community were the same? There are matters more fundamental still whose significance is not noted or is lightly passed over. What constitutional importance, for instance, have the Laws of the Twelve Tables? From the author's account of their contents the reader can draw his own conclusions perhaps, but in so extensive a history, devoted to politics, we expect an adequate discussion of their place in the development of Roman public law. We look in vain too for any comments on the Ovinian law or on the revolutionary theory of government underlying the removal of Octavius from the tribunate. In particular we miss a comprehensive survey of the growth of Roman imperial policy and an analysis of the motives which actuated the Romans at different periods in their dealings with other peoples. On the other hand, the work has in a pre-

eminent degree the merits of a descriptive history. The very fact that our attention is centred on persons and events rather than on tendencies, or motives, or economic considerations, gives a peculiar dramatic interest to the story as the writer tells it. One feels this particularly in reading volume III. which deals with the years following the dictatorship of Sulla. Nowhere else does the reviewer know so graphic an account, as is to be found in this volume, of political conditions in Rome and the manoeuvres of Caesar, Crassus, Bibulus, Clodius, and the other politicians of the period.

The chapters on the constitution follow Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* very closely, even at points where many scholars to-day are inclined to dissent from Mommsen. The writer not only seems to hold, for instance, that the plebeians lacked the full measure of their political rights, but he is favorably inclined toward Professor Ridgeway's theory that "the patricians are identified with the Sabines, and are thus an aristocracy of conquerors, while the plebeians are the ancient inhabitants of Latium." He seems also to recognize four distinct popular assemblies. In this connection it may be noted that the discussion of the terms *comitia* and *concilium* could have been much improved had Professor Botsford's book on the *Roman Assemblies* appeared in time for the writer to use.

Professor Heitland's main object, as he tells us in his preface, is a political study, and the slight attention which he has given to economic considerations for the years of the revolution is in striking contrast to Ferrero's treatment of the same period. In this respect he seems to have allowed a wholesome reaction to carry him too far. Notwithstanding his disavowal of any intention to discuss social or literary details, chapters XX. and LXI. on social conditions are excellent, and chapter LX. contains an admirable estimate of the literary men of the first century. This makes it hard to understand the brief and perfunctory treatment which Plautus, Terence, and some of the other writers of the second century receive.

The books are divided into numbered paragraphs which facilitate reference; the sketch-maps answer their purpose well, and the index is unusually complete and well arranged. Too high praise cannot be paid to the clear and strong style. This quality, with the fair-mindedness and sanity of judgment which characterize the work, make it one of the most readable and trustworthy accounts which we have of the Republican period.

FRANK FROST ABBOTT.

BOOKS OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Paris sous les Premiers Capétiens (987–1223): Étude de Topographie Historique. Par LOUIS HALPHEN, Docteur ès Lettres, Secrétaire de l'École des Chartes. (Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1909. Pp. 123.)

THIS work forms the first number of a new series, *Bibliothèque d'Histoire de Paris,* which will have a place beside the well-known *Histoire Générale de Paris.* The older collection is designed for extensive documentary undertakings. The new series is to include works of less scope—studies and editions of documents on special points. Published under the auspices of the Service de la Bibliothèque et des Travaux Historiques de la Ville, it bears witness to the efficient direction of that service by M. Marcel Poëte, whose lectures in this country last year many Americans will recall with pleasure. The field to be cultivated is strictly local: "histoire topographique ou histoire de la collectivité parisienne, des institutions qui ont régi cette collectivité et des évènements auxquels elle a pris une part *directe*". Fittingly enough the opening number has to do with topography, and with topography in one of the earlier periods of the city's history.

How did Paris take form territorially? What transformations did it undergo in the period of the first Capetians? What picture should one have of it for the time of Philip Augustus? Such questions were of course asked long ago. Satisfactory answers to them, however, have not been given, either in extensive works on the history of the city—notably Félibien and Lobineau for the general history, Lebeuf and his editors for ecclesiastical, and Jaillot for topographical, matters—or in special studies like those which have thus far appeared in the *Topographie Historique du Vieux Paris.* Accordingly, though the documents still offer many obstacles—being rare, scattered, and often not explicit—M. Halphen has made a new attempt to answer the questions. He has presented his results in five chapters, two appendixes, and an album of plates.

He shows in the first chapter how Paris at the end of the tenth century, when the Capetians made it the capital of the kingdom, was still practically conterminous with the island where its inhabitants had taken refuge during the hard fortunes of the preceding century. In the second and third chapters, he traces, at least in general lines, first the gradual reclamation of the inhospitable marshy prairies to the north and the establishment of most of the commercial and industrial groups on that side, then the far slower growth to the southward, where much of the land was already occupied by vineyards. In the fourth chapter he deals in considerable detail with the wall of Philip Augustus. In the fifth he describes the city at the beginning of the thirteenth century: the island, with its royal palace, churches, and stirring university body; the two bridges, that to the north crowded with houses

and people, that to the south less built-up and not so busy; the right bank, with Grand Châtelet, shops, new market-halls, and numerous river-craft; the left bank, more quiet, even quite rural in spots, but gradually livening up, especially with the building of the Petit Châtelet and the immigration of turbulent students; finally, the streets, some twenty-four to twenty-eight feet wide, more from nine to sixteen feet, one less than five feet, and the principal ones paved—this, though, only after Philip Augustus was incommoded by the intolerable odors that rose to his window as vehicles passing below stirred up the filth.

Thus M. Halphen has assembled the varied bits of information now available on the topography of Paris in the earlier Capetian period, and by putting them together in orderly and, be it added, trustworthy fashion, has made a useful contribution to the history of the city. Two things, moreover, he has been able to do with special fullness. One is the treatment of Philip's wall. He not only indicates the rôle of that wall in the expansion of the city, sets forth with sufficient precision the course it followed, and gives details on the way it was built, but also illustrates all this with sixteen figures in the text and eleven plates in an accompanying album. Among the plates are two of rather large size, the first outlining the wall on a plan of modern Paris, the second showing the wall and the other features of Paris in the time of Philip Augustus. The other thing done most fully is the "Nomenclature des Rues, Lieux Dits et Monuments de Paris à l'Époque de Philippe Auguste", which forms appendix II. and occupies over half the book. This nomenclature, though presented simply as an essay, susceptible of much correction and enlargement, will prove a serviceable tool.

A History of the Mediæval Political Theory in the West. By R. W. Carlyle, C.I.E., and A. J. Carlyle, M.A., Chaplain and Lecturer of University College, Oxford. Volume II. *The Political Theory of the Roman Lawyers and the Canonists, from the Tenth Century to the Thirteenth Century.* By A. J. Carlyle, M.A. (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons. 1909. Pp. xix, 274.)

The first volume of this work was reviewed in this journal (X. 629), and this second volume by the same author exhibits all the admirable characteristics as are there mentioned. As if to remedy the one serious defect there called attention to, the author has in this volume given a list of the modern authorities which he has consulted and in the foot-notes and in the body of the work he has referred to them.

This second volume, as the subtitle indicates, deals with the political theory of the Roman lawyers and the canonists from the tenth century to the thirteenth. The author has made it a distinctly technical and legal work and one must not turn to it with the expectation of finding

a consideration of any of the popular and controversial works of the epoch. "In our next volume", he says (p. 145), "we hope to discuss the theory as illustrated by the general literature of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, and we shall then deal with the highly controversial writings which belong to the long struggle between the Empire and the Papacy."

In this volume he lays it down as his object to present to his readers "the political ideas embodied in the two great systems of law which are derived directly from the ancient world". With this in view he divides the work into two parts: part I. deals with the political theory of the Roman lawyers and part II. with the political theory of the canon law. The author feels that a survey of these two systems is necessary before a proper understanding of the political theory of the Middle Ages can be had. He calls attention to the fact that some of our modern writers on political theory of the Middle Ages have failed in their task because they have not made a careful study of these systems before taking up the controversial literature. "Even now", he says (p. 2), "it is probably true to say that much confusion has been brought into the treatment of mediaeval ideas and civilisation by the fact that many writers have not been at pains to distinguish between individual speculation and controversy and the normal judgment of the ordinary intelligent man."

The theories taken up under these two systems are much the same as those as were indicated in the chapter-headings of the first volume: the theory of law, of natural law, of slavery, of property, of the source of political authority, of the relation of Church and State. Frequently throughout the work the author shows in what high regard he holds the strictly legal writers on the Roman and canon law when contrasted with the controversial writers of a contemporary or subsequent epoch. He seems inclined to belittle the latter. "It is necessary", he says (p. 94), "to distinguish carefully between incidental and sometimes hasty sayings, made under the stress of some great controversy, and judgments expressed in legal and other works which were compiled in cold blood and represent reasoned and considered conclusions." True as this statement is the author seemingly overlooks the fact that it was the theories advanced in controversy and having little foundation in fact that had the greatest influence on history. It was through the bitter wrangles that the theories of the Roman lawyers and the canonists became known to the world. Had it not been for the controversialists these theories might have lain in their learned tomes unread and unheard of.

Aside from this somewhat unconscious bias in favor of the strictly legal writers the same high standard set in the first volume is maintained in the second. The value of the work is not impaired in the least, as the author seems to feel that it might be, by the fact that he has not been able to consult manuscript sources (pp. viii, 192). An

exhaustive examination of the manuscripts of the period yields very little that is new. They are generally merely confirmatory of that which has already appeared in print.

JAMES SULLIVAN.

Philipp II. August, König von Frankreich. Von Dr. ALEXANDER CARTELLIERI, o. ö. Professor der Geschichte an der Universität Jena. Band III. *Philipp August und Richard Löwenherz (1192–1199).* (Leipzig: Dyksche Buchhandlung; Paris: H. le Soudier. 1910. Pp. xxiii, 263.)

PROFESSOR CARTELLIERI of the University of Jena is making the history of Philip Augustus almost a life-work. His first volume, taking up the period from 1165 to 1189, was issued in 1899, 1900; the second, treating the relation of the French sovereign to the Third Crusade, and especially the fateful disputes between Philip and Richard Coeur de Lion, was published in 1906; and now comes the third volume of his work, extending from Philip's return from the crusade to the death of Richard Coeur de Lion. The general quality of Professor Cartellieri's work has already been indicated in notices in this REVIEW of the earlier volumes. The same thoroughness, wide knowledge of the sources, and patient investigation which have marked the work thus far appear in, if possible, heightened measure in this third installment. Professor Cartellieri's present volume falls naturally into two sections: the first treating of the relations of the French king to Richard Coeur de Lion's imprisonment, and the second to the war between the two sovereigns which filled the five years, with occasional truces, from 1194 to 1199. Cartellieri makes evident that the effect of the controversies between French and English in the crusade, which he amply described in the second volume, was to greatly increase the hatred between the two rivals. The criticisms of the French on Richard's conduct of the crusade he regards as largely well based, for the failure of the crusade was more the fault of Richard than of Philip. For Philip, Richard's unexpected imprisonment in Germany was an immense advantage, and the conquest of Richard's Norman possessions which the French king was able to effect under these circumstances, though small in territorial amount, was of much strategic importance; and their retention was the prime cause of the following five years of warfare between the two sovereigns. In that struggle Cartellieri shows the immense danger in which Philip stood, not merely from the greater superiority in resources of men and wealth of the Plantagenet ruler, who was successful in securing many of Philip's natural supporters by subsidies, but from the constant peril in which the French were placed by the prospects of German-English combination. Cartellieri makes abundantly evident the political disadvantages, especially in relation to the Church, which were the consequences of Philip's ill-treatment of his queen,

Ingeborg, and his marriage with Agnes of Meran, both of which fall within this period. He gives adequate political explanation for Philip's marriage to the Danish princess and for his dissatisfaction with the consequences of that union; but the personal motives of the king's unjustifiable treatment of his queen remain as obscure as ever. The struggle between Philip and Richard Coeur de Lion is an unsatisfactory one for the historian because of its lack of a decisive battle. Either side seems to have been afraid to push the other too far; but, on the whole, it was a losing struggle for the French king, and in spite of the prompt and vigorous interference of Innocent III., begun almost immediately on the opening of his pontificate, affairs were so going that the death of Richard must be counted one of the greatest pieces of good fortune that came to Philip during his reign. Cartellieri has treated an obscure, confused, and involved period in the work of Philip Augustus with a clearness and fullness of investigation that deserves the heartiest commendation.

WILLISTON WALKER.

Le Pape et le Concile (1418–1450). Par NOËL VALOIS, Membre de l'Institut. Tome II. *La Crise Religieuse du XV^e^ Siècle*. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1909. Pp. 426.)

THE second volume of M. Noël Valois's *Le Pape et le Concile* covers the years from 1418 to 1450 and opens with the definite rupture between the council and the papacy. It finds the pope at Florence, and from the temporal point of view the papal situation considerably improved upon that described in the preceding volume.

We are accustomed to assume that the popes of the fifteenth century were patrons of Renaissance culture, as was Martin V., or intriguing diplomats like Sixtus IV. and Alexander VI., and not men of war. Julius II. is the type of the fighting pope that comes to mind; but M. Valois shows that Eugene IV. was quite as bellicose if not so great an actual warrior as the famous delle Rovere pontiff. He was an astute and pugnacious diplomat. There is not space to enter into the tortuous politics of the Church which culminated at last in the triumph of Eugene IV. over the council at Basel in spite of their action in suspending him. The author traces with great care and minuteness the course of the council in deposing the pope and setting up an anti-pope and the gradual development of a party of neutrality in the council, owing to a revolt within its membership against the drastic policy of the radical element.

The influence of this neutral party affected the policy of France, Castile, and Germany, which at first had united their efforts in favor of the schismatic movement at Basel. In spite of the difficulties of his situation, Eugene IV. clung to his course. He summoned a new council at Ferrara (later transferred to Florence) as a foil to that of Basel, in which the primacy of the papacy was recognized and proclaimed

and the union of the Greek church realized, at least on paper (July 5, 1439). Whatever may be said of the rights or wrongs of the conciliar-papal issue, the attitude of the council toward the Greek church, as here carefully outlined, deserves heavy censure and the catastrophe of 1453 is plainly foreshadowed. What would have been the result of the consolidation of Eastern and Western Christendom against the Turk may be more or less problematical, but, in the face of the danger, the narrowness and particularism of the clergy of the Latin church is deplorable, and Eugene IV. is to be credited with a statesmanlike policy in this respect which failed through no fault of his. The scandalous disputes that took place at the council in the presence of the Greek envoys, the details of which are here minutely set forth (pp. 70–81), shamed Europe.

In the course of the struggle the pope could count upon the support of King René, the Duke of Burgundy, England, and Castile. It is most interesting to observe the political division of Europe upon the issue. One naturally expects to find England and France upon opposite sides in the last stages of the Hundred Years' War, but to find France so divided against itself is astonishing. Perhaps the most original part of this history is that which deals with the secession of the Midi, while Charles VII. was an advocate of the conciliar party (pp. 211–224).

The question of what policy France should assume was thrashed out at Bourges and has been partially covered by M. Valois in a former work. Domestic conditions at last forced the issue. Charles VII., moved by the war of the Praguerie, turned toward Eugene IV. on the condition that he should unequivocally favor the Angevin claims, although the University of Paris, in spite of the royal instructions, still adhered to the council of Basel and welcomed the creation of some French cardinals by Felix V.

The conciliar party, not being successful in forcing either King Albert or the electors of the Empire from their neutrality, pinned their hope upon Frederick III. At the diet of Mainz, March, 1441, an agreement was entered into between Germany and France, which united to impose upon both parties the arbitration of a third council, to which Frederick III. acceded.

In the mean time the cause of Felix V., the anti-pope, was recruited by partizans in Poland, Bohemia, Prussia, Pomerania, Scotland, and the Swiss cantons. The Duke of Milan after offering to sell his support to Felix V. declared for Eugene IV., and together the two plotted to overthrow Sforza, who favored the anti-pope.

It remained to placate Alphonso V., who planned to conquer the states of the Church for Felix. But Eugene IV. compromised with Alphonso by conferring the investiture of Naples upon him, and at the same time pacified France for the loss of Naples by supporting her in Switzerland, and abandoning to Charles VII. the government of Avignon and the Comtat Venaissin. In return France threw its influence

against the anti-pope. At the same time the emperor was drawn away from support of Felix V. and formally declared for Eugene IV. in February, 1446, a triumph due to the influence of Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, who later received his reward by becoming Pius II. This secession was followed by that of Casimir of Poland. At this juncture Eugene IV. died just as the tide was turning strongly in his favor. His successor, Nicholas V., reaped the fruit of his policy. The council at Basel was scattered by Frederick III., and the abdication of Felix V. followed on April 7, 1449.

Thus, after years of storm and strife, of tortuous intrigue and subtle diplomacy, the papacy came back to its moorings once more. The jubilee year of 1450, with its thousands of pilgrims on the road to Rome, attested the recovered prestige of the Vatican. And yet the papacy never wholly recovered from the wounds of the Great Schism and the conflict of the councils, for its adversaries were not completely vanquished. It weathered one crisis with torn sails, to enjoy a brief period of Renaissance splendor and then to sail into the thunderstorm of the Reformation.

As one comes to the end of M. Valois's long and minute study, a comparison is inevitably drawn in the mind of the reader between his work and those of Creighton and Pastor. There is great difference between them. M. Valois has derived his information most largely from French sources; Creighton used German most fully and some Italian sources; Pastor based his work to the largest degree upon the Vatican archives, which were thrown open to him by Leo XIII.

As the sources differ, so does the method in each case. Creighton's work abounds with intellectual and culture history, skilful portraiture, and great descriptive power. Pastor's work is an erudite and brilliant argument in support of the doctrine of papal authority. On the other hand, the volumes before us might be characterized as a diplomatic history of the Church in the first half of the fifteenth century. It is pre-eminently a political work, and is absorbed with the politics of the Church. The thesis of the author is to show the preponderance of France in this diplomacy and to establish its credit for the restoration of the papacy.

James Westfall Thompson.

Briefe an Desiderius Erasmus. Herausgegeben von J. Förstemann und O. Günther. [Beihefte zum *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen* XXVII.] (Leipzig: Harrassowitz. 1904. Pp. xx, 460.)

Opus Epistolarum Des. Erasmi Roterodami. Denuo recognitum et auctum per P. S. Allen, M.A., Collegii Mertonensis Socium. Tomus I., 1484–1514; Tomus II., 1514–1517. (Oxonii: in Typographeo Clarendoniano. 1906, 1910. Pp. xxiv, 615; xx, 603.)

The first decade of the twentieth century has witnessed an extraordinary interest in Erasmus's correspondence. Besides the scholarly translation of the earlier letters by Mr. F. M. Nichols, several hundred unpublished epistles have been printed and a new edition of the whole collection undertaken and begun in a masterly way.

In 1901 Casimir von Miaskowski published forty-three recently discovered letters in the *Jahrbuch für Philosophie* (1901, pp. 195 ff. and 307 ff.). These, together with some articles by the editor (*op. cit.*, 1900, pp. 351 ff., and 1901, pp. 105 ff., and separately, *Die Correspondenz des Erasmus mit Polen,* Posen, 1901), throw a strong light on the relations of the great humanist with Poles, and especially to the great family of Lasco, to one of which he sold his library.

One of the blank-books in which Erasmus's secretaries copied the letters sent to their master came, about a hundred years ago, into the hands of Herr Burscher of Leipzig, and was partly published by him in the *Festschriften* of the university. As the work was both incomplete and imperfect the late Herr Förstemann undertook a new edition of the whole which was finished after his death by his friend Herr Günther. The collection contains two hundred and thirty-two letters to Erasmus, and a careful register of their writers with bibliographical material and references. Though these notes show deep study, the work of the editors has been supplemented and corrected in many points by the subsequent book of Enthoven, and this in turn has been subjected to the same process in an article by Professor H. de Vocht in *Englische Studien* (Leipzig, 1909, vol XL., pt. III., pp. 372 ff.). Perhaps the most interesting epistle is that of Francis Rabelais of November 30, 1532 (no. 182), with the young enthusiast's acknowledgment of his debt "for my whole being and worth to thee alone" (*quidquid sum et valeo, id tibi uni*). That in fact the Frenchman borrowed a great deal from the elder scholar has been demonstrated by a careful study by Professor Thuasne (*Études sur Rabelais,* Paris, 1904, no. 2). Among other new and important letters are some written by Capito, Mutian, Emser, Lupset, Sir Thomas More, Spalatin, and Peter Barbier. The variety of subjects covered is large, but it is rather noticeable that many of the communications are on money matters, especially on the pension from the emperor which seems to have been very hard to collect.

A new edition of the entire correspondence has been long desired and frequently planned. Mr. Allen undertook the work while Professor Froude was lecturing on Erasmus at Oxford, and, laboring with great thoroughness, has now, after seventeen years, brought out two volumes containing perhaps a quarter of the entire material. In these he publishes about six hundred epistles of which sixty-five are not found in the largest previous edition (that of Le Clerc) and of which eleven were unpublished. In the difficult task of restoring the chronological order Mr. Allen has used the results of essays by Dr. Richter,

Dr. Reich, and Mr. Nichols, but has revised and tested them exhaustively, ransacking the libraries of Europe to explain a single allusion. The headings, notes, and appendixes supply invaluable biographical material. The text is treated in exemplary manner, the printing is almost faultless, and the whole is pervaded by the finest literary feeling as well as by the soundest scholarship. Several facsimiles of manuscripts are given, and the second volume is embellished with reproductions of Quentin Matsys's portraits of Erasmus and Gillis.

Brilliant as is the success of Mr. Allen, even he occasionally nods. The worst mistakes in the first volume are in notes (pp. 28, 32) to an introductory epistle, where the editor wrongly explains some allusions of Erasmus to Luther and even supposes that the writer is in error. This blunder would have been avoided had Mr. Allen used Ender's recent edition of Luther's letters instead of the old edition of De Wette, and it is easily corrected by referring to the modern work (Enders, III. 278, 375, and IV. 233, 319).

The only indisputable mistake of importance which I have noted in the second volume is the conjectural dating of Duke George's letter (no. 514) from Weimar. As this town was not in his dominions, but in Ernestine Saxony, the heading is wrong and a more likely one would be Leipzig or Dresden. I am also convinced that Mr. Allen has wrongly placed epistle 527 in 1517. In this missive Pirckheimer encloses a note from Emser, of the Leipzig faculty, inquiring on what terms, if any, Erasmus will come to that university. Pirckheimer expresses the hope that Erasmus will accept the invitation, for then he will pass through Nuremberg on his way. This phrase distinctly implies that Erasmus was at that time living at Basel and not in the Netherlands; I am therefore inclined to place the letter (without date in the original) in 1516. It is, however, worth noting in this connection that on May 31, 1520, Luther writes Spalatin: "Lipsenses jactant Erasmum ad sese venturum" (Enders, II. 406).

In other points of relatively small importance other students will differ from some of Mr. Allen's conclusions but all must be grateful for his splendid work.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Geschichte des Fränkischen Kreises: Darstellung und Akten. Erster Band. *Die Geschichte des Fränkischen Kreises von 1521–1559.* Bearbeitet von FRITZ HARTUNG. [Veröffentlichungen der Gesellschaft für Fränkische Geschichte.] (Leipzig: Quelle und Meyer. 1910. Pp. xxxviii, 461.)

THE constitutional history of the old Holy Roman Empire received relatively little attention from historians of the nineteenth century until the recent studies of Karl Zeumer and his pupils. This is especially true of the history of the "circles". Until the appearance of the volume under review no study of great value had been made of any single

circle or of the circle organization as a whole since the publication of the twenty-sixth volume of J. J. Moser's *Teutsches Staatsrecht,* in 1746. Moser, however, like so many juristic writers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, was chiefly concerned to give a satisfactory juristic definition of the powers and duties of the circles; and he based his description mainly on literal enactments or on stereotyped formulas which had been handed down. Dr. Hartung, on the other hand, as editor for a local German historical society, has studied the Franconian Circle as a living organism and has shown its historical growth. Since he wrote, a similar study has been made of the Lower Saxon Circle up to 1542 by A. Neukirch. It is only upon the basis of several such local studies that there can be written a really satisfactory account of the circle organization as a whole.

In a general introduction (pp. 3–155) Dr. Hartung traces the attempts at administrative reform in the Empire from the time of Rudolph of Hapsburg to 1521. The weakening of the Empire, the dynastic policy of the Hapsburgs, and the defiant attitude of the growing territorial princes made evident the desirability of some efficient machinery for enforcing order in Germany. Many plans were proposed; that of 1438 perhaps came nearest to success and had most influence on the plan actually adopted in 1500. All the projects prior to 1500 had been shipwrecked on the jealousy of the different princes and political groups toward each other and toward the emperor. The princes admitted that political conditions were bad, but looked askance at any reform which might limit their individual freedom. Finally, however, they agreed in 1500 to a division of the Empire into ten districts or "circles". At first these circles were nothing but geographical expressions; they had almost no corporate life or activity. The Franconian Circle had only one session in the two decades following its creation, and the Rhine circles did not dare to proceed to execution against Franz von Sickingen when requested to do so by Maximilian in 1515.

In a special introduction (pp. 159–233) Dr. Hartung gives an excellent sketch showing how the Franconian Circle gradually grew in activity and power. Its leading members were the bishops of Bamberg, Würzburg, and Eichstätt, the princes of Anspach-Baireuth, Hohenlohe, Henneberg, and Schwarzenberg, and five Free Cities, including Nuremberg. In 1530 and 1532 the circle loyally raised troops and chose a commander to help defend Germany from the Turkish peril. Some members joined the Schmalkald League and some sided with the emperor, but the circle as a corporate whole remained neutral. By 1559 the circle had so developed that it had a permanent military captain, council, and treasury. It had the oversight of the coinage and executed justice against disturbers of the public peace. But it was still far from having the power and pomp which it acquired in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Before 1559 no delegate ever appeared at the Circle Diet driving more than two horses, and the longest session lasted only six days.

The documents in the last half of the volume are well chosen to show the development of the Franconian Circle from 1521 to 1559 as a corporate organization, but are singularly barren of general information in regard to this interesting period. They contain practically nothing on the Peasants' Revolt, the Pack Affair, or Luther and religious questions.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus en France: Des Origines à la Suppression (1528–1762). Par le P. HENRI FOUQUERAY, S.J. Tome I. *Les Origines et les Premières Luttes (1528–1575)*. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1910. Pp. xxv, 673.)

Les Jésuites. Par H. BOEHMER, Professeur à l'Université de Bonn. Ouvrage traduit de l'Allemand, avec une Introduction et des Notes par GABRIEL MONOD, Membre de l'Institut. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1910. Pp. lxxxiii, 304.)

OF the histories of the Jesuits by countries (*Assistentia* is the Jesuit term, but from the first the Assistances were national in scope, and these histories prove yet more so) Father Fouqueray's work on the Jesuits in France is the fifth to begin its appearance. Father Astrain's first volume on the Jesuits in Spain was issued in 1902, and was followed by a second in 1905. In 1907 Father Hughes's on the Jesuits in North America and Father Duhr's on the Jesuits in the lands of German speech began to see the light. Father Tacchi Venturi's introductory volume on the history of the order in Italy appeared only last year. Portugal and Poland are yet to be heard from, and there is room for many a further volume on the Jesuits in lands non-Catholic or extra-European.

But the series, though planned by the order, has no common editor or publisher; and it would not be easy to conceive a wider divergence in form than between the sumptuously illustrated pages of Father Duhr and the present sober-faced volume, sans picture, chart, or facsimile. Alas, the divergence is as great in scholarly spirit; and for once the pictorial work is not the crude one. Father Fouqueray was, indeed, not the scholar originally chosen for this task. Father Victor Mercier, who in 1895 took it in hand, was snatched away by death, and the responsibilities of authorship fell on shoulders fitted only, perhaps, for those of lieutenancy. But for the wealth of its sources, the work might rather have been written in the sixteenth century than in the twentieth. The order and its heroes are impeccable. The Devil in person is their constant antagonist. Heaven as constantly intervenes by miracle for their protection or their glory. To Father Fouqueray, indeed, this is so natural that he sees in it, like his Father Possevin when miraculously rescued from the Huguenots at Lyons, only "a delicate attention of Providence". So avid of miracle is he, forsooth, for his needlessly detailed account of the founder of his order that, not content with the

extremest version of the marvels recounted by contemporaries—the three-day walk of Ignatius barefoot from Paris to Rouen, tasting neither food nor drink, yet arriving unwearied and unfamished, or his plunging himself to the neck in a wintry stream, prepared to remain there for hours if a sinning friend persist in his self-indulgence—he has stomach for even the tale (known only to Bartoli, a century later, and long rejected by the official hagiographers of the order) of the saint's visit to a learned but worldly theologian whom he finds playing at billiards. The savant invites him to a game; and the saint, protesting that he has no money for a stake and that there is no fun in playing without one, proposes that the loser shall for a month obey the winner—whereupon the saint of course wins and by prescribing his spiritual exercises turns the scholar to a religious life. If one might guess that in his pre-saintly days Loyola had known the game and excelled in it—and to the mere lay historian, remembering the long popularity of the game and the gay early life of the saint, no guess could seem more warranted—the story would be neither incredible nor discreditable. But to Father Fouqueray no such profane suspicion occurs: Ignatius "had never played at billiards", yet won "without difficulty"—nor does it trouble the good father that the exploit, if saved by the saint's faith from being reckless gambling, was perilously like those appeals to the "judgment of God" which the Church had so long proscribed.

Of the heretics, on the other hand, no scandal is beyond his belief. Calvin is a charlatan who can bribe a poor man to feign death that he may claim a miracle by bringing him to life; Beza a libertine who marries a tailor's wife; Jeanne d'Albret an unscrupulous persecutor. Yet, despite its credulity and bigotry, the book is a product of industrious research and will serve many a useful purpose. The central episode of the present volume is the long struggle of the Jesuits at Paris with their implacable foes, the University and the Parlement; but the provincial colleges too come in for ample treatment. Except in connection with the Colloquy of Poissy, the political background of the religious story is made less clear than could be wished. A tardy final chapter on "the Company during the civil troubles" makes scant amends. Sixteen pages of documents close the volume.

While the Jesuits are themselves thus industriously using the fresh materials for their history, they are not wholly forgotten by outsiders. In 1904 there appeared in the well-known Leipzig series of the Teubners, *Aus Natur und Geisteswelt,* a compact little volume, *Die Jesuiten,* from the pen of one of the livest of the younger Lutheran students of church history, Professor Heinrich Boehmer, of Bonn. So eager was its reception and so ready its author to profit by the new material for its revision that already in 1907 it was issued again, corrected and enlarged. It is this revised second edition which the eminent editor of the *Revue Historique* now gives to the world in a French translation, with an introduction and notes of his own. The little work is not

unworthy of so high an honor. While naturally it has not wholly satisfied its Jesuit critics, and while even in its revised form they point out some serious slips, they have been frank to recognize its honesty of intent and the critical industry with which the author has brushed away many an ancient calumny. By no means blind to Jesuit faults or to Jesuit blunders, he is open-eyed as well to their virtues and their great achievements. It is this fairness of spirit, so rare toward them in friend or foe, and the unusual clearness with which the book depicts the vicissitudes which have wrought such changes in the order, that lead the great French scholar to its translation. What M. Monod himself adds, in his introduction of some eighty pages, is (1) a critical glance at the earlier writers on the Jesuits, (2) a study of the place of the order in the history of the Reformation, (3) an elucidation of certain obscure points in its career (the Malabar and Chinese rites, the casuistry and ethics of the Jesuits, their polity and the *Monita Secreta*), and (4) a general estimate of their historical significance. The frontispiece is an excellent portrait of Loyola, after the painting by Sanchez Coello. Gratifying and useful as is the little volume, there is room for a doubt whether even its conscientious authors have been able wholly to divest their minds of prejudice. Surely not even they have always adequately remembered how, like every order or church cursed with worldly success, or like that contradiction in terms, a "permanent party", the Jesuits, despite all their care in selecting and skill in directing, came speedily to be a petty world, in which character and temper, conviction and aim, went scarcely less asunder than in the world outside.

GEORGE L. BURR.

Geschichte der Päpste seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters. Von LUDWIG VON PASTOR. Fünfter Band. *Paul III.* (*1534–1549*). (Freiburg i. B.: Herder. 1909. Pp. xliv, 891.)

LUDWIG VON PASTOR has given us no more satisfying volume than this. The Lutheran heresy falls now into the background, and the rising glory of the Catholic Reformation casts a lustre on even the worldly figure of Pope Paul the Third.

Not that his historian fails frankly to reveal his faults. That what first made his fortune in the Church was the passion of Pope Alexander VI. for his sister, the fair Julia—that he was himself the father of four illegitimate children—that the mother of two of them was till 1513 (when, at forty-five, though twenty years a cardinal, he was not yet a priest) an inmate of his house—that to the end his nepotism was unblushing and fraught with evil for the Church—all this is relentlessly laid bare. But all this, thinks his biographer, was what was to be expected from a true son of the Renaissance, the pupil of Pomponio Leto, the ward of Lorenzo de' Medici, the favorite of Rodrigo de Borgia. What distinguished Alessandro Farnese was his power to share as well the impulses of a younger and a better day. "A man of the Catholic

Reformation, indeed, in the full sense of the word, Paul III. by no means became—old and new in him were forever in conflict"; but he came into touch with it, and his pontificate was the transition to another age. If his defects were great, great too were his qualities. "Penetrating insight, refinement of culture, great diplomatic cleverness, not even his foes could deny him." Broken though he seemed by age and by illness, "there dwelt in the frail body a mighty spirit and an iron will." "They who approached Paul III. received at first the impression of an old, weary, and worn-out man, who spoke slowly, very cautiously, with much circumlocution. Only the lively color in his face and the small, sparkling eyes, which attracted everybody's notice, betrayed the passionate temper of the old man, who had himself wonderfully in hand." "Paul III.'s prudent waiting and cautious delaying with every decision sprang not, as with Clement VII., from lack of courage, but from shrewd calculation: he would remain master of the situation and seize the opportune moment. When that arrived, he acted with a swiftness which surprised even those who were nearest him."

That the pope paltered with the religious reform, Pastor will not admit. Even the endless postponements of the council he lays to the charge of the emperor, and yet more to that of Francis of France. For the sincerity of Francis he has no good word, and but scant respect for Charles's wisdom. Especially does he blame Charles for the religious colloquies and their outcome. Thirty years ago Dr. Pastor began his career as a scholar by a book on these *Reunionsbestrebungen,* and nothing could better attest the liveness of his scholarship than the fresh light he can now throw upon them. Contarini is still his hero; but he is no blind worshiper. Peacemakers, he admits, are prone to an optimism which overlooks or underrates the difficulties of the world of reality. Yet, though Contarini failed to detect the heresy lurking even in his own formulation of the Lutheran theory of justification, he was ever a true Catholic: did he not declare to a friend that "without the authority of the Church he would accept not only no questionable article, but not even the Gospel of St. John?" "This firm will to believe what the Church teaches, to subject the private judgment to the Church's authority, this it is which makes the Catholic a true son of his Church."

Of such sort is Herr Pastor's own churchmanship. Not even the revivifying of the Roman Inquisition by Pope Paul at the instance of Carafa and Loyola stirs him to protest. What does disturb his equanimity is that even to so friendly a historian the archives of that dread Congregation are still hopelessly closed. Without them, he declares, it is impossible even approximately to sketch the Inquisition's activity or to determine what measure of truth lay in the contemporary verdict of Cardinal Seripando that in the beginning this tribunal was temperate and mild, as answered to the nature of Paul III., but later, as it grew more powerful, and thanks, above all, to the inhuman severity of Carafa, gained the repute that nowhere upon earth were decisions more frightful and terrible.

Yet what alone gives warmth and color to the historian's pen is the story of the Catholic Reformation. To it he brings a wealth of fresh material, and mainly from unpublished sources. Even for the rise of the Jesuits he uses not only the flood of information which the order itself has just been putting into print in its *Monumenta* and its provincial histories, but contributes much of his own. On the less orthodox Italian reformers, too, he throws much valuable light—notably on the career of Ochino, whose apostasy he counts "the event which forms the real crisis in the history of the Catholic reform movement in Italy". But was not that "Agostino Piemontese" (the "Augustinus Pedemontanus" of Polanco and Orlandini) who dared in 1538 to preach crypto-Protestantism even in Rome itself the well-known Piedmontese Augustinian, Mainardi, who in 1539 found in Chiavenna a safer and more lasting pulpit?

GEORGE L. BURR.

The Strength of England: a Politico-Economic History of England from Saxon Times to the Reign of Charles the First. By J. W. WELSFORD, M.A. With a preface by W. CUNNINGHAM, D.D., F.B.A. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1910. Pp. xviii, 362.)

THIS work is described in its subtitle as *A Politico-Economic History of England from Saxon Times to the Reign of Charles the First.* It is also designated in a preface by Professor Cunningham as an "essay". As such it should be considered. It is not a history in the usual sense of the word. It makes no contribution of new knowledge to the subject, nor does it undertake to state the familiar facts of English history either in a pleasing arrangement for literary purposes, or in a brief form to be used as a text-book. Nor indeed does it profess to give a well-balanced statement of the most recent knowledge of English history in all its aspects. It is rather a rapid résumé of the subject, laying stress on foreign relations, political and commercial, and giving such an explanation of them as will show the desirability of a policy of protection to native industry and commerce.

If this ideal is accepted the book can be praised as having been done with much sincerity, intelligence, and information. The author has evidently read quite widely and thought independently. He has emancipated himself from merely traditional statements and explanations. As a result one is constantly struck in reading his book with his new ideas, bold suggestions, and original interpretations. A student of English history is frequently forced to reconsider some of his familiar views. Moreover, if all the statements and explanations in this book are true the author makes out a good historical argument for protection. As a matter of fact one gets somewhat tired of the economic explanation. The English Reformation was economic rather than religious: the disso-

lution of the monasteries and the execution of Charles I. were both largely due to the decline in the value of the precious metals; "Spain neglected her workers and thus lost her freedom and colossal strength, whilst by pursuing an opposite policy England became both strong and free"; it was due to Elizabeth's protective system that she could restore the coinage, maintain the navy, subsidize French and Dutch Protestants, and defeat the Armada.

One has a haunting feeling that a writer equally convinced of the desirability of a policy of freedom of trade could write an equally good history of England, and prove his point just as clearly. For after all this is not very good history. The light way in which the author uses the expression "thousands of years", as applied to the use of certain trade-routes, to the period which intervened between the Greek and the Arthurian legends, and to the age of Constantinople, his references to the "many thousands" of men who were put to death for witchcraft in England and as many in Scotland, are typical instances of a certain recklessness of statement which lies at the opposite pole of thought from the moderation and caution of the real historical student. Consequently one is not surprised to find it stated that Spain and Portugal controlled access to the eastern trade-routes in the twelfth century, that Becket opposed the constitutions of Clarendon because they were hard on the serfs, that the power of the papacy increased and declined in proportion to the income it was able to draw from the prospering or decaying monasteries of Europe, that the Third Estate in France was a democratic body, that the pope drew a larger revenue from England than the king, all of which statements are demonstrably untrue.

Such misconceptions make one doubtful of other generalizations which can hardly be disproved but which one may hesitate to accept in the absence of positive proofs. Such are Mr. Welsford's theory that English medieval liberty was saved by the policy of protection of their home trade pursued by London and other towns, that the wars of the Roses were the result of different economic policies followed by Yorkists and Lancastrians and many others. The author defends the policy of the Stuart kings, and has small sympathy for the Puritans and parliamentarians who were so factiously opposing them. It is a matter of regret that Mr. Welsford's death occurred before his history had come further down in time than the middle years of the seventeenth century. Nevertheless, historical work must be much more rigorously done than this before it can be used to teach one doctrine or another of practical statesmanship, and before it will satisfy both the historian and the economist.

E. P. Cheyney.

The Last Years of the Protectorate, 1656–1658. By Charles Harding Firth, M.A., Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. Volume I., 1656–1657; Volume II., 1657–1658. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1909. Pp. xx, 341; xii, 341.)

Nearly all the more obvious things have been said about Professor Firth's book in the numerous reviews which have been written about it thus far. The death of Professor Gardiner before the completion of his work, the passing on of his notes and advice to Professor Firth, the latter's unusual fitness and ability to continue the task, his numerous contributions to our knowledge of the field, and, above all, the extraordinary fidelity with which not merely the method but the style of Professor Gardiner are reproduced, so that it is difficult to tell where one leaves off and the other begins—these points have been dwelt upon by successive reviewers many times. It seems scarcely necessary to enlarge upon them here. One thing alone is lacking in the reviews so far, any real critical examination of the book itself, especially of the facts and conclusions it records. Nor is it, indeed, probable that we shall have such, for two excellent reasons. The first is that the work has been done with so much care, its statements so carefully made, verified, and fortified by research and indication of authority. It is, in fact, such a model of method in its way that no reviewer is likely to detect errors if such exist, and it is not probable that the severest analysis would find any of importance. The second reason for the lack of more serious criticism has been well expressed by Mr. Frederic Harrison, who has himself reviewed the book. "No living scholar", he says, "has the rare special knowledge acquired by a long devotion to the study of this period which would justify him in attempting to pass any critical judgment on Mr. Firth's new work." This is a strong statement. Yet, apart perhaps from students of special phases of the same period, it is undoubtedly true. This being so, such reviews would seem works of supererogation were it not for two things. One is that it seems desirable to point out just what has been done and how the author has done it, the other what, if anything, remains undone. And even this latter, Professor Firth has himself in large measure forestalled by his promise "to continue this narrative down to the Restoration of Charles II., and to treat more fully in the next installment the social and economic condition of England during the rule of Cromwell and his son".

It is an old saying now that "it is ill gleaning after Gardiner", and some, no doubt, have been deterred from entering the same field by fear of his great name, feeling that the material has been exhausted. Professor Firth was, fortunately, not so deterred, and his contributions to our knowledge of the period have at once enlarged and supplemented the work of the greatest modern English historical scholar in ways which must bring encouragement to many timid souls who have felt the

fields of possible research narrowing on every hand. And that even his work has not exhausted the possibilities of more intensive culture has been demonstrated by at least one young American scholar who is finding very considerable sheaves in following Gardiner and Firth alike. This then seems one of the lessons taught by these two volumes. There have doubtless been some scores if not hundreds of lives of Cromwell written. A steady and not inconsiderable stream of monographs on every phase of the Commonwealth and Protectorate pours forth year after year, whose volume and value is well defined in the preface to the present book. New material is even now just coming to light in places as widely separated as Dublin and Auckland. So it is not probable that for the considerable future we shall be able to say of this much studied period, "this is the end." Upon this material Professor Firth has drawn, much of it he has himself discovered, and his work is therefore not merely a contribution in itself but in so far as is possible forms a definitive statement of the knowledge we now have of the period. Nor is it probable that however great an addition to detail may be made, the general outlines of fact and opinion will advance much beyond those here set down. For the most striking thing about this book is that, with all its additions to our knowledge, there are no striking reversals of judgment in its pages. What then do they contain and what is their chief value? Chiefly this, they tell with entire simplicity, clearness, and impartiality the story of the last two years of Cromwell's life, from September, 1656, to September, 1658, of his government of England and his policy and of English activities beyond the seas. "One feature", wrote Gardiner more than twenty years ago, "is common to all revolutions, that the nation in which they appear is content, perhaps after years of agitation, with just so much change as is sufficient to modify or abolish the institution which, so to speak, rankles in the flesh of the body politic. In the French Revolution the existence of privileged classes was the evil. . . . In the English Revolution it was of the essence of the movement that the authority of the King should be restricted." The greater part of the long period covered by him were the "years of agitation". With these new volumes we come distinctly to the backward swing of the pendulum. Their first chapter is devoted to the meeting of Cromwell's second Parliament, "the turning point in the history of the Protectorate". More and more the sense of unity increases, a unity centring in Cromwell. Foreign policy and war, financial difficulties, administrative perplexities, royalist plots, bring us to the same point, the failure of the dominant party to find constitutional basis for their power short of monarchy, the offer of the crown to Cromwell. Only his death prevented its acceptance, in Professor Firth's opinion, and on the basis of the facts here adduced one must agree with him. If the new force was to maintain itself it must take on the form of the old. For an estimate of the Protector we look in vain. The sole comment rests in the concluding quotation regarding Richard's succession,

the speech of Henry IV. to his son:

> "To thee it shall descend with better quiet,
> Better opinion, better confirmation,
> For all the soil of the achievement goes
> With me into the earth."

And if with all its excellence one feels that politics and war play too great a part, if one desires something more of England rather than its policy and arms, something of the spirit and matter which went to make such a book as Inderwick's *Interregnum,* there are still two things to be considered. The one is that in no small measure Cromwell was England personified for the time, the other that we are promised something more hereafter. From the reading of this book, in many ways the most remarkable historical and, if history still be literature, literary event of the day, we look forward with lively anticipation to the conclusion when England, left between an organization without a leader and a leader without an organization, turned again to the old order infused with as much of the new spirit as could breathe the heavier air of the Restoration.

W. C. Abbott.

The Political History of England. Edited by William Hunt, D.Litt., and Reginald L. Poole, M.A., LL.D. Volume VIII. *The History of England from the Restoration to the Death of William III.* (*1660–1702*). By Richard Lodge, M.A., LL.D., Professor of History in the University of Edinburgh. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1910. Pp. xix, 517.)

With the appearance of Professor Lodge's volume the co-operative *Poltical History of England* under the joint editorship of Mr. Hunt and Mr. Poole approaches completion. Necessarily somewhat unequal in style and even in value, the series has on the whole preserved a rather remarkable unity and high standard. Its criterion, emphasized from volume to volume by the editorial introduction, has in most cases been at least closely approximated, in some attained. "The History of which this volume is an instalment", says this declaration of principles, "is an attempt to set forth in a readable form the results at present attained by research." It "will primarily deal with politics . . . but as the life of a nation is complex and its condition at any given time cannot be understood without taking into account the various forces acting upon it, notices of religious matters and of intellectual, social and economic progress will also find place in these volumes". This last provision, one may observe in passing, is satisfied in the present volume by the inclusion of a final chapter, Literature and Science, of twenty-four pages out of 476, summarizing cursorily the principal achievements of these two forms of intellectual manifestation. To some it will doubtless appear rather in the light of an inadequate postscript than as an integral

part of the book itself. It is, at any rate, inferior to the body of the narrative in several respects. For the "readable form" of that narrative is distinctly clear and well-ordered. Such adjectives naturally suggest themselves as the just and obvious characterization of the style. But when we apply the further tests of the editorial introduction, in particular that relating to "the results at present attained by research", we find ourselves on more unstable ground. For with all the good points of Professor Lodge's work, and they are many, it will not, throughout, stand this test. The older authorities he has read and used with care, but, to take the first ten pages for example, the only authority beside Clarendon, Burnet, Welwood, and Clarke's *James II.* which he quotes is Lady Fanshawe and that on a minor point—the crowds which greeted Charles between Dover and London. This, it may be said, is scarcely a fair test. Yet the more one studies the bibliographical apparatus and considers the views expressed in the text in the light of the bibliography given, the more he must feel, in spite of the obvious merits of the book, a certain lack of "the results at present attained by research". Let us take two or three instances. It is true, of course, that Bagwell's *Ireland under the Stuarts* reaches only to 1660. But up to that point it certainly invalidates the assertion that "an authoritative and impartial history of Ireland in the seventeenth century is still to be written." The omission of such a book as Bonn's *Englische Kolonisation in Irland* is scarcely to be expected. The appearance of a long series of biographies of Restoration worthies in recent years finds scant recognition here. They are, indeed, of widely varying value but each contains some excellent material. Thus Lady Burghclere's *Buckingham,* Willcock's *Scots Earl* (the ninth Earl of Argyll), Lang's *Mackenzie,* Fea's *King Monmouth,* to note a few among many, are conspicuous by their absence. Among monographs and articles in the periodicals those in the English and Scottish historical reviews have by no means been exhausted and such studies as Bate's *Declaration of Indulgence* and Williams's *History of English Journalism to 1666* find no mention. Curiously enough also neither Lister's *Clarendon* nor Duckett's *Penal Laws and Test Act,* among others, are noted. Such omissions may have much to do with the expression of certain views in the text from which many will distinctly dissent. It is possible to mention but a few here. "In spite of his long absence Hyde had never lost his firm grasp of the essential conditions of English life", says Professor Lodge (p. 5). If politics is to be considered part of that life one may observe that had he learned the lessons writ large on its pages between 1640 and 1660 his policies and fate might very well have been quite different. That apart from a few executions the leaders of the fallen party were "spared", omits the essential fact that nearly all of them who did not enter royal service died in prison or exile, and casts the traditional but far too favorable light on the merciful nature of the Restoration (pp. 8–9). To say that the so-called Pres-

byterian party was so "short-sighted" as to "abstain" from exacting pledges as the price of its aid, is to ignore entirely the threats of Monk in the first debate and the later history of the Convention, the Royalists, and the king (p. 13). Space permits but few more observations. Regarding the Popish Plot (p. 151) our present knowledge does not warrant the statement that Danby could find nothing to corroborate Oates's informations. It may be true but we do not know what he found or knew. If we did it would help us greatly.

But to come to greater matters. We have here presented clearly and ably what may, in general, be called the traditional Restoration corrected here and there by some later investigations. Yet one must seriously dissent from some of the larger views, among them, the opinion of the Clarendonian and Cabal administrations and the conception of the Parliamentary situation in 1676–1678. And it is even more difficult to accept the unselfish generosity and sympathy of Louis XIV. as a completely satisfactory explanation of his reception of James II. and his recognition of James III. That, indeed, is a view which has had much vogue since the days of Macaulay. But surely the French king who had so long enjoyed the advantage of an England divided against itself by the divergent views of crown and Parliament, who had bribed the one and attempted to bribe the other, was scarcely likely to be blind to the advantage of an England divided by schism or even war between Jacobite and Whig. This supposition surely does an injustice to the shrewdest diplomatic intelligence of the day—save one. And we are not willing to sacrifice Louis XIV.'s head even to his heart. One must regret that present limitations forbid further consideration of this interesting book which, whatever its faults, offers the most complete study of the Restoration since Lingard.

W. C. Abbott.

George I. and the Great Northern War: a Study of British-Hanoverian Policy in the North of Europe in the Years 1709 to 1721. By James Frederick Chance, M.A., F. R. Hist. S. (London: Smith, Elder, and Company. 1909. Pp. xviii, 516.)

The purpose and results of this study are stated in one of the concluding paragraphs: "Reviewing the policy of George I. in the north, we see in the years 1709 to 1721 three successive phases of it; indecision, war with Sweden, and approximation to war with Russia. In the second phase George was successful, gaining for Hanover the valuable acquisition of Bremen and Verden, though the gain was discounted by the concomitant aggrandisement of Prussia and the transference of the ducal Sleswick to Denmark. In the third he suffered dire defeat. How far his policy, as elector, was damaging to British interests is a question which has been referred to; it has been debated for nearly two centuries and will probably never be agreed upon. The chief consideration is, how far it caused the hostility with Russia. If George had

sided with Charles XII. instead of with his enemies, Charles might, perhaps, have recovered his dominions in the east, and then there would have been no Russian mastery of the Baltic to fear. But to do so, as we have seen, was not possible, principally in consequence of the perversity of Charles himself. After his accession George's policy was not at all inspired from Hanover, his British governments supported it as in the interests of Great Britain. Townshend, Stair, Carteret, Whitworth were not inspired by affection for Hanover; in the last years they were strong in opposition to the policy of Bernstorff. Jealousy of the rise of Russia was natural on the part of Great Britain and inevitable." King George's methods in diplomacy Mr. Chance characterizes as selfish and tortuous, "but if not straightforward he was strong, and he restored to Great Britain the foremost place in Europe".

The specific problem of Hanoverian influence on English diplomacy in these years is answered, it seems to me, in favor of the coincidence of English commercial interests in the north, and especially in the Baltic, with the plans of George in behalf of his electorate. When they clashed it was the Hanoverian ministry who retired and not Stanhope (*cf.* p. 317).

Had Mr. Chance more thoroughly mastered his material, the significance of these years in the shaping of English policy in the Mediterranean and in the Baltic would have been clearer to his readers at least. It is only when these dominating centres of interest are kept in mind that British policy and British administrative organization become clear. The Secretary of State for the Northern Department is, in a large sense, a secretary for the Baltic, and the Southern Secretary a secretary for the Mediterranean. The shifting alliances of this infinitely confused period, England's drifting away from Austria, her rivalries with Sweden, Spain, and Russia, her approach to Prussia, France, and again to Sweden, attain, from this standpoint, a significance and coherence that is profounder than dynastic interests and Hanoverian influence can ever explain. Incidentally, this absorption of the ministries of George I. in the Mediterranean and the Baltic might suggest to American colonial historians the thesis that England may have suffered later from a sin which we have always considered purely French, the neglect of her colonial interests for what Mr. Chance considers the great service of George I., the restoration of Great Britain to the foremost place in Europe.

The essence of Mr. Chance's work has already been made available in his chapter in the *Cambridge Modern History*, VI., and in the essays in the *English Historical Review*. In this volume he has filled five hundred pages with unsifted and undigested archival material, two-thirds of which might better have gone into the foot-notes or into appendixes. The result is an exceedingly clumsy and amateurish work which is only made usable by an exceptionally good index.

Guy Stanton Ford.

Histoire de France depuis les Origines jusqu'à la Révolution, publiée sous la direction de M. Ernest Lavisse. Tome VIII., Partie II. *Le Règne de Louis XV.* (*1715–1774*). Par H. Carré, Professeur à l'Université de Poitiers. (Paris: Hachette et Cie. 1909. Pp. 428.)

Although this volume brings the history of France to within fifteen years of the Revolution, it cannot be relied upon for a general description of the "old régime". What is said about social conditions is introduced incidentally in accounts of the controversies over the *vingtièmes* or in explanation of the results of the propaganda of the economists and the physiocrats. Part of the reason for the lack of such descriptions is found in the fact that the preceding volume contained nearly a hundred pages on the subject, and M. Carré has apparently considered it enough if he notes the changes in the situation, especially those which came in the second half of the century. The main interests which the volume serves, however, are of the same order. Diplomacy and war occupy less than a quarter of its pages. The matters treated with fullness are questions of administration and finance, and the intellectual progress of the country, illustrated particularly in the work of Voltaire, Montesquieu, the Encyclopedists, and the economists.

If it be asked, is there any single impression left by the reading of this volume which suggests the secret of the fatal inability of the French government to apply in time a remedy to its menacing ills, the answer may be the blight which the presence on the throne of such a man as Louis XV. seemed to cast upon the abilities of really able administrators. France was not perishing for the lack of either wisdom or warnings. The ominous want was a king, who, if not great himself, would furnish the necessary element of unity and continuity. Moreover, it was futile to expect disinterested devotion to become a common trait among the ministers of such a monarch. Even the Abbé Terray proposed to reform the conditions of the contract of the "farm" by abolishing the *croupes,* but he discovered that Louis XV. figured in person for a quarter of the venture of one "farmer", and Mme. du Barry for 20,000 livres in that of another. There was a demand that Terray suppress the *acquits de comptant,* and M Carré thinks this reform might have made possible the establishment of an equilibrium between receipts and expenditures, but the change was out of the question, because in that case the king could no longer dip into the treasury at discretion and would have been obliged to justify his expenditures. This was the time when Mme. du Barry, "jeune, fraîche, amusante à son perpétuel ennui, ni tracassière, ni ambitieuse", was receiving 300,000 livres a month.

It was the king who was responsible for the failure of the projects to distribute more fairly the burdens of taxation, and so, eventually, to increase the revenue. Machault attempted in 1750 to collect the *vingtièmes* from the clergy, but when he was making some progress in

the difficult enterprise, Louis was seized with a crisis of pious emotion. "Le bruit courut que Mme. de Pompadour allait être disgraciée. Il n'en fut rien; mais le Roi renonça à soumettre le Clergé à l'impôt." When it was not the mistresses, it was the royal nonchalance, the ennui, the feebleness of will, which made firmness and continuity of policy impossible. The king did not lack perspicacity, and he saw the danger in the extravagant claims of the parlements. On one occasion he said, "Ils finiront par perdre l'État", and when someone interrupted him with the remark that the judges were merely "petits robins", Louis replied, "Vous ne savez pas ce qu' ils font et ce qu' ils pensent; c'est une assemblée de républicains. En voilà, au reste, assez: les choses, comme elles sont, dureront autant que moi."

Next in interest is M. Carré's treatment of that phase of the intellectual history of the reign which bore directly upon the prospects of reform. He traces with unusual clearness the influence of England upon Voltaire, Montesquieu, and others in the earlier years of the movement. He mentions the efforts of refugees in England and Holland, through the publication of the translations of British works. In France the abbé prévost published, from 1733 to 1740, a sort of encyclopedic review, *Le Pour et Contre,* in which he presented translations of English philosophical works and even the novels of Richardson.

M. Carré's treatment of financial and economic questions is especially clear. His account of the "system" of John Law is the most complete and exact description, within anything like the same compass, of this strange venture in high finance. Another equally satisfying explanation of an interesting movement concerns the influence upon the administration of the ideas of *laissez faire* touching industrial methods. There are intimations that the success of the principle was not unqualified. In regard to the rural population M. Carré thinks that while the conditions in the later years of Fleury's administration were wretched, there was a distinct improvement in the third quarter of the century. He quotes some apparently decisive evidence from the work of the economist Moheau, entitled *Recherches et Considérations sur la Population de la France,* which appeared in 1774.

M. Carré seems unusually successful in his portraits of the principal personages of the time. Upon them all, beginning with Dubois and ending with Terray, he has furnished the sort of information which substitutes men for the vague impersonations of abstract qualities, frequently of vices, which have worn certain of these names.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Henry Stuart, Cardinal of York, and his Times. By ALICE SHIELD, with an introduction by ANDREW LANG. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1908. Pp. xvi, 353.)

THERE may be some readers, "ravish'd with the whistling of a name", whose interest in the last inglorious years of the banished

Stuarts is perennial and insatiable. Since the turn of the century at least half a dozen works have appeared for their delectation. Two aspects of the subject are of fundamental historical importance, Jacobitism as a factor in English party politics, and the attitude of the Continental powers toward the exiled dynasty as an element in the European diplomacy of the period. The latter was well discussed by Mr. F. W. Head in his excellent monograph on *The Fallen Stuarts* which appeared in 1901. Then there is the ever-romantic episode of 1745 in which the Young Pretender appeared for a brief episode as a hero. For the rest the story of the whole family is jejune and unedifying.

James, the Old Pretender, had some reputable qualities; but he was ever incapable of awakening any enthusiasm, his domestic relations were clouded by constant bickerings, he grew to be gloomy and irritable, increasingly greedy of preferment for his oldest son. Charles, his health and spirits broken by drink and misfortune, dragged on an aimless existence lighted by a steadily waning hope. He was brutal to his mistress and to his perhaps none too deserving wife. Henry by accepting a cardinal's hat killed the chances of a line already moribund. Yet only in this way did it seem possible to secure resources so sorely needed. In many ways he seems the best of the later Stuarts. Of very ordinary capacity, pompous and obstinate, he led a blameless life and performed his ecclesiastical duties conscientiously. His lavish expenditures can be justified by his charities and his interest in art. We like to think of him working at music with Browning's Galuppi.

Yet when Mr. H. M. Vaughan's *The Last of the Royal Stuarts* appeared three years ago it was queried whether the cardinal was worth a whole book. If there was hardly an excuse for one there seems much less for two, though Miss Shield has made some contributions in matters of detail. In her attempt, however, to give us the man in the setting of the times she has repeated much that is well known already.

To some statements of fact and opinion the reviewer takes exception. Page ix, Mr. Lang remarks that it was on religious grounds that the barons became allies of England. Miss Shield does scant justice to Lord George Murray, the "soul of the undertaking in 1745"; and does not seem to realize how hopeless it would have been to attempt to march from Derby to London (p. 84). The dismissal of Bolingbroke is justified, when the Duke of Berwick, James's own half-brother, regarded it as inexcusable folly, and certainly (p. 257) William III. was not the promoter of the Darien Scheme. Quiberon was fought in November not in October (p. 171), and Clementina Walkinshaw's pension was 6000 lire, not £6000. The appendix on the so-called "legitimist" line is interesting, especially in view of the fact that two of the sons of Robert II. were born out of wedlock and that the present Mary IV. is the granddaughter of the marriage of an uncle and niece. Parts of the book are well written, though the titles of the chapters are over-ornate, while colloquialisms are all too frequent; for example, "under-

stood human nature down to the ground" (p. 22), "showed him up" (p. 62), and "nothing doing" (p. 71). As to externals the volume is very attractive.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Paris sous Napoléon. Tome VI. *Le Monde des Affaires et du Travail.* Par L. DE LANZAC DE LABORIE. (Paris: Plon-Nourrit et Cie. 1910. Pp. iv, 354.)

M. DE LANZAC DE LABORIE possesses what is perhaps the best preparation for an historian, a legal training. His earliest efforts at historical writing, a life of Mounier and a history of the French domination in Belgium, brought him the distinction of a prize award from the French Academy. In 1905 he began the publication of the excellent series of volumes, *Paris sous Napoléon,* of which this is the sixth. The earlier volumes, bearing the following titles: *Consulat Provisoire et Consulat à Temps; Administration, Grands Travaux; La Cour et la Ville, La Vie et la Mort; La Religion; Assistance et Bienfaisance, Approvisionnement,* have already been reviewed (see this journal, XIV. 127–131, 581–583). The second and third of these have been crowned by the French Academy. The encomiums bestowed by the previous reviewer are fully deserved by the new volume as well. The excellent scholarship and the admirable impartiality of the author are recognized in a commendatory review of the present volume by M. Aulard, whose personal opinions differ so radically from those of M. de Lanzac de Laborie.

In the preparation of the present volume liberal use has been made of the documents in the *Correspondance de Napoléon I^er^,* and in Aulard's *Paris sous le Consulat*; of a wide range of monographs, notably of Levasseur's excellent *Histoire des Classes Ouvrières de 1789 à 1870*; of the standard works like Thiers; and of such novelties as Jaurès's *Histoire Socialiste.* The real value of the work, however, does not consist alone in garnering facts from other publications and rearranging them, but in the wealth of new material drawn from the Archives Nationales. Of special importance are the frequent citations from the letters and reports of Mollien, which completely refute the statements of his ideas and policies in his well-known *Mémoires d'un Ministre du Trésor Public,* written after he had been made a peer of France by Louis XVIII.

The first five chapters, which form four-fifths of the volume, deal with the commercial and financial conditions, while the other two treat of manufactures and of the laboring classes. The long opening chapter on commerce brings out the fundamental problems. With the exception of the few months in 1802–1803, following the treaty of Amiens, Paris was the capital of a nation engaged in war. Commerce, finance, manufacturing, and labor were therefore all subject to the conditions of war, to the evolutions of Napoleonic policy, and to the

constant extension of the territorial limits of the nation. Napoleon desired to make the nation economically independent and self-sufficing, and adopted in its fullest extent the protectionist and prohibitory policies which the French call "Colbertisme", but the conditions of the struggle with England drove him into the futile project of the Continental Blockade. With a magnificent disregard of the resulting hardships of the French people and the ruin of the moneyed interests Napoleon promised to destroy the trade and wealth of the hated "nation of shop-keepers" and to bestow upon Paris the primacy in the markets not only of France but of the world.

Napoleon sincerely sought to encourage French trade and manufactures, but he regulated industrial conditions with no desire to improve the lot of labor but simply to keep the laborer quietly employed. The men of the Bourse and those engaged in vast or petty enterprises which to him savored of speculation commanded neither his sympathy nor respect. Napoleon seems to have pushed through his vast imperialistic enterprises without a thought of their effect upon the moneyed classes. The rupture of the peace of Amiens, the campaign of 1805, and the beginning of the war of commercial decrees against England were factors in producing the financial crisis of 1805–1806, which ruined even Récamier. Victories brought little mitigation in the ensuing years. The reckless intervention in the Peninsula, the extension and rigor of the Continental Blockade, the inconsiderate sale of large amounts of confiscated contraband, and the rash extension of the empire during 1810 created a panic during the ensuing winter. While the number of business failures in Paris dwindled during the summer of 1811, yet there was never any real business revival during the remainder of the imperial epoch.

An excellent chapter of sixty pages recounts the foundation and early history of the Bank of France. The Tribunal of Commerce, the Chamber of Commerce, the Bourse, the public credit, money, weights and measures are among the other topics considered. The two chapters on industry and labor are the most interesting in the book. With a scholarly conservatism and impartiality, M. de Lanzac de Laborie consults the writings of M. Jaurès and his school without borrowing their notions.

Unfortunately there is scarcely a reference to conditions later than the summer of 1811, and it is to be hoped that in some future volume the cumulative effects of the *débâcle* upon Paris may be traced. The book will be welcomed by every student of the Napoleonic period as a perfect mine of information on the conditions back of the Continental Blockade, but, sad to say, there is no index to guide through the labyrinth.

George Matthew Dutcher.

Gathorne Hardy, First Earl of Cranbrook; a Memoir, with Extracts from his Diary and Correspondence. In two volumes. Edited by the Hon. ALFRED E. GATHORNE-HARDY. (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1910. Pp. xi, 381; vii, 408.)

GATHORNE HARDY was in Parliament from 1855 continuously until his death in 1906. For twenty-three years he was a member of the House of Commons, and after he became a peer in 1878 he sat for twenty-eight years in the House of Lords. Until the formation of the Salisbury ministry of 1895, when the Earl of Cranbrook was already eighty-one years of age, Gathorne Hardy held office whenever the Conservatives were in power from 1858. He was successively Under-Secretary for the Home Department, president of the Poor Law Board, Home Secretary, Secretary for War, Secretary for India, President of the Council, and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. He was closely associated with Disraeli during the whole time that Disraeli was Prime Minister, and although he entered Parliament twenty-three years later than Gladstone, he was only five years his junior, and he outlived Gladstone only by seven years. Gathorne Hardy was therefore the most prominent man in the Conservative party who was strictly contemporary with Gladstone and who was an active and recognized leader among the opponents of Gladstone during the whole of Gladstone's career as head of the Liberal party. Lives of Disraeli and of Lord Salisbury are yet to be written. Until they appear these two volumes, which have been compiled by his son from the diaries and correspondence of Gathorne Hardy, must rank as regards their value to the student of English history and politics alongside Morley's monumental *Life of Gladstone*. Gladstone and Gathorne Hardy sat on the front benches opposite to each other from 1858 to 1878, and during the whole of their political career they were opposed to each other on almost every question which came up in English politics. The only instance in which Gathorne Hardy seems to have felt a passing sympathy with Gladstone, or to have expressed any admiration of his course in politics, was in 1873 when Gladstone made a speech in defense of the rights and privileges of the Established Church on the motion of Miall, the chief advocate of disestablishment. On all points except on this, where Gladstone retained his early Tory instincts to a degree which forced him to antagonize his Nonconformist supporters, Gladstone and Gathorne Hardy were antipodal, not only in opinions and political principles but also in temperament. Hardy was eminently respectable, restrained, unemotional. He was a good, religious man, faithful and loving to his wife and family, charitable to the poor, and upright in all his dealings; but without one grain of enthusiasm, untouched by the democratic tendencies of the age, and entirely free from idealism or any touch of zeal or crankiness. Gladstone infused his intense con-

victions into every cause he took up. His emotion in politics was unintelligible and repellent to Gathorne Hardy, who writes in his diary again and again of Gladstone as "full of wrath and opposition", of his "explosions of passion and temper", his "white rage", his lack of conciliation, his "outbursts of virulence and folly". With temperaments and opinions so opposed, Gathorne Hardy and Gladstone in their lives present the opposite sides of the shield in every controversy in English politics during the latter half of the nineteenth century, and these volumes, however inferior to the masterly work of Morley in literary merit, will be received by the student with a welcome almost as eager as that accorded to the *Life of Gladstone* some seven years ago.

A. G. P.

The Kulturkampf: an Essay. By Gordon Boyce Thompson, M.A., with a Prefatory Note by George M. Wrong, M.A., Professor of History in the University of Toronto. (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1909. Pp. vii, 141.)

Criticism is disarmed and the reviewer is compelled to sheath his scalpel by the circumstances attendant upon the preparation and the publication of this essay. As the brief prefatory note states, the author, a young man of twenty-three, had taken the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the University of Toronto in 1907, and had gone to Berlin in order that he might prepare a thesis for submission with a view to securing the degree of Master of Arts.

With no previous knowledge of German, the young man spent the winter of 1907–1908 in the imperial capital, mastering the language and gathering the material of which this little volume is the fruit. "Shortly after the essay was despatched to Canada for examination, its young author was seized with illness, and he died in Berlin on July 1, 1908." The book was prepared for the press by a friend in the Toronto faculty.

Disquieted, as were many of the leading statesmen of Europe, by the Dogma of Infallibility enacted by the Oecumenical Council of July 18, 1870, Bismarck saw in this attempt to restore the power of the pope a subtle attack on the newly organized German Empire. Both the attitude and the acts of Bismarck provoked a fear in the minds of numerous ecclesiastically minded Germans lest the Church might suffer in the general reorganization of Germany. This fear, fostered by many of the bishops, resulted in the return to the Reichstag of a group of men who were informed by the same spirit of loyalty to Church interests. At the outset, "there was no intention of building up an Ultramontane fraction in the House, although the idea of a Catholic party was by no means new." Out of this group, however, by the logic of events, the Clerical party finally emerged, and aligned itself strongly against Bismarck and all his works.

"Bismarck always insisted that the struggle, although waged against

the church, was not religious, but political." At all events, he regarded the formation of a confessional party as a direct challenge, and he met it by open war.

From the first movement in the long struggle, the abolition of the Catholic Section in the Department of Public Worship, through all the subsequent measures of repression—the "Falk Laws", the law abolishing Church grants, and the so-called "Cloister Laws"—Bismarck found himself confronted by a steadily growing "Centrum".

"The great mistake which the State made was in the choice of its weapons." The "Falk Laws" proved in practice quite incapable of accomplishing their ends. It was also a tactical error to concentrate opposition on the part of the Poles and Nationalists and to unite them with the whole body of German Catholics.

Seeing the weakness of drastic legislation and being relieved from the tension by the removal of Falk and the accession of Leo XIII., Bismarck began to prepare for peace. This was made the more imperative by a shifting of the attitude of Bismarck's allies in the Reichstag. One by one the harsh measures were rescinded, and ultimately Bismarck was forced to apply to his old enemies, the Clericals, for assistance in carrying out measures desired by the government. He had reached "Canossa".

In spite of unavoidable immaturity, the little book is well worth reading, and in view of the conditions under which it was written, it is a quite remarkable production.

Contemporary France. By Gabriel Hanotaux. Translated from the French by E. Sparvel-Bayly. Volume IV., 1877–1882. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; London: Archibald Constable and Company. 1909. Pp. xii, 658.)

In his concluding volume M. Hanotaux begins with the morrow of the dismissal of Jules Simon on May 16, 1877, and ends with the death of Gambetta, December 31, 1882. The latter event he regards as marking the close of "the heroic age" of the Third Republic. The correctness of the date may well be challenged. The term "heroic age" is appropriate for the period in which the Republicans were forced to struggle against tremendous obstacles to bring about the establishment of a genuinely Republican régime. But that period ended earlier than the death of Gambetta. It was over by the time the Republicans had gained control over all departments of the government. It certainly should not be made to include the time when miserable personal rivalries wrecked the long anticipated and much desired Gambetta administration. The mistake seems to have come because the author has been controlled by personal interest and literary canons rather than historical considerations. As in each of the preceding volumes, he has a hero, Gambetta in this instance, and he feels impelled to continue the story until the disappearance of his hero.

The narrative rests upon a considerable but not exceptionally large amount of research. The memoirs of Shuvalov and of Carathéodory Pacha upon the Congress of Berlin, those of M. de Courcel upon the affair of Tunis, and a few letters of General Le Flô constitute the unpublished materials utilized. Newspapers have been used but sparingly. The chief reliance has been upon official publications, the reviews, biographies, and especially memoirs. The use of memoirs has been too extensive and sometimes rather uncritical, little attempt being made to control them by strictly contemporaneous evidence.

In general the brilliant and substantial qualities of the earlier volumes have been fully maintained in this one. To the reviewer, perhaps because of high anticipations, the chief disappointments are the chapters upon the Congress of Berlin and the Gambetta ministry. The former, though containing many interesting details and much shrewd comment, adds nothing of importance to what was already known upon the subject. The latter fails to afford any more satisfactory replies than those we already had to the questions why Gambetta did not succeed in forming the grand ministry and why his administration was so speedily overthrown.

The rendering of the volume into English is badly done, despite a certain smoothness of style. Several usually reliable American reviewers who have commented upon it favorably must have neglected to examine the original. All of the defects noted in my review of the third volume (this journal XIII. 589) are here repeated, but in still greater measure. The English version is a condensation. It omits the preface, a majority of the citations and notes, and contains about 140 pages less than the original, the pages being of almost exactly the same size. In the first five-sixths of the book considerable condensation is secured by freely dropping out on almost every page a few words, clauses, or sentences which the translator appears to regard as superfluous. The last sixth has been reduced by over a half. The result is that the English version omits much which the reader ought to have and yet includes a good deal of unnecessary detail. More serious still is the mistaken or imperfect translation of the remainder. Downright mistakes may be found in great numbers, while vague and imperfect renderings of passages which are clear and definite in the original are still more numerous. The translator displays amazing lack of familiarity with French, English, and American political terms and practices. A flagrant but typical instance occurs on page 631 where Gambetta's proposition of January 14, 1882, for the partial revision of the constitutional laws is given. Having never understood the precise meaning of the term *sénateurs inamovibles,* he translates a caption as a proposition and makes Gambetta advocate the extension of a practice which he was seeking to abolish. This is done although his own translation of the next sentence ought to show him the impossibility of the thing. In the same document a proposal to abrogate the article in the constitutional

laws which provided for the offering of prayers for the Republic on certain occasions receives the following remarkable translation: "The powers of the Senate as to public petitions should be abridged."

FRANK MALOY ANDERSON.

A History of the Irish Parliamentary Party. By F. HUGH O'DONNELL, M.A., Q.U.I. Volume I. *Butt and Parnell: Nationhood and Anarchy. The Curse of the American Money.* Volume II. *Parnell and the Lieutenants, Complicity and Betrayal, with an Epilogue to the Present Day.* (London and New York: Longmans, Green, and Company. 1910. Pp. xv, 508; xi, 494.)

REVIEW by quotation is seldom desirable. Quotation is, however, far better than any attempt to describe Mr. O'Donnell's *History of the Irish Parliamentary Party,* or any attempt to criticize it or place it in its class. Two extracts will serve to illustrate the style and also the spirit of self-glorification in which Mr. O'Donnell has gone about his work, especially when he is concerned with the part he played while he was of the Home Rule group in the House of Commons from 1877 to 1885. Mr. O'Donnell was elected for Galway in 1874 and was unseated on petition. In January, 1877, he was elected for Dungarvan, and represented that constituency until the dissolution of the Parliament of 1880–1885. Parnell and Biggar were of the House of Commons and of the Nationalist group at Westminster when Mr. O'Donnell rejoined it early in 1877. Mr. O'Donnell claims both Parnell and Biggar as his "apprentices", and asserts that "neither the one nor the other at the outset could move an inch without my guidance, nor utter a criticism without my inspiration." This may be true or otherwise. Its truth is not material here; but what is material as showing the style and spirit and as indicating the usefulness of this history of the Irish Parliamentary party, is Mr. O'Donnell's description of his attitude towards his "apprentices".

"My apprentices felt", he writes, "that they could not even apply the lessons of the master without his personal presence and direction. They helped to quicken my appearance or return upon that scene where —as I had been the first to teach—the intervention of Irish members in English affairs could bring home the importance of Home Rule to every statesman in England. Why? They were neither kinsmen nor comrades of mine. There were a hundred Parliamentarians who were infinitely closer and nearer to them in every respect than I. Except in relation to his labors for my policy Mr. Biggar was a total stranger to me and I to him. I knew absolutely nothing and cared less about Mr. Parnell before I recruited the well-born malcontent for my views and for my views only. Outside of the furtherance of my policy it

was impossible for me even to have an enjoyable conversation with either of them or with both. Any patriotic ham and bacon merchant could discuss Greece and Rome, the French Salon and the British Academy, the Renascence and the Revolution, the tragic muse of Dante or the voix d'or of Sarah Bernhardt, quite as delicately and as eruditely as the excellent Biggar; and Parnell's accomplishments were not one whit less than the solid tastes of Mr. Biggar. I lived on the contrary with the finest flower of the intellectuality of three capitals. . . . I was the colleague of dozens of the Catholic writers of France and Belgium. What on earth, outside of the policy, had I to do with an unlettered squireling and a rugged provincial tradesman?"

The second extract is concerned with Mr. O'Donnell's scheme for bringing Ireland and its affairs into prominence at Westminster—a scheme which he was discussing with Mr. Sheridan Knowles and Mr. Baker Greene, who in the early seventies were his colleagues on the editorial staff of the *Morning Post*. "But what of the Nationalist question which had opened the ball?", he writes. "The Westminster wisdom plucked up its collar and spake 'There is no longer a Nationalist question. We have saved Ireland.' Suddenly or gradually, all at once or bit by bit, the solution seemed to us quite clear. Surely a great confused Government and Constitution, like the English Government and Constitution, trying to take in and do for hundreds of millions of human beings about whom it knows nothing and cares less—*more hibernico* speaking; stodged with business it cannot perform; with a party system which turns out every ministry when it has had barely time to learn its A. B. C., with bills on the top of estimates and motions on the top of bills; with foreign affairs on the top of colonial affairs, and Irish affairs and Indian affairs and even Scottish affairs, all wanting to drive abreast through Temple Bar; with 700 M. P.s for the most part chosen by tossing up a halfpenny or something of that sort, and mostly following the whips in order to get invitations for their wives to ministerial tea-fights; surely that Academy of Laputa could be put out of joint if there was a man to try. So it was settled that I should be the man."

Scores of extracts in this style might be quoted. The two which have been given have been selected almost haphazard. Better than pages of description or criticism they indicate the nature of Mr. O'Donnell's two volumes—volumes which if taken as a serious contribution would compel the rewriting of almost all existing British contemporary political history.

E. P.

Fifty Years of New Japan (*Kaikoku Gojūnen Shi*). In two volumes. Compiled by Count SHIGÉNOBU ŌKUMA, late Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs. English version edited by MARCUS B. HUISH. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1909. Pp. xi, 646; viii, 616.)

COUNT ŌKUMA'S name is closely connected with almost every important phase of the modern activities of the Japanese nation—politics and diplomacy, finance and industry, social reforms, literature and journalism, and education. Through Waseda University, of which he is chancellor, and its allied schools, he exerts great influence on the life and thought of the nation; his recently published *National Reader* will serve to impress on the mind of the rising generation the historic character of the Japanese people and the need of their vigorous progress along the definite lines he indicates. Now in addition to his marvellous record of versatility, he establishes his distinction as a literary enterpriser by the successful compilation of this most comprehensive and authoritative work of its kind that has ever seen light.

This work has been compiled with a double purpose "to preserve an authentic account of the development of the Empire of Japan during the fifty years that have elapsed since the ratification of its first treaties with the outside world", and "to make the present condition of the country more widely known and understood, both at home and abroad". To this the count adds another underlying aim, namely, "to call the attention of the nation to the imperative need of striving for an even greater advance and higher development [than it has achieved in the past], by pointing out its manifold deficiencies". The work being thus intended for circulation both in Japan and in other countries, substantially the same contents have been published in Japanese, Chinese, and English editions.

The English edition contains fifty-six chapters by fifty-four of the best authorities on the subjects they discuss (of whom six have since died, and one, Prince Itō, has been assassinated). The translation having been done by many hands, it is not free from little departures from the original. The English editor has apparently done his utmost to make the language as uniform and as readable as possible, but his corrections, especially in the first important chapter, have, while probably improving the English, altered the meaning of the original in many places, substituting in some instances misleading expressions for the more accurate forms used in the first translation. His Chinese orthography follows the imperfect Wade system and makes it worse. Also his blue pencil has struck out, not only the repetitions inevitable in such a symposium, but also a few indispensable and vital paragraphs. For this state of things, Mr. Huish may not alone be responsible; nor are these errors frequent enough to detract much from the value of this important work.

The fifty-six chapters cover, with varying success, all the features of national life in the past fifty years. It would not be practicable in this limited space to comment even briefly on all of the chapters. Count Ōkuma's own summary of the history of Japan from its beginning to date (vol. I., ch. I.) shows, in a manner extremely suggestive and stimulating to the initiated student, how steadily throughout the ages a clarifying process of the national character has been going on, endowing the people with remarkable receptiveness and great power of assimilation. In his concluding chapter (vol. II., ch. XXIX.), he further amplifies the argument, and proceeds to point out with frankness the weaknesses of his countrymen in their legal, intellectual, economic, and social usages, counselling ever more active intercourse with foreign countries and higher and nobler aspirations along the same lines that have marked the progress of Japan through the historic ages, namely, lines of open and judicious reception of foreign culture and its complete assimilation to her own decided national characteristics. He condemns the racial antipathies shown by some Occidentals toward the Japanese after their late war, and believes that no other nation can achieve with greater aptitude than the latter the task of working toward obliterating the differences between races and civilizations and establishing a world-wide co-operation within one large organic and sympathetic system of civilization. For, says he in conclusion, Japan "has already won a position that entitles it to represent the civilization of the Orient, and now the lot falls to it to introduce the civilization of the Occident to the Orient. . . . On her devolves the mission of harmonizing the civilizations of the East and West, so as to lead the world as a whole to a higher plane" (vol. II., p. 574).

Dr. Nitobe develops much the same theme in different language (vol. II., ch. XXIV.), in so far as the modern life of Japan is concerned. Indeed, all the other chapters may be regarded as unconscious demonstrations of many of the count's ideas by specific examples. The interview with the ex-Shogun Prince Yoshinobu (Keiki) reveals some of the political motives, hitherto little known, of his illustrious ancestor Iyeyasu and of himself, the one the founder and the other the last suzerain of the Tokugawa system of feudalism (vol. I., ch. II.). Japan's foreign relations and constitutional régime are each summarized in two chapters (vol. I., chs. III. and IV.; V. and VI.). Of these, the late Prince Itō's chapter (V.) throws light on the political habits of the nation and the motives and aims of the framers of the constitution; Professor Ukita's account of the political parties (ch. VI.) is clear. Then follow chapters (vol. I., chs. IX.–XIV.) on law, institutions, and local administration, each containing a brief survey of the past history of the branch it treats, and those (vol. I., chs. VII., VIII.) on the army and navy, rather conventionally treated. The next thirteen chapters in the first volume take up the financial and economic activities, again accompanied by

résumés of the progress in Old Japan; some of these chapters, especially XXI., XXIV., and XXVII., are enlivened with suggestive remarks.

The second volume contains, besides those already mentioned, discussions of social changes (ch. XXIII.), not very incisive, of socialism (ch. XXVI.), of charity and the Red Cross Society (chs. VI., XVII.), and of education (chs. VII.–XI.). Mr. Naruse's ideas on the education of women may be taken to represent one, not the only, point of view. Next come chapters (XII.–XVI.) on the study of philosophy and sciences; Dr. Miyake's chapter on philosophy as usual shows his independent thinking and penetration. The chapter on journalism (XXI.) is clear, and that on the language (I.) is judicious. The illuminating chapter on Christianity (V.) is preceded by those on Shintō, Confucianism, and Buddhism (II., III., IV.); of the latter, Professor Kume's account of Shintō is brilliant and refreshingly free, and Professor Inouye's Confucianism in Japan embodies his special studies in this field and challenges careful reading. The chapters on fine arts and music (XVIII., XIX.) are comprehensive but perhaps too brief to leave any clear impression on the mind of the foreign reader; that on drama (XX.) presents critical as well as descriptive views on the subject. Japan's colonial activity in Hokkaidō and Formosa also receives notice (chs. XXVII., XXVIII.). Baron Tsudzuki's chapter on the social intercourse between Japanese and Occidentals (XXV.) is perhaps the only one in the two volumes that may be characterized as light.

K. Asakawa.

BOOKS OF AMERICAN HISTORY

The American People: a Study in National Psychology. By A. Maurice Low, Chevalier de l'Ordre de Léopold, Imperial Order of the Rising Sun. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1909. Pp. viii, 446.)

The aim which the author sets forth in the opening pages of this volume is such as to arouse high expectations. "I purpose", he begins, "to write of the origin, growth and development of the American people and to trace the causes that have produced a new race. . . . The history of the mental growth of a people is tenfold more vital and enthralling than the chronicle of their wars and conquests." In pursuance of this plan he considers the effects of immigration, climate, and environment upon the early immigrants; and elucidates the New England, Virginian, and other colonial traits, inculcating, throughout, the fundamental fact that the colonist of the seventeenth century was a transplanted Englishman in all essentials, whose evolution began promptly toward the production of a new race. Unfortunately Mr. Low's book fails completely in the one most important respect. It is based on an undiscriminating and fragmentary list of secondary works, supplemented by a few well-known sources; it furnishes absolutely nothing new in support of the

author's observations and at best can be considered only in the light of an historical essay. It is in no sense a contribution to our knowledge of the colonial period and it can only to a limited extent be regarded as a contribution to our understanding of psychological origins. Mr. Low has grasped some well-known generalizations of the earlier American school of writers, from Bancroft to Fiske, and these he expresses with vigor and untiring reiteration but he apparently knows nothing of recent American investigations in the very field he has entered. No reference to the work of Andrews, Greene, Osgood, Beer, or Turner is found and the whole conception of the importance of the frontier is based on Fiske's treatment of the subject in *Old Virginia and her Neighbors*. Rather more than half the book consists of generalizations about "the Puritan", and most of the remainder is devoted to a superficial and generally conventional survey of the characteristics of the Southern and Middle colonies. It is interesting to find such a vigorous defense of "the Puritan" at this day but it would be more valuable if it were based on a first-hand knowledge of the colonial life and thought of New England and if it contained fewer errors and evidences of misinformation. One mare's nest discovered and unceasingly displayed is the importance of the distinction between Puritan and Pilgrim. This is summed up as follows: "These things are to be remembered:—*First*. That it was the Puritan and not the Pilgrim who founded American institutions. *Second*. That Pilgrim and Puritan are not synonymous terms and that Pilgrim and Puritan had little if anything in common. *Third*. That while the Pilgrim was a separatist from the Church of England and conceded the right of every man to worship God in his own way, the Puritan was a Church of England man and tolerated no other form of worship." No one who thoroughly knew American history could possibly make one of the above unqualified assertions, yet there is no one idea in the book upon which the author lays so much stress. The contrast between the "sweetness and mildness of the Plymouth Pilgrims" and the "grim intolerance" of the Puritans crops up continually. Perhaps it may be worth while to call attention to the fact that the *Mayflower* was not the sole origin of the United States but Mr. Low seems to feel that he is the first writer properly to emphasize the discovery, and he exaggerates an undoubted difference in temper between the earliest and the later New England colonies into a fundamental diversity which would have surprised none more than the contemporaries of Winslow and Winthrop. An example of the failure of Mr. Low to grasp the significant causes for this difference is shown by his omitting to describe or mention the peculiar political leadership which the clergy, under Calvinistic precedent, exercised in Massachusetts Bay. On the whole, the work is disappointing to the historical student who would welcome nothing more than a genuine attempt to grapple with the difficulties of analyzing the development of a specifically American psychology but who feels that to be valuable it

must be based on a thorough knowledge supplemented by sound historical judgment.

Women in Industry: a Study in American Economic History. By Edith Abbott, Ph.D., Associate Director in the Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy. With an introductory note by Sophonisba P. Breckinridge, J.D., Ph.D. (New York and London: D. Appleton and Company. 1910. Pp. xxii, 409.)

This volume contains what Dr. Abbott calls "a neglected chapter in our economic history". It is an historical study of the field of employment which women in America have occupied from colonial times, and not, as the title might suggest, a discussion of present problems arising out of women's work. The work did indeed originate in an analysis of recent census statistics, which inevitably gave rise to the question "how long and how far have women been an industrial factor of importance?" To those who are accustomed to regard the problem of women in industry as essentially a modern one the answer will no doubt be surprising.

In colonial times women worked in the home. With the introduction of improved textile machinery, the women followed the machines, which took the place of the accustomed hand spinning-wheel and loom, into the mills. Without the aid of women it would have been impossible to operate the early factories, for the heavier work of farm and forge made irresistible demand upon the labor of men. The moralist speedily justified what the economic situation necessitated. But not merely in the cotton mills did women thus early find employment; Dr. Abbott has collected data in a most interesting way to show the wide extent of the field of employment open to working women. As a matter of fact there were more opportunities to achieve industrial independence open to working women before the Civil War than there were to the educated woman. The proportion of women industrially employed was greater here than even in industrial England.

In order to trace the development more carefully, Dr. Abbott has made a study of five industries in which women occupy an especially important position to-day: the cotton industry, the manufacture of boots and shoes, cigar-making, the clothing trade, and printing. In the first and fourth, which were once peculiarly women's work, men have largely displaced the women; they have done so also in cigar-making, but seem now in danger of losing their positions again to the women. The reverse process has taken place in the other two trades, and women are to-day largely employed in work which a century ago would have been done by men. There is here afforded an interesting example of the shifting and readjustment which continually takes place in industry, according to which the labor force of the country is distributed in the most effective manner. When labor was scarce women were welcomed in industrial occupations; machinery was even adapted to their inferior

strength and was made light and easy running. After immigration had made available a larger labor supply, men began to displace the women and heavier machines driven at higher speed were introduced.

Dr. Abbott is inclined to lament the attitude of the public moralist, who, in the face of the new situation, would confine women to the home. But is not such an attitude simply an application of a principle whose working the author has traced historically, but which she is unwilling to see applied practically to present conditions? Moreover, in view of woman's well-known weakness as an industrial bargainer, a healthy fear of a lowering of the general standard of living of the working class is evidenced by a disinclination to have her compete with men for the same positions. The improvement in women's industrial status would seem to lie along the same lines as that in which their fathers and brothers have advanced, namely education and organization.

No attempt has been made in the volume to discuss the various problems connected with woman's industrial employment. But as an historical study it deserves praise, having the high qualities of thoroughness, trustworthiness, and readableness.

Commodore John Rodgers, Captain, Commodore, and Senior Officer of the American Navy, 1773–1838: a Biography. By Charles Oscar Paullin. (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1910. Pp. 434.)

In this handsome volume Dr. Paullin has given us the biography of a man whose forty years of service began with the establishment of the navy in 1798. Rodgers was the senior of the brilliant group of officers who brought fame to the navy in the War of 1812, but because he had not the good fortune to capture a British frigate his name is less familiar to the general reader than some of the others.

The book opens with a chapter on his early life, which is followed by two on the war with France. Having been to sea in the merchant service since boyhood, Rodgers entered the navy at the age of twenty-five. As first lieutenant of the *Constellation* under Truxtun he took part in the capture of the *Insurgente* in 1799. As a result of the superior qualities exhibited by him on this occasion he was made a captain and spent the last year of the war in command of the twenty-gun ship *Maryland*. In chapter IV. we find him again in the merchant service temporarily, having been left without occupation in the navy upon the return of peace with France. The three following chapters deal with two cruises in the Mediterranean during the period from 1802 to 1806, covering a great part of the war with Tripoli in which Rodgers played an active part under Commodores Morris and Barron. In the last year, as commander-in-chief of the squadron, he turned his attention after peace with Tripoli to curbing the warlike spirit of the bey of Tunis. Acting without instructions in this matter Rodgers displayed commendable firmness and good judgment.

In chapter VIII., bringing us to 1810, the author gives an admirable account of the famous *Chesapeake* affair. The next two chapters concern Rodgers's cruises in command of the frigate *President,* before and during the War of 1812. In 1811 an exemplification of the strained and unstable relations of the United States and Great Britain was furnished by the encounter with the *Little Belt,* an unfortunate but seemingly unavoidable occurrence. While actively cruising nearly two years after the declaration of war, had fortune favored him, Rodgers might have captured five frigates at various times. Three of them he chased, but they escaped; the other two he avoided under the impression that they were ships of the line. Nevertheless, the services of the *President* during these cruises were of great value and importance. She kept the British fleet occupied and diverted from the pursuit of American merchantmen, and although missing two large convoys of the enemy she took many prizes. Rodgers's plan was to cruise in squadron and he displayed a better knowledge of strategy than any other American commander. In 1814 Rodgers served on shore, assisting in the defense of Washington and Baltimore. After a chapter devoted to this subject come the last four of the book, dealing with the commodore's life in Washington and his long service as president of the Board of Navy Commissioners, extending from 1815 until 1837, with the exception of a three years' interruption at the middle of the period when he performed his last sea service in command of the Mediterranean squadron. As navy commissioner Rodgers did much to develop naval policy and his influence has been enduring. He was one of the first to foresee the supremacy of steam and to urge its adoption.

The publication of this book reduces by one the number of lives of our naval worthies which ought to be written, and the work has been done in a most thorough and satisfactory manner. To mention the one error discovered, Commodore Thomas Macdonough appears as James in the index and on pages 33 and 39 seems to be confounded with a midshipman of that name. An extensive bibliography doubtless contains about all there is in print besides a large amount of manuscript material. This latter comprises the official records in the Library of Congress and in the library of the Navy Department, including a large collection of Rodgers's papers; also numerous papers in the possession of the commodore's descendants. A number of interesting illustrations, including three portraits of Rodgers, should be mentioned, also an excellent index.

G. W. ALLEN.

Henry Clay. By his Grandson, THOMAS HART CLAY. Completed by ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER, Ph.D. [American Crisis Biographies.] (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs and Company. 1910. Pp. 450.)

THIS biography, left unfinished at the death of Thomas Hart Clay in 1907, has been completed by Dr. Oberholtzer, the editor of the series

to which it belongs, with the assistance of Mrs. Clay. The loss or destruction of the larger part of Clay's correspondence, together with the wide dispersion of what little remains, has made it impossible, we are told, to incorporate in the work much new material; but the editor vouches for the statement "that what it is possible to find has been found, and that no considerable number of letters remain anywhere untouched".

Mr. John T. Morse, jr., in his editorial introduction to Schurz's life of Clay, justifies the allotment of two volumes to the subject on the ground that Clay "managed to get upon both sides of pretty much every great question which arose in his day". The dictum, curiously at variance with Schurz's own conclusions, is to be defended only on the assumption that he who acts the part of pacificator in great national crises is a "straddler" rather than a statesman. Such, certainly, is not the impression which the present biography gives. Mr. Clay (as such we will designate the author here) is, to be sure, frankly eulogistic. While he does not blink Clay's weaknesses or mistakes, he writes throughout with no concealment of his admiration for Clay as a statesman and a man, and, it must be admitted, with an asperity towards Clay's opponents which on the whole is uncalled for. Moreover, he does not attempt the broad treatment of American politics which makes Schurz's volumes notable; on the contrary, he adopts the old-fashioned annalistic method for the most part, disposes summarily of the general course of events, and lets Clay speak for himself in letters, speeches, and personal relations with constituents and friends. While, therefore, one must not expect to find in this volume any important addition to knowledge, the work is of importance as a somewhat different setting-forth of Clay's position from that which has often been exhibited.

On far the larger number of questions which came before Congress during his public life, Clay's attitude, as the record here set down shows, was one of remarkable consistency. He never ceased to advocate internal improvements, nor to urge close political relations with the states of Central and South America. He opposed Jackson on broad grounds of personal and political fitness quite dissociated from the "corrupt bargain" charge; and he never trusted Van Buren. His support of the Bank of the United States did not waver even in the face of the wide popular approval of Jackson's policy. No one condemned more often or more unsparingly Nullification, or, for that matter, the whole theory of states' rights and constitutional construction for which Calhoun stood.

There remain the two questions of slavery and the tariff, on both of which Clay appears as the great compromiser. Clay did not approve of slavery, rejoiced in the progress of emancipation, and consistently urged colonization as a solution of the race problem involved; but he believed, and properly, that the institution could not de done away with by Congress, and that it had equal constitutional rights with freedom in

the territories. That he did not feel the moral force of Abolition, or appreciate the revolution slowly taking place in public opinion in the North, is true; few of his great contemporaries did; but this, after all is said and done, is only to point out that he stood on the wrong side of a great issue, not that he "straddled" the question. Nor does it appear that he ever abandoned, or even abated, his belief in protection, or that he regarded the tariff of 1833 in any other light than that of a temporary reduction of duties made necessary to save the Union. The precise measure of protection to be accorded to this or that industry was, indeed, a matter of compromise, but the principle of protection was not surrendered.

Mr. Clay's work has been carefully done, and was worth doing. When Clay's letters and speeches shall have been satisfactorily edited, this book should prove a valuable guide to the writer who attempts a definitive biography of Henry Clay.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

A Documentary History of American Industrial Society. Edited by JOHN R. COMMONS, ULRICH B. PHILLIPS, EUGENE A. GILMORE, HELEN L. SUMNER, and JOHN B. ANDREWS. Prepared under the auspices of the American Bureau of Industrial Research, with the co-operation of the Carnegie Institution of Washington. With preface by RICHARD T. ELY and introduction by JOHN B. CLARK. Volumes III. and IV. *Labor Conspiracy Cases, 1806–1842.* (Cleveland, Ohio: The Arthur H. Clark Company. 1910. Pp. 385; 341.)

IN 1806, the measures taken by certain journeymen cordwainers of Philadelphia to compel their employers to pay them higher wages, and to force certain of their fellow-workmen to become members of their organization, caused them to be indicted in the mayor's court for conspiracy; and after a long and ably conducted trial they were duly convicted and fined. Similar prosecutions were subsequently (1806–1840) instituted, usually with the same results, against the cordwainers' and other workmen's associations in Baltimore and several other cities. So great was the interest excited by these Labor Conspiracy Cases that elaborate pamphlet reports, containing in many instances full stenographic records of the testimony of witnesses and the arguments of counsel, were published and widely distributed. Volumes III. and IV. of the *Documentary History* reprint such of these pamphlets as are still extant, together with contemporary newspaper accounts of cases not otherwise reported. They give, besides, references to others of these decisions that appear in volumes of published court reports. Thus they render practically accessible for the first time a great deal of very interesting and valuable material bearing upon labor conditions in the early years of the United States. Volume III. is further en-

riched by an elaborate historical introduction by Professor Commons.

The Labor Conspiracy Cases present spirited pictures of the tactics of industrial warfare employed by the militant labor-unions of the period. They also evidence the novelty of the peculiar measures resorted to, as well as the instinctive alarm aroused by them in the different communities affected.

These decisions, however, have exercised but little permanent influence upon labor law in the United States. They resulted from attempts to fit the harsh doctrines of the old English common law to an environment utterly different from that in which these doctrines had their origin. Fortified by the decisions in Rex *v.* Wise (The Journeymen Tailors of Cambridge) and Rex *v.* Sterling *et al.* (The Tub-women *v.* the Brewers of London), the judges who sat in these cases instructed the juries that the combinations charged were criminal conspiracies by reason of the harm done to trade and commerce by strikes and the increased wages thereby secured, and of the ruin brought upon non-union men by the loss of their employment.

Neither of the principles so laid down has prevailed. In Commonwealth *v.* Hunt, 4 Metcalf 111 (1842), the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts held that a combination to strike for better wages is not a conspiracy, and this doctrine has never been questioned since. Later decisions also, while still declaring illegal a combination to force a man to join the union by depriving him of his employment by threats to strike against him, have modified the reasoning by which this result was reached. In the Labor Conspiracy Cases the courts looked only at the damage thereby done to the "scab", and held the combination illegal upon the broad ground that it was a combination to "impoverish" him. The later decisions have introduced the qualifying conception that the concerted infliction of intentional damage of this character is not unlawful if the members of the combination can show sufficient justification, in the way of substantial advancement of their legitimate material interests likely to result to themselves, always provided their acts are not unlawful *per se*. And while the courts of to-day will not permit a union to procure the discharge of a non-union man for the sole purpose of compelling him to become a member, it is because they do not regard the desire to have him join the union as sufficient justification for the loss thus directly and intentionally inflicted upon him.

J. Wallace Bryan.

Fifty Years in Camp and Field: Diary of Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Major-General, U. S. A. Edited by W. A. Croffut, Ph.D. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1909. Pp. xv, 514.)

We are adding quite rapidly to our stock of valuable biographical works relating to recent history. Few of them are more absorbing than that which is based on the voluminous diaries kept by General Ethan

Allen Hitchcock during more than fifty years. On reading the book we feel regret that there is not more of it and our curiosity is aroused as to the balance of the mass of material which we are told he kept in carefully arranged and methodical form. Seldom do we encounter a more voluminous commentator on current events, or one more competent and ready to state an opinion.

General Hitchcock, a grandson of the distinguished captor of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, graduated at the Military Academy in 1817, too late for service in one war, he was deprived by illness from participating in Taylor's battles in the Mexican War, and he was too feeble in health to take an active part in the great Civil War; yet he held a large place in the councils of the nation and through his long career was sought out for many difficult and responsible duties.

An independent nature and a facile pen made the general an element of trouble at times. He did not hesitate to "disobey and defy" his superiors when it seemed right and just to do so, and the violence of his language has seldom been exceeded in official correspondence. We find him in conflict with such men as Andrew Jackson, Winfield Scott, and E. M. Stanton, not to speak of lesser personages such as Colonel Sylvanus Thayer, Generals Worth, Harney, Pillow, and B. F. Butler, several secretaries of war and members of Congress, yet he holds his own every time. The very animosities which he aroused seemed to make him more friends, for he was commandant of cadets at the Military Academy, was several times suggested for inspector-general by the Secretary of War and the General of the Army, declined the position of governor of Liberia, and again of commissioner of Indian Affairs, was inspector-general of Scott's army in Mexico. In the Civil War he declined about everything that could be offered to a soldier from the command of Grant's expedition to Forts Henry and Donelson, and McClellan's army on the Peninsula, to the command of the entire military forces of the country.

General Hitchcock's bitter disagreements did not always cause a permanent hostility. Notwithstanding a refusal to obey orders and an arrest by Thayer he became commandant of cadets under that same officer and his friend and supporter. His defense of General Gaines and his criticism of several acts of General Scott did not interfere with a mutual friendship being built up during which he was one of Scott's most devoted adherents. Perhaps the most remarkable instance of this kind was the case in which Hitchcock literally flayed Stanton alive for certain orders to a court-martial. But he remained a friend and adviser of Stanton and was often his brilliant and powerful defender. These stories speak well for the magnanimity of men who have not been usually given credit for a forgiving nature.

The general draws a disagreeable picture of the personnel of the army at various periods of his career. The officers seem to have been in a large degree idle, dissipated, and quarrelsome. In Taylor's army

the senior officers were not acquainted with the common drill of the battalion, much less with the movements of a brigade or army. Taylor himself could not form a brigade into line. Speaking of the volunteers of the Western states whom he was detailed to muster out of the service, he gives this parting shot: "It is vain to deny it: these troops are unworthy the name of soldiers. The officers are, for the most part, little better than the men." He pays his respects to the "mushroom" generals who owed all the reputation they made to the regular army, which many pretended to despise.

The decision to retain McDowell's Corps for the defense of Washington in 1862 seems to be traceable to Hitchcock's advice. He claims credit for urging Lincoln to send to Grant for troops to oppose Early's advance on Washington in 1864. Swinton was furnished by him with much of his material for his attacks on McClellan, which may perhaps by this means be indirectly traced to Stanton also. While acting as president of the Fitz-John Porter court, General Hitchcock wrote in his diary: "He ought to be shot."

Although General Hitchcock was an accomplished soldier he often confesses to a lack of enthusiasm for his profession and declares that his chief enjoyment is in metaphysical and esoteric studies of which he published eight large volumes.

The various Indian wars in which he engaged he considers unjust, cruel, and oppressive; the battle of Ash Hollow he calls a "bloody massacre", the Mexican War an "unholy and iniquitous proceeding".

EBEN SWIFT.

Memoirs of Gustave Koerner, 1809–1896. Life-sketches written at the suggestion of his children. In two volumes. By THOMAS J. MCCORMACK. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press. 1909. Pp. xv, 628; xii, 768.)

AMERICAN students of history, who have properly concerned themselves with the details of seventeenth-century colonization, have not yet conceived in adequate perspective the contributions made to our American civilization by the colonists of the nineteenth century. When the future historian comes to gather his material for these studies, he will surely learn much from the statistician, the genealogist, and the "filio-pietistic" champions of particular ethnic elements. But for genuine insight he must depend largely upon the "life histories" of typical men, remembering always that their importance is not wholly determined by the prominence of the individual selected. The very eminence of such men as Schurz and Villard, the range of their interests and associations, lessen to a certain degree their significance as representatives of the distinctly German group. From this point of view the life of a typical German-American leader like Koerner has a peculiar value. In his experiences, his ideals, and his prejudices, in his reaction

to the new American environment, he is a genuine representative of many thousands of his fellow-countrymen.

At many points the career of Koerner challenges comparison with that of Schurz. Koerner was born in Frankfort in 1809, Schurz, twenty years later in Rhenish Prussia. Both passed their student days and came to manhood under the influence of radical agitation. As youthful revolutionist and refugee, Koerner shared in the political movements of the early thirties, as Schurz did in those of 1848 and 1849. Both coming to the United States as young men identified themselves resolutely with the life of their adopted country, Koerner in Illinois and Schurz in Wisconsin. In the autumn of 1852, the year in which Schurz came to the United States, Koerner, after a successful record as lawyer, member of the legislature, and judge of the state supreme court, was elected lieutenant-governor of Illinois on the Democratic ticket. A few years later Koerner's anti-slavery convictions carried him out of the Democratic ranks and made him one of the founders of the Republican party. Schurz, coming to Wisconsin at a time when the old party lines were breaking, threw himself so vigorously into the Republican campaign of 1856 that, in 1857, the Wisconsin Republicans followed the Illinois precedent and made him their candidate for lieutenant-governor.

Both men participated in the Lincoln-Douglas contest of 1858, Koerner as chairman of the state convention which nominated Lincoln. Both sat in the Chicago Convention of 1860 and both as members of the Committee on Resolutions stood not only for Republican principles on the slavery issue but also for generous recognition of the foreign-born voter. They were divided, however, on the question of the candidate; Koerner went with his state for Lincoln, while Schurz was for Seward. During the war both held somewhat confidential relations with Lincoln who found Koerner's diplomacy useful at a critical moment with the Germans of Missouri. Koerner had no such conspicuous military career as Schurz, though he rendered some service in the preliminary organization of the Illinois volunteers. Both played minor parts in the diplomatic history of the Civil War as ministers to Spain.

In the Reconstruction period, both were antagonistic to Johnson and his presidential policy. During Grant's administration, Koerner, like Schurz, gradually became dissatisfied with the Republican "organization" and entered actively into the Liberal Republican movement of 1872. He was chairman of the Illinois delegation at the Cincinnati Convention and subsequently the Liberal Republican candidate for governor. In the difficult situation which confronted the Liberals in 1876, Koerner, influenced perhaps by earlier Democratic associations, decided for Tilden and resented strongly Schurz's support of Hayes.

Both men valued highly their German inheritance, but Koerner's activity and interests were much more largely within the German-American group, though he was never in sympathy with the promoters of the "German State" idea. Thus his journalistic contributions were

largely to German papers, while Schurz though also conspicuous in German-American journalism reached a wider public through the columns of *Harper's Weekly*. Schurz planned for his more permanent literary products the lives of Clay and Lincoln and a never-realized history of the United States, but Koerner's closest interest was in the history and mission of his own German-American stock. To such studies he made a solid contribution in his *Das Deutsche Element*.

Some limitations of these memoirs are frankly indicated by Dr. McCormack in his editorial notes. Recollections of youth and early manhood written down in extreme old age must obviously be used with caution. It should be said, however, that Koerner was throughout his life in the habit of keeping rather voluminous records of various sorts, including letters and a fragmentary diary. These are freely drawn upon for certain parts of his narrative. "The original manuscript not having been accessible", the printed text has been taken with some "rectifying" from a manuscript copy. The result would have been more satisfactory from the historian's point of view, if this "rectifying" had been more specifically indicated. The book is rather long for the general reader but even those outside the circle of kinship will enjoy some glimpses of a simple and pleasant family life, typically German in its usages and *Weltanschauung*.

In this book the reader may see the changing scenes of American society and politics as they appeared to a representative citizen of foreign birth, who brought with him from his native country the memory of actual participation in one of the great political movements of the century and, living all his life in a distinctly German-American community, preserved in large measure a distinctive point of view of which the future historian must take account.

Retrospections of an Active Life. In three volumes. By JOHN BIGELOW. (New York: The Baker and Taylor Company. 1909. Pp. xiv, 645; vii, 607; vii, 684.)

A NEW Englander by descent but born November 25, 1817, at Malden, now Bristol, in Ulster County, New York, Mr. Bigelow is well advanced in his ninety-third year. He betook himself to the city of New York in 1835, where as a student of law he sat at a desk in a building on the corner of Cedar and Nassau streets, on the site at present occupied by the Bank of Commerce. His acquaintance with the city of his adoption, its inhabitants, and its development thus covers a period of no less than seventy-five years. Admitted to the New York bar in 1838, after ten years of not over-active practice thereat, he, in the fall of the year 1848, at the suggestion of William Cullen Bryant, became the owner of a part interest in the *Evening Post* newspaper, and its working editor. Acquiring what he regarded as a competency, he subsequently in 1861 withdrew from journalistic work, but only to be appointed in August of the same year United States consul at Paris.

Remaining in France, either as consul or as minister at the court of Napoleon III., from the autumn of 1861 until the close of 1866, he then returned to New York, where he has since lived, occupying himself more recently in the preparation of his *Retrospections,* but always concerned in a wide variety of public activities. Mr. Bigelow's life, therefore, covers the whole period of what may not unfairly be termed the metropolitan development of the city of New York, involving in his case an almost intimate personal acquaintance with many of its principal inhabitants—the leading actors in over two generations of municipal life.

The *Retrospections* now published cover, however, only thirty of Mr. Bigelow's seventy-five years in New York—the period between his first coming there in 1835 and his return from France in 1866. His active participation in affairs of any historical moment has been even less, and these memoirs, therefore, except in so far as they are reminiscent of his earlier and less mature experiences, cover but the single score of years between 1848 and 1868. But during those years, connected as he at first was with the *Evening Post,* and, subsequently, with events in Europe during the Civil War and the years immediately following, his recollections and record have a permanent value; for he came or was brought into immediate official and personal contact or correspondence with many of the more active participants in the affairs of a very memorable period, and to a considerable extent was at the centre of operations.

As to the earlier period—that of his connection with the *Evening Post*—while Mr. Bigelow has published a considerable number of letters editorially received by him from correspondents now become historical, but little additional or new light of importance is by them thrown on the course of events which led up to the conflict of 1861–1864. His original mission abroad, though consular only, has a diplomatic significance not at once apparent. When Mr. Seward took charge of the Department of State he at once adopted a policy highly characteristic of one trained in the school of New York politics. Face to face with what amounted to a revolution, the outcome of which was plainly in large degree dependent on the course of events in Europe, and especially in Great Britain and France, President Lincoln's foreign secretary arranged the machinery of his office on a plan peculiarly his own. He did not propose to depend altogether on the traditional accredited representatives of the country. He planned, on the contrary, to have his own private bureau of intelligence and system of manikin wires. Accordingly, with a view to influencing, as he so considered, European public opinion, while at the same time informing himself, he, first and last, sent to Europe what amounted to almost a mob of special agents and representatives, more or less accredited, whose province it was to keep him personally advised, much in the fashion of a newspaper press agency. Of those thus specially commissioned, Mr. Bigelow was one of the more judiciously selected; and, probably, distinctly the most effi-

cient. Without any special qualification for the post, he was appointed consul at Paris, with the clear further understanding that he was to use his journalistic experience acquired in New York to influence the press of continental Europe. The manipulation of the English press was at the same time entrusted to Mr. Thurlow Weed, the secretary's journalistic and political *fidus Achates*. Of the other specially accredited but irregular agents of the same category it is unnecessary here to speak. While their private and confidential communications with the Secretary of State have never as yet to any large extent seen the light, they probably contain a varied assortment of information and gossip, the nature and value of which can only be surmised. It is, however, an altogether open question whether, with one or two exceptions, the services rendered by this corps of international supernumeraries were of any value. Their presence and interference was well known abroad, and, naturally, not understood. By the foreign chancelleries, it was taken to indicate a lack of confidence in the regularly accredited representatives, and was not unskilfully manipulated to that end by the agents of the Confederacy; though they in their turn were not without their annoyances, arising from a precisely similar policy pursued at Richmond. Indeed a very amusing as well as suggestive illustration of the practical working of this press-bureau diplomacy is furnished in these volumes by Mr. Bigelow under the heading, "Slidell's Scrap with De Leon"; a certain Mr. Edward De Leon having been specially commissioned as a roving diplomat by Mr. Benjamin, much as Mr. Weed was by Secretary Seward.

During Mr. Bigelow's tenure of the two positions of consul at Paris and minister to the Tuileries, two issues of historical importance presented themselves and were finally disposed of. Of them, in all their stages, he had personal knowledge. These issues related, the one to the attitude of the Second Empire towards the United States during the Civil War; and the other to the progress and collapse of Louis Napoleon's Mexican experiment, the collapse of the last logically resulting from the outcome of the first. So far as the attitude of France towards the United States is concerned, while Mr. Bigelow in the present publication prints many official and other papers, he throws no new or additional light upon the essential points. In fact, in his previous work, *France and the Confederate Navy*, he brought out all the important facts relating to the episode, leaving little except details and documents for the present publication. But Mr. Bigelow's present work is disappointing in the other respect. He fails to deal adequately with Napoleon's Mexican venture. Yet, assuredly, he was in a position to enable him to do so, not only historically—for that he does to a certain extent—but from the far more interesting, because complex, psychological point of view. Mr. Bigelow stood for years in close enough personal relations with Napoleon III. to form his own opinions of the man, his motives, and his methods; in a word, to penetrate his mystery. If, however, he really got at the true inwardness of the Mexican business,

so vital to any correct reading of the history of the Second Empire, he has failed to impart it.

The verdicts of history once rendered are rarely reversed; and the Maximilian-Montezuma experiment has gone into history as a complete failure—an utter fiasco. Nevertheless, it is still fairly open to question whether it was in truth quite so fatuous, so ill-considered, and so hopeless a political venture on the part of Napoleon III. as is now assumed. It is to be remembered that in the sixties and even in the seventies of the last century the present craze on the part of the so-called "world powers" for colonies and dependencies and "spheres of influence" had not taken form. It was in the sixties that Mr. Disraeli referred in Parliament in well-remembered terms to "our wretched colonies". When the treaty of Washington was in course of negotiation it is a well-established fact that Great Britain would have experienced no considerable regret had both the Eastern Provinces and the Canadas been induced to throw in their lot with the United States. Its representative in this country so intimated most clearly to Mr. Fish, then Secretary of State. Subsequently, and largely as a result of Admiral Mahan's historical development of the idea of sea-power as an inseparable adjunct of world-power, a complete revolution of national policies in this respect took place.

Is it therefore perfectly clear that in reaching out in 1861 to secure a "sphere of influence", if not a dependency on the Gulf of Mexico, Louis Napoleon, unknowingly but by anticipation, did not foreshadow and instinctively anticipate a policy which was afterwards to become accepted and world-wide? Was that policy then so very ill-considered on his part? It is to be remembered that both in 1861 and 1864 the dismemberment of the United States was regarded in Europe, especially in Great Britain and in France, as both immanent and, practically, certain to take place. Louis Napoleon sought to secure for the empire of which he was the head and for the French people a territorial outlet to make good the loss of that Louisiana domain which, sixty years before, had been sold by his uncle to the United States for a mess of pottage; though, it is also true, under hostile sea-power duress. Was he, under the circumstances, wholly ill-advised or unadvised when he fixed his eyes on Mexico? The dismemberment of the United States logically involved a collapse of the Monroe Doctrine. Both the one and the other could, he considered, be calculated upon with at least a reasonable degree of certainty. In Louisiana there still remained a considerable and influential infusion of the French Creole blood. John Slidell, a Confederate representative with an instinct for intrigue, was present in Paris, and was whispering delusion in his ear. To such a degree was this the case that, even as late as August, 1864—during the last year of the Civil War—Mr. Bigelow one day wrote to Secretary Seward that the emperor had then recently said to M. Ancel, a member of the Corps Législatif: "Lee will take Washington and then I shall

recognize the Confederates. I have just received the news that Lee is certain to take Washington, and he is probably in possession of the Capital now. As soon as the fact transpires, I shall be justified in recognizing the Confederate government, and then England will regret her course. England always likes to be on the side of the strongest." Politically, Mexico was in a state of anarchy at once chaotic and chronic. All this being so, it only remained for the emperor to do, securely, to all appearances, and with small expenditure both of money and blood, what has since been done by Germany, Russia, France, and even attempted by Italy, in Africa and Asia at vast expenditures of both, that is, by establishing political stability in Mexico, to secure a dependency.

That war's dice-throw decided otherwise is obvious now, nor admits of denial; but on the other hand can it fairly be said that in entering on his Mexican policy of 1861 the emperor did not, as things then looked, have a fair preponderance of chances in his favor? Or, moreover, that the policy thus entered upon was not an anticipation, to be pronounced most sagacious if successful, of what has actually since occurred? Meanwhile, during the time Mr. Bigelow was at work on his *Retrospections,* much additional information concerning this episode has been brought to the surface and put within reach by Messrs. Hanotaux and Ollivier, of which Mr. Bigelow does not seem to have cared to make use.

As to the diplomatic relations of this country with the various European governments during the Civil War, little new can be derived from Mr. Bigelow's volumes. He publishes many letters and documents, and a considerable amount of official correspondence, both of the representatives of the United States and of the agents of the Confederacy, but not much of real value not already accessible. In fact, it is now not unsafe to say that no material is in future likely to be unearthed which will affect in any material degree our Civil War historical conclusions already reached. It is, for instance, well established that during the critical period of the war, everything depended upon the action of the English government under the Palmerston-Russell régime. Largely influenced by the possible outcome of his Mexican venture, Louis Napoleon brought all the pressure in his power to bear upon the English government to induce it to recognize the Confederacy, including as that step must have included an intervention on the part of the European powers. In this he failed by the narrowest possible margin. The intensely interesting inside European history of the period has, however, gradually come to light in such memoirs as Fitzmaurice's *Life of Granville* and Morley's *Gladstone,* and little apparently remains to be revealed. Had the papers of John Slidell been preserved, it is not impossible that further inside details of the numerous intrigues then carried on might have been disclosed. But those papers, it is understood, have been destroyed, while the corresponding papers left by his fellow Confederate agent, Mr. J. M. Mason, so far as they have been made public, have no considerable historical interest. But it is extremely improbable that any-

thing possible to be derived from material either as yet undiscovered or known to have been destroyed, would materially affect conclusions already reached.

In other respects, Mr. Bigelow's volumes contain a body of correspondence, much of which has great individual interest. In it we continually come across pen-and-ink sketches and casual contemporary references to characters now become historical, which are lifelike in their touch. Among these characters are Bryant, the poet and editor, John Van Buren, in his day the Alciabiades of New York politics, Charles Sumner, Charles O'Conor, Samuel J. Tilden, W. H. Russell, of Crimean fame, first and best remembered of all modern war-correspondents, Preston King, Thurlow Weed, and a host of others.

There is a very interesting description of Mr. Gladstone at his best period (1860), as he appeared when delivering the address on his installation as Lord Rector of the University of Edinburgh (I. 272, 274, 275); and valuable statements concerning the impression made by Mr. Lincoln during the early days of his presidency (I. 365, 366).

Equal historical value attaches to the following passage relating to President Lincoln and Secretary Seward at a very momentous international crisis. The story reached Mr. Bigelow at the time through Richard M. Blatchford, a most reliable informant, with excellent means of information. The surrender of Messrs. Mason and Slidell on the demand of the Russell-Palmerston government was under consideration. The story (I. 439) "related to the preparation of Mr. Seward's letter, and, if authentic, as I have no reason to doubt, is worthy of being preserved. He said that Mr. Lincoln was fully determined not to surrender the commissioners. When Mr. Seward waited upon him with Earl Russell's despatch demanding their surrender, Mr. Lincoln, as soon as Mr. Seward had finished reading it, said promptly and decidedly, 'No.' Mr. Seward said it was a grave step to refuse. 'No matter', said the President; 'I will never give them up.' 'Then I shall be obliged to ask you, Mr. President, to write the reply to Earl Russell', said the Secretary, 'for the strength of the argument from our own past policy, so far as I can see, is all in favor of a compliance with his demands.'

"After a short interval of silence, Mr. Lincoln said: 'Very well, I will write a reply; but you write also such a reply as you think should be made to it, and come to me with it on Monday morning, when we will read them together.'

"At the appointed hour Mr. Seward repaired to the White House with the letter he had prepared. Mr. Lincoln asked him to read his letter first. Mr. Seward read, the President meantime making no remark nor giving any sign of the impression it was leaving upon him. As soon as Mr. Seward had finished, the President took up the manuscript of the letter he had prepared, but, instead of reading it, deliberately threw the sheets into the grate. Then turning to Mr. Seward, he said, 'That argument is unanswerable.'"

Of the various characters whose confidential outpourings are here made public, Mr. Thurlow Weed distinctly suffers most by exposure in print. The letters addressed by him to Mr. Bigelow were uniformly weak, querulous, and pessimistic to a degree.

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS.

The Works of James Buchanan, comprising his Speeches, State Papers, and Private Correspondence. Collected and edited by JOHN BASSETT MOORE. Volume X., 1856–1860; Volume XI., 1860–1868. (Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1910. Pp. xv, 467; xxii, 516.)

WITH so much of the material in these volumes as comprises Buchanan's messages, proclamations, and official correspondence the present review need not concern itself. The public record of Buchanan's fateful term as president was at the time, and has been many times since, minutely examined, and its chief characteristics have been fully set forth in all the larger histories of the period. We must also pass over such additional matter as was made available through the publication of Curtis's biography, merely noting that here, as in previous volumes of this collection, Professor Moore prints in full a number of papers which Curtis printed only in part. The proportion of letters to Buchanan is somewhat larger than in earlier volumes, the editorial notes are fuller, and a number of documents necessary to a proper understanding of the incidents touched upon are included. The last entry in volume XI. bears date of April 11, 1868, but an appendix gives a few letters of earlier dates which came to light too late for insertion in their proper chronological order.

The beginning of 1856 found Buchanan still at his post in London awaiting the appointment of his successor (a matter in regard to which President Pierce seemed to be in no hurry), and busy with the adjustment of the controversy over Central American affairs. When Crampton was handed his passports, Buchanan expected to receive his, but the excitement blew over, Dallas shortly arrived to succeed him, and on the fifteenth of March he presented his letter of recall. Buchanan had been successful as a diplomatist, and his subsequent private correspondence with the queen, the prince consort, and Lord Clarendon shows the esteem in which he continued to be held. He made a brief visit to the Continent and then returned to the United States, to be nominated in June as the Democratic candidate for president. His political opinions had undergone no change. He denounced the slavery agitation, condemned the course of the Free State leaders in Kansas, criticized sharply the attitude of New England, and hoped with apparent sincerity for the speedy restoration of peace and harmony. No more now than ever did he show capacity for reading the signs of the times.

The course of political events led him more and more into opposition to Douglas. In February, before his inauguration, he had been

privately informed by Justices Catron and Grier of the probable decision in the Dred Scott case; and in June, 1859, he wrote to Robert Tyler that an attempt ought to be made "to present clearly and strongly the broad and marked line of difference between Squatter Sovereignty and popular Sovereignty"; that the doctrine of squatter sovereignty "is equivalent to a declaration that no other Slave State shall ever be admitted into the Union, because the first ten or twenty thousand people who rush into a new territory are never slave holders"; and that "the design attributed by Mr. Douglas to the Democratic party to reopen the Slave Trade or to establish a Congressional Slave Code is truly ridiculous" (X. 325, 326). That he foresaw the possibility of war, or at least of armed outbreak in the South, is evident from his request of Holt, Secretary of War, January 2, 1860, for a statement of the troops in the Atlantic and Gulf States "which could be rendered available for the defence of the public property, and also of the force now in Fort Sumter" (X. 372); yet with this crisis looming before him, he gave his support to Breckinridge, the presidential candidate in 1860 of the disunion faction of the Democrats.

Buchanan seems not to have felt that there was any contradiction in affirming that while a state might not constitutionally secede, the President had no power to compel it to remain in the Union. In his view, the responsibility for declaring war against a state rested with Congress, not with the President. May 6, 1861, he wrote to Stanton that "upon re-examination of the whole course of my administration from the 6th November, 1860, I can find nothing to regret" (XI. 188). The existence of a cabinet crisis on December 29, such as Curtis refers to, seems to be disproved by the documents here collected; but Judge Black, writing to Curtis in 1881, while upholding Buchanan in his determination to have harmony in the administration, declares that he did not "trust his constitutional advisers with his plans and modes of management", and that he consulted with them to obtain information rather than advice (XI. 63–65).

The persistent and bitter attacks made upon his administration after his retirement early determined him to write a defense, and from May, 1861, he was busy collecting documents and personal statements and elaborating the narrative. His first plan seems to have been to intrust the preparation of the book to Black, and the latter even went so far as to suggest financial terms; but when in September, 1861, Buchanan publicly endorsed Lincoln's policy, Black wrote that "it is in vain to think that the two administrations can be made consistent", and that "if this war is right and politic and wise and constitutional, I cannot but think you ought to have made it" (XI. 224); and he declined to go further with the work. What hurt Buchanan most, as time went on, was the refusal of certain members of his former cabinet to contradict the statement of Thurlow Weed, published in London, that they had grossly insulted Buchanan in cabinet meetings; but even this charge

he hoped to refute in his book. He opposed the issue of legal tender notes as unconstitutional, but he was gratified at Johnson's plan, "not of reconstruction *but of restoration*", having always held that the seceded states were never constitutionally out of the Union (XI. 405).

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion. By FREDERICK H. DYER. (Cedar Rapids, Iowa: The Torch Press. 1908. Pp. 1796.)

A *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion* is the title given by the author, Frederick H. Dyer, to a quarto of 1796 pages, presenting a vast collection of statistics and other historical matter relating to the Union armies, gathered mainly from the 128 volumes of the Official Records of the War but supplemented from other books on the war, all of which the author says he has studied and compared. Parts I. and II. consist of a collection of tables and lists of numbers, losses, organizations, and events, variously and elaborately arranged and indexed, in part taken from other books, and in part gathered from the records by the author's research. Part III., covering 770 pages, consists of original historical work of much importance, the result of the author's great industry in research and method in arrangement. It will be of great value to students of history. It consists of a concise statement for each regiment and lesser unit, of the date when and place where its existence began and ended, the parts of the army to which it belonged and the territory in which it served, at the different periods minutely defined, the different engagements, movements, and operations in which it took part, and its losses from battle and other causes. This great narrative, covering the service of more than 2700 regiments and lesser units, is a fitting epilogue for the great historic tragedy outlined in the preceding list of events, tables, and indexes, in which are set forth the enlistment of more than 2,000,000 men, the organization of twenty-six army corps of four score divisions and more than three hundred brigades, and their distribution among armies, or territorially in military divisions, departments, and districts; a list of 1750 commanders of these various organizations, from brigade and district upward; a loss of nearly 360,000 men; and a list of several thousand engagements and other hostile operations; and the number killed and wounded in (as we learn from Fox's *Regimental Losses*) more than 1700 of 1981 regiments (Phisterer's count). Some of these tables and lists are taken from prior publications, to which value is lent in this volume by the author's collation of them with the other matter including much of his authorship. It is greatly to be regretted that the omission of citations of book and page for the origin of the statements in the text diminishes the usefulness and authority of this book. The space for them might well have been spared from the Regimental Index which covers 250 pages of part I. with the repetition of matter fully set forth in the text of the Regimental Histories.

In part I. a list of regiments and lesser units by states is followed by a numerical and tabulated summary of them. According to this summary there were in service 2494 regiments, 126 battalions, and 939 companies (equal in all to 2621 regiments), against 1981 regiments, 498 companies, and 232 batteries given in Phisterer's *Statistical Record*, equal in all to 2047 regiments. Comparison of our author's list with his Regimental Histories betrays twice counting of regiments which bore two names, and counting some which, never having been completed, did not become a part of the army. On the other hand, there are instances of the omission of some which appear in the *Official Records*, for example, 1st Colorado Cavalry, Militia, 1st East Florida, 1st State Capital Guards of Kentucky, but a cursory view does not disclose enough of such omissions to seriously impair the authority of the volume under review.

A table in part I., from Fox's *Regimental Losses*, gives 2,677,079 as the number of men in the army. This should be reduced probably by 500,000 for repeated enlistments by individuals. The statement in the Statistical Exhibit that the deaths in Southern prisons were 29,498 should be qualified by the remark published by the adjutant-general with this Exhibit in 1885 to the effect that this is less than the actual number, as the record of those in twelve prisons is missing, and that of five others is only partial. This Exhibit discloses, in the record of 4944 deaths from drowning and 5114 from other accidents, the fact that war has serious hazards besides those of battle and disease.

Our author enlarges Fox's list of 300 "fighting regiments" by adding apparently from his List of Regiments and their Losses 600 which lost fifty or more killed and mortally wounded.

A series of ample indexes of campaigns, battles, etc., covering 410 pages, includes a tabular statement of the number of campaigns, battles, etc., in each state, a table of battle losses in each state, an alphabetical list of all battles and other hostile movements with their dates, a similar one for each state followed by a chronological list with the nature of the event and the troops participating. The events are classified as campaigns, battles, engagements, combats, actions, assaults, skirmishes, operations, sieges, raids, expeditions, reconnaissances, scouts, affairs, occupations, captures. They number 10,455 as against about 8700 events named in the *Official Records Index*. It is obvious that these are numbers of the items in the lists rather than events, for it is evident that there is double counting, as in the case of a battle included in a campaign each of which is an item. The index to Phisterer's *Statistical Record* of battles and engagements contains 2240 names, but the list of battle losses in the book under review includes a little less than 2000 names. Seventy-six of the events are designated as battles while Phisterer names 150 battles in which the Union loss was over 500. These comparisons serve to show rather the comprehensiveness of the book under review than to point out defects which will in any imper-

tant particular mislead the student who uses its great array of facts. The work is a valuable addition to the literature of the Civil War.

Social and Industrial Conditions in the North during the Civil War. By Emerson David Fite, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in Yale University. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1910. Pp. vii, 318.)

This book is a distinct and valuable contribution to the history of the period. The mass of facts hitherto unclassified by historians is enormous. The absence of a bibliography renders it difficult to determine what sources the author has exhausted, but the foot-notes reveal those which he has found profitable. Especially commendable is the abundant use of periodical literature, and in particular of religious papers. State publications seem to have been somewhat neglected, and personal material almost entirely. In general, the facts, admirably arranged, are left to tell their own story, but there are a few passages of brilliant comment. The scope of the work is broad, extending from labor-unions (pp. 204–212) to the Yale-Harvard boat-race of 1864 (pp. 266–267). There are chapters on agriculture, mining and lumbering, transportation, manufacturing, commercial life, capital, labor, public improvements, education, luxuries and amusements, and charity. The greatest contributions seem to be the study of the European market for American food stuffs (pp. 97–123), which has previously appeared in much the same form in Mr. Fite's article in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics,* XX. 259–278; the description of the movement into the interior mining regions (pp. 36–41); the discussion of the plans for a Mississippi-Atlantic canal (pp. 48–54); and the chapters on capital and labor.

It is difficult to sever a period like that of the Civil War from those before and after it. Mr. Fite has cut the knot, and is scarcely ever led either backward or forward, though many questions are obviously handled with present-day conditions in mind. This lack of a standard of comparison is apt to mislead the general reader, especially in the discussion of immigration and the chapter on public improvements, but, of course, will not affect the better informed. The topical arrangement of chapters, moreover, creates an impression of uniformity, dulling the sense of development during the period, and of the varying conditions in different parts of the country. It was, however, the proper method to adopt, and Mr. Fite has handled it with great skill, except, perhaps, that the Ohio Valley does not sufficiently stand out as an important unit, separate in circumstance and interest.

Mr. Fite takes "for granted the reader's knowledge of the existence of the shifting paper standard of values" (p. vi), and so handles the subject that no confusion arises on that score. Without any such explanation, the tariff is equally neglected. This omission seriously affects certain portions of the book. To treat government contracts as

the "greatest of all incentives" for the expansion of manufactures (p. 96) is to leave one utterly unprepared for their continued growth during Reconstruction. It is difficult to think of any economic feature of our life so essentially bound up with the war as this. This omission, perhaps, led to disregard of the important difference in the rise of prices of agricultural and of manufactured goods, which gave the East a disproportionate share of the prosperity of the time, and, as wages rose less than either, afforded opportunity for the accumulation of that capital, the use and abuse of which is described in the chapters on transportation, mining, charity, and amusement. Mr. Fite treats the rise of prices rather cavalierly. The statement that "The rich man could afford cotton at any price, and for those of moderate means there were woolens, silks, and other fabrics", if not made humorously, recalls Marie Antoinette. It seems to the reviewer that Mr. Fite has gone too far in denying the hardness of the times. There is something of the method of the smoothed curve, applied in this case to a period where personal variation was at the maximum. Even if half the army consisted of boys of twenty-two or under, the vast majority had been at work, and for hundreds of thousands of families, in a period of rising prices and economic change, bounties and pay could not make up their loss. In discussing the problem of labor supply, Mr. Fite distinctly overestimates the importance of agricultural labor-saving devices (pp. 6–8). The numbers which he himself gives are entirely inadequate to accomplish the ends he assigns them, and machinery, as yet, performed but few of the farm services. As a matter of fact, purely agricultural counties reached their maximum population about 1870. Child labor, the importance of which is so clearly brought out in statistics of school attendance, is not adequately treated.

The book seems singularly free from errors. The only one observed was that of attributing to the Mormons of this period a method of migration (p. 35) which they had abandoned after disastrous failure a few years before.

Carl Russell Fish.

The Last American Frontier. By Frederic Logan Paxson, Junior Professor of American History in the University of Michigan. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1910. Pp. xi, 402.)

By "the last American frontier" is meant the area beyond the first tier of states west of the Mississippi River, the traditional "Great American Desert". In the present work the author recounts the struggle for this frontier, which he regards as extending in one form or another from 1821 to 1885. Because the book is written in an easy, readable style, catching somewhat of the picturesque atmosphere of the West, one is inclined to overlook a tendency to phrase-making which sometimes leads the author astray. For example, to the frontiersman Indians were no better than "wild beasts"—it would seem of doubtful

propriety for a writer of the present day to adopt such a term, even in metaphor, without qualification or explanation (p. 15)—or again, "the ingenious Jefferson" (p. 18) hardly seems a fair characterization.

In one of the series of *Stories from American History*, which the author has specifically stated in his preface as "not primarily intended for the use of scholars", too much cannot be exacted. Statements of individual (separate) facts are reasonably accurate, but detailed facts have little place in a work of four hundred pages covering such a large subject, and there are too many general statements that are carelessly made, while some of the generalizations are superficial if not distinctly inaccurate. The introductory chapter is open to most serious criticism in this regard.

For one who is not familiar with the field, the author has rendered a service by presenting in an interesting way subjects that invite to further study, and by devoting six pages to a Note on the Sources. There is a danger, however, that the period covered is so extensive and the space limitation so evident that the professedly sketchy treatment has involved an assumption of a knowledge of facts and conditions unwarranted in the case of the general reader.

For one who has studied the various subjects which are gathered together in this book—routes of travel, means of transportation, westward movement of population, Indian relations, with some consideration of mining—there is little that is new. In fact, the omissions are the more noticeable feature. The influence of Linn's Bill upon emigration to Oregon, and of the coast trade upon the occupation of California, are illustrations of this in minor matters. But more important is the neglect of larger topics such as the public-land policy, the territorial system, cattle-ranching, and prairie farming, without which an understanding of the subject seems impossible.

The impression gained from reading this book is that the author is trying out his own ideas, and the impression is confirmed by his statement in the preface that he hopes "before many years to exploit in a larger and more elaborate form the mass of detailed information upon which this sketch is based". The question then inevitably presents itself as to whether there is any such unity in the subject as the author believes to exist. The reviewer thinks there is not. While it may be possible to tell the story of the last frontier in a single connected account, it would seem better to concentrate attention upon the period following the Civil War, and to take other factors into consideration than to attempt to interpret in a one-sided way some of the many elements which are involved in our history between 1821 and 1885.

MAX FARRAND.

History of the Great American Fortunes. By GUSTAVUS MYERS. Volume I., Part I. *Conditions in Settlement and Colonial Times*; Part II. *The Great Land Fortunes.* Volume II. *Great Fortunes from Railroads.* (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr and Company. 1910. Pp. 296; 368.)

THESE volumes, by the author of a valuable history of Tammany Hall and of other works bearing on the municipal history of New York, though nominally a history of the great fortunes amassed in the United States in the nineteenth century, are in reality a socialistic tract, the title of which would better read "The Crimes of the Rich"; it is a vast tirade against rich men, uniformly expressed in excellent literary style and generally interesting, but at the same time gossipy, abusive, one-sided, and discursive, and for purposes of sound scholarship the whole might easily be compressed into one-third its present bulk. The author's actual contributions to historical knowledge, however, despite his prejudices, are considerable. On the subject of the accumulation of wealth, he has produced what promises to be, when completed, a more or less useful study of a century's development. Beginning in volume I. with a brief consideration of the large colonial estates in Virginia, New York, and New England, and especially of the corrupt land grants of Governor Fletcher of New York, he passes to the rise of the trading class and then to the shipping industry. Of the great captains in this latter class, Stephen Girard is taken as a type. By luck, by "roughshod" methods, by "bribery and intimidation", this "solitary Croesus" became the "Dictator of Finance" in the early years of the republic. The story is told in detail. But with even greater minuteness the author relates the inception of the Astor fortune and of the great city estates in general. This is the best part of the volume. By virtue of a monopoly of the fur-trade in the Middle West, the American Fur Company, through debauching the Indians and outrageous violations of the law, brought Astor enormous profits. He entered the shipping trade; by corruption, he gained from city officials valuable water-front rights in New York; he entered banking and in the panic of 1837 continued prosperous by buying up and foreclosing the mortgages of the helpless masses. Law was now the most valuable asset of the capitalist class; "with the millions made by a career of crime the original Astors buy land; they get more land by fraud; the law throws its shield about the property so obtained." In the same spirit, though with less detail, the Goelet, Rhinelander, Schermerhorn, Longworth, and Field fortunes are examined.

Volume II., which on the whole is decidedly inferior to the preceding volume, is devoted to the great railroad fortunes, notably those of the Vanderbilt and Gould families. There is, at the outset, a review of the sale of public lands in the United States, which cannot be rated anything but a hodgepodge of all the corruption and scandal on the subject that the author could find; the reader, who would appreciate a

well-considered survey of the nation's land laws or at least a reference to their beneficent results, finds only the superficial, rambling, and unconvincing work of the muck-raker, set forth in the language of a socialist. The history of Cornelius Vanderbilt is then approached with the text, "ninety millions in fifteen years"; the achievement of this man is reckoned the amazing feature of his generation. But "far below him, in point of possessions, stretched the 50,000,000 individuals who made up the nation's population. Nearly 10,000,000 were wage laborers, and of the 10,000,000 fully 500,000 were child laborers. . . . How immeasurably puny they all seemed beside Vanderbilt." The growth of the Vanderbilt transportation system is gradually unfolded, every exciting crisis in the story portrayed, the shrewdness, the brutality, the rascality, and the criminal success of the strong man at the head—three pages of rant to one of history. The various railroad consolidations engineered by Vanderbilt are described with no appreciation of the economic advantages thereby secured and with no estimate of the contemporary consolidation movement in general. The army contract frauds are treated with some detail.

The chapters on Jay Gould include the looting of the Erie, the famous gold conspiracy of 1869, and the Credit Mobilier frauds on the Union Pacific Railroad; meagre references are here made to the conditions in the labor world in the seventies and early eighties.

To the serious student of American history the most valuable part of the two volumes is the notes, which contain references to many official documents. The text, although containing much information, is so interlarded with rant as to be disappointing. A volume, the tenor of which is to create social unrest by inculcating hatred of the rich, though readable on every page, cannot rank high as serious history.

EMERSON DAVID FITE.

A History of Norwegian Immigration to the United States, from the Earliest Beginning down to the Year 1848. By GEORGE T. FLOM, Ph.D., Professor of Scandinavian Languages and Literatures and Acting Professor of English Philology, State University of Iowa. (Iowa City, Iowa: 1909. Pp. 407.)

IN the significant number of new books dealing in serious and scholarly fashion with different foreign elements in American life, this volume by Professor Flom will fill an honorable place. Its aim is to present the progress of immigration from Norway to this country during the first period of Norwegian settlement which ended about 1848. Six of the forty-two chapters of the book are based upon the author's excellent articles on the Scandinavians published in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* in 1905, but it cannot be said that the book even with its evidence of prolonged, sympathetic, patient research is six times as valuable as the articles. The author's father and grandfather were among the immigrants to Wisconsin in 1844, and his filial

and pious zeal has enabled him to gather and present an unequalled mass of detailed information regarding the beginnings of the various early settlements in Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, and Iowa, and the movements of the pioneer settlers, their families, and their descendants.

A captious critic might be inclined to doubt whether the author has a clear conception of the difference between genealogical notes and tables on the one hand, and well-ordered, convincing historical material on the other. The present bulky volume is so like a combination of passenger-list, obituary notice, and gazetteer that its real contributions to knowledge of the Northwest may possibly be obscured; many a page enumerates twenty-five names, and one passes forty; the seventeen pages of chapter XXXVII. contain nothing but the names and dates in one church register for the years from 1844 to 1850; while the only index in the volume is an alphabetical list, seventeen pages long, of the names of persons mentioned in the book.

The soundest and most valuable chapters are those dealing with the causes of emigration from Norway (II., VI.–VIII.), quoting from letters, interviews, and books by early immigrants; with economic conditions—not effects—of immigration, such as routes, means of transportation, and expenses (XXVI.); and with the survey of Norwegian settlement in this early period (XLII.). The author's method of treatment precludes the possibility of literary charm, but it cannot excuse his many repetitions, frequent backward-and-forward allusions, and queer not to say ungrammatical use of English, such as "pensionist" for pensioner (p. 40), "of which more below" (p. 51), and "cash money" (p. 83). Now and then he makes partial escape from the slavery to names and tells a clear and direct story, as in his account of the establishment of the Koshkonong settlements in Dane County, Wisconsin (chs. XVIII.–XIX.), and of the movement of Norwegians into Iowa (chs. XXI., XLI.). The foot-notes are chiefly genealogical, and exact references sometimes irritating and inexcusably lacking. One might forego knowledge of the fact that Endre Vraa paid Gunnar Mandt's passage to America, if he could know where certain long quotations, like those on pages 200 and 202, could be found, or the authority for the statement that the average age in Norway is fifty years while in Italy it is thirty-five, with corresponding difference in expectancy (p. 21).

In spite of these defects, this volume will have high value to students of immigration in the nineteenth century who wish to understand the motives, influences, and difficulties of Teutonic emigrants from Europe, acting under normal conditions, and it is to be hoped that Professor Flom will carry on his work to a point where he may be able to express a broad and seasoned judgment regarding the larger and more permanent effects of the Norwegian immigration of the last eighty years.

KENDRIC C. BABCOCK.

Chinese Immigration. By Mary Roberts Coolidge, Ph.D. [American Public Problems Series, edited by Ralph Curtis Ringwalt.] New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1909. Pp. x, 531.)

In this volume Mrs. Coolidge discusses the phases of the Chinese problem leading up to the Exclusion Act of 1882, the treaty relations between China and the United States, the amendment and the administration of the Exclusion law, and the life and labor of the Chinese in California. Statistical tables showing the estimated number of Chinese in the United States and California at different times and a good brief bibliography are added.

Chinese Immigration is difficult to review fairly for while it has much merit, it invites, even compels, much adverse criticism. The writing of the volume has involved the examination of a large amount of widely scattered data, much of it not easily accessible. The book brings together a great many of these data and must therefore be regarded as an important contribution to the literature of the subject. Yet the author is decidedly pro-Chinese in her sympathies and these are so strong that scientific interest seems to have been sacrificed to some extent. Because of this the assignment of motives (particularly to trade-unionists and the Irish in explaining the anti-Chinese movement) seems at times unfair, while the weighing of the data collected is frequently faulty. Good examples of the latter are found in the analyses (chs. vi. and vii.) of the reports of committees appointed to investigate the subject of Chinese immigration. This bias leads also to numerous remarks concerning the Italians and other races—remarks frequently if not generally unwarranted by the facts (ch. xxii.). The Italians and Portuguese, for example, have given an excellent account of themselves in the agricultural communities of California. This same strong sympathy and the feeling that the Chinese have been unfairly treated (as they doubtless have been to a certain extent) lead the author to make a great many exaggerated if not erroneous statements concerning the social and economic loss resulting from Chinese exclusion. Nor are Mrs. Coolidge's methods always above criticism. A good instance is found in her discussion of the influence of Chinese competition on wages. She relies upon comparisons with wages paid elsewhere and does not trace out the race and wage changes in the given industry. Her results would have been different had she traced in this way the effects of Chinese competition in shoe factories, in cigar factories, in maintenance of way on the railroads, and elsewhere. Nor is she, in her evident desire to remove every possible objection to the Chinese, entirely consistent. To cite only one example, the author states (p. 389) that the Chinese are not and were not "cheap labor", yet in chapter xix. she argues that it was only because of the possibility of employing cheap Chinese labor that certain branches of manu-

facture could have been started, or, when started, could have survived in California.

Were a general statement desired, the reviewer would say that as a history of legislative enactments the book is good, that as a statement of conditions in California it is weak, that as a criticism of the administration of the law it is harsh, that as a comparison between Chinese and certain other races it is decidedly more favorable to the former than the facts warrant.

In closing it may be well to call attention to defects probably due to hurried revision for publication. One interesting instance is found in the percentages given in the table on page 305.

But in spite of such shortcomings as those pointed out, the book is a contribution of no little importance to the literature relating to Asiatic immigration.

H. A. Millis.

The Life of Mary Baker G. Eddy and the History of Christian Science. By Georgine Milmine. (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Company. 1909. Pp. xiv, 495.)

Starting as an exposé of Eddyism in *McClure's Magazine* these popular articles have developed into an extensive life of Mrs. Eddy and a respectable history of Christian Science. The book's value lies in two points—its searching analysis of a woman by a woman, and its unearthing of such new materials as the testimony in the Massachusetts courts, the early advertisements as a mental healer, and the reproduction of certain manuscripts akin to the primitive teachings. In tracing the life of Mary Baker Glover Eddy there is offered a lively account of an abnormal child, invalid, healer, propagandist, and supreme head of a sect numbering some fifty thousand adherents. Although the author shows that the child was subject from early years to convulsive attacks of an hysterical nature, she fails to do justice to the persistent pathological strain in the life of the founder of Christian Science. The latter's interest in the curative principle in mesmerism, her susceptibility to suggestion, her "clairvoyant" powers, and her "spiritual" mediumship would furnish valuable data to one familiar with abnormal psychology. These data would go far to explain the subject's treatment for spinal trouble under the magnetic healer P. P. Quimby, the automatic character of many of the "prophetic" messages of the high priestess of the cult, and more than all her lifelong obsession on the subject of "malicious animal magnetism".

Unfortunately the writer assumes the popular view that subjective hallucinations have little reality, while there is something objectively real in telepathy. She fails to see the significance of that temperamental quality which compelled the "divine" healer to take on the ills and perplexities of her patients, as when treating her nephew for the habit of smoking Mrs. Eddy herself felt the desire to smoke. In a

word this form of hypochondria could develop into the fixed idea of persecution by "mental malpractice". The latter is spoken of as being developed by chance; the truth is that such an essential doctrine, the present principle of evil for Christian Scientists, has not only a personal but an historical basis. Other hysterics have been possessed with the fear of being poisoned from afar. Mesmer himself believed in the "magnetization" of inanimate objects such as trees and tractors. The author's knowledge of occultism and black art is meagre, nevertheless she gives a lifelike portrait of one suffering from a not unusual form of persecutory hallucination. From the autobiographical *Introspection and Retrospection,* from the third edition of *Science and Health,* and from the minutes of the "P. M." (Private Meeting), there are cited the "mental arsenic" poisoning of Mrs. Eddy's secretary, Arens, the "death thought" which carried off her second husband, and the "mesmerized" water-pipes, wash-boilers, and lamp-posts whose silent and subtle emanations drove the distracted priestess from Boston to Concord, from Concord to her present hiding-place.

This book does not make enough of the intimate internal evidence of a personality suffering from hysteria, hypochondria, and the delusion of persecution. However, the more palpable external evidence is given a connected and consistent treatment. The years between 1844 and 1866 are called the lost years, for it is this part of her career that Mrs. Eddy has sought to blot out of the official publications. But while the Quimby controversy is here given full scrutiny, yet, as in the case of the apologists for Christian Science, it does not seem to occur that the relative priority of the teachings of the magnetic healer of Maine and the head of the Massachusetts Metaphysical College is a false issue. The parallels drawn by partizans do not necessarily betoken plagiarisms, but a mutual borrowing from common sources. In searching for sources, however, it might be pointed out that Miss Milmine's materials bear a strong resemblance to certain investigations originally made by the reviewer. I have shown elsewhere (*Psychological Review,* November, 1903) that Quimbyism and Eddyism have verbal similarities with the teachings of contemporary itinerant magnetizers like Charles Poyen, J. B. Dods, and Andrew Jackson Davis, but Miss Milmine has not seen fit to acknowledge these investigations. A similar carelessness—which Christian Scientists will doubtless note—is shown in the neglect to give the time, place, author, and audience of several documents. A glaring instance is given in appendix C, in "a statement in a personal letter".

While this volume is unsatisfactory in its treatment of the more intimate and difficult problems of neuropathy and origins, it is not so in its account of the public career of Mrs. Eddy. New and valuable details are presented as to the vicissitudes of the new sect: the gaining of early disciples and their disagreements and lawsuits, as in the "conspiracy to murder" case; the organization of the First Church of Christ, Scientist, and the Schism of the New Thoughters in 1888; the

starting of the class in "mental obstetrics" and its suppression by the state authorities; the publication of the first three editions of *Science and Health* and the subsequent recensions through J. H. Wiggin as literary adviser; the reconstruction of the "Mother Church" and the exclusion of Mrs. Woodbury, "virgin" mother of the "Prince of Peace"; the tentative adoption of the principle of Mrs. Eddy as feminine incarnation of the deity; and the recent disciplining of Mrs. Stetson. All these data are admirably presented, but the writer's air of astonishment over the Massachusetts Mother's claims to monopolistic inspiration, prophetic gifts, and divine origin, might have been lessened if she had been more familiar with local sectaries.

She treats in an appendix of Mother Ann Lee of New Hampshire, but she draws no parallels between Eddyism and Mormonism, although Joseph Smith as founder of the Latter Day Saints also had his "divine" cures, continuous "revelations", and home-made "key" to the Scriptures.

In fine, this book, though it lacks historic background, nevertheless offers a strangely interesting human document. Mrs. Eddy is more than a personality, she is a type. Given the free field of a democracy she illustrates the possibilities of a shrewd combination of religion, mental medicine, and money. Neurotic yet of indomitable will, illiterate yet of high imaginative power, illogical yet of great business ability, there is here presented the extraordinary spectacle of a career progressing from mean surroundings, through painful invalidism, to successful supremacy.

I. Woodbridge Riley.

The Life and Letters of James Wolfe. By Beckles Willson. (London: William Heinemann. 1909. Pp. xiv, 522.)

Concerning Wolfe's place in history there has been much discussion. And the question is not solved by this book. Although Mr. Willson has printed a large number of letters in this volume, he does not appear to have the historian's grasp, either of materials or events, to render his work of much service to the serious student. In the preface he asserts that he is fully conscious of the responsibility he has incurred in giving the letters to the world in an unabridged form—that Wolfe is thereby exposed to "the misapprehensions and the censure of minds little accustomed to appraise genius". When Wolfe's letters to Rickson were published in 1849, the editor omitted passages therefrom fearing that the free style of the writer might give offense. An examination of the original letters in Edinburgh was sufficient to show that nothing had been gained by the suppression. Nor do we think that "the censure of those little accustomed to appraise genius" would have been an adequate excuse on the part of the present editor for a wholesale expurgation of the correspondence. "Litera scripta manet", writes Mr. Willson; but to him the words convey a strange meaning, since in the

examples we shall cite not only essential portions of letters but their distinguishing characteristics have disappeared without any indication of the fact to the reader. Thus in the letter to Rickson, dated December 1, 1758, the text of the original in Edinburgh differs materially from the version presented by Mr. Willson on page 402, *e. g.*, besides changes in punctuation and spelling, "were" is changed to "are", "the defeat" to "this defeat". The sentence "uncommon diligence and activity and unparallel'd Batoe Knowledge", is replaced by merely two words, "battue knowledge", and thirty-three words at the end of the letter are omitted.

Another instance on page 446 may be cited as an example of the author's carelessness. "On July 5 Wolfe issued the following orders —Camp at the Island of Orleans. The object of the campaign", etc. In the original order there are nearly one hundred words before the paragraph with which Mr. Willson begins his quotation, and in the second paragraph a sentence is left out.

One object before Mr. Willson in writing this book was "to clarify the account of the Quebec campaign". His efforts have been singularly unfortunate. The clarifying process begins on page 421. In the first line there is a mistake. "Wolfe, when he sailed from Spithead on the 14th of February", etc. According to the log of the *Neptune*, which we accept as a more reliable authority, Wolfe sailed on the 17th. In order to show the importance of the army commanded by Wolfe over the navy commanded by Saunders, Mr. Willson considers "it is as well to understand at the outset just what the Admiral's place and functions were in the Quebec expedition." "Chatham's instructions to Amherst show that he attached the chief value to the army commanded by Wolfe, and that Admiral Saunders was merely to co-operate with Wolfe" (p. 422). Saunders, however, according to the author, had other designs from the moment he sailed, for "when an order came for Saunders from Chatham" to detach the *Stirling Castle*, the crafty admiral substituted another vessel as she "was handy for rivers", thus showing "that he then expected to sail up the St. Lawrence and actually second Wolfe, and not merely cover Wolfe's army and keep control of the communications".

It was the obvious duty of Saunders to second Wolfe's efforts and to co-operate with him. The secret instructions of the king to Wolfe dated February 5, 1759, are very clear on this point. There was no question in the mind of either the king, of "Chatham", of Amherst, or of Saunders as to the superiority of either arm of the service in the campaign. Quebec was to be attacked and reduced by the United Service, and it would have been impossible for either arm to have accomplished it alone.

After having shown, on page 422, that the duty of Saunders was to cover Wolfe's army and not to second his efforts, Mr. Willson makes the extraordinary statement on page 435, "Although the situation was

not fortunate in one respect, in another it was more than Wolfe had ever dared expect. He had won Saunders over to a co-operation between sea and land forces as perfect as it could be, more perfect than it had ever been in any previous expedition. The Admiral's thoughts and resources were not to be primarily (as Wolfe had once feared) with Halifax and Louisbourg, to cover the rear of the army, but he and his ships were to be at the General's right hand. . . . Saunders, too, it appeared, was a fighting man, and agreed to accompany Wolfe with his entire battle squadron to the walls of the fortress which Wolfe meant should be taken." Why it should be necessary for Wolfe to persuade the admiral to do something which he was instructed to do, and had, according to Mr. Willson, expressed the intention of doing (p. 422), we are left in ignorance.

On page 435 the author attempts to make a point out of an intercepted despatch from Amherst delivered by Bougainville to Montcalm. "But for the timely information Montcalm thus received he would have been unable to make his preparations, and Wolfe, instead of the long and dreary task before him, might have fallen on the enemy's weak point and won victory in July instead of September."

It is exceedingly doubtful whether the despatch had much influence on Montcalm's action. Bougainville did not arrive in Quebec until May 10, and before the missive was in the hands of Montcalm, then in Montreal, a courier was hastening to Quebec with the alarming intelligence that fourteen ships were in the St. Lawrence within forty leagues of Quebec. These were the ships of Durell. It was the reception of these tidings that spurred Montcalm to the task of fortifying the Beauport heights.

Before Wolfe sailed from England he had in his possession an excellent plan of Quebec and a detailed account of the defensive works of the city which had been prepared for him the year before by Major Mackellar from personal observation. Nevertheless, he found the situation different from what he expected. He had written a short time before his arival at Quebec that he expected to attack the French position at the mouth of the St. Charles River, but a single glance at the heights of Beauport must have convinced him of the impracticability of such an attempt. No one would accuse Wolfe of want of boldness, but one would hesitate to impute to him the madness suggested by this paragraph (p. 445): "The safety of the fleet depended upon the strength of Pointe d'Orleans and Point Lévis; but it was from a third point that Wolfe was resolved to make his chief onset. This was Beauport. . . . Wolfe thus laid himself open to the charge of splitting up his small force." Beauport was the centre of the French camp, the headquarters of Montcalm. It was from Montmorency and not from Beauport that Wolfe resolved to make the attack. Referring to the disaster at Montmorency (p. 463), the author quotes the passage from a secondary authority: "'This failure caused a temporary abatement of the enthusi-

astic regard in which Wolfe was held by officers and soldiers alike.' There is nothing whatever to justify such an assertion. Wolfe's general orders sufficiently explained the cause of the disaster to all. The Grenadiers were alone to blame." It is not necessary to cite any secondary source in support of the assertion. James Gibson, writing to Governor Lawrence on the day after the event, uses these words: "The number of the wounded, more particularly officers, made it necessary for them to retreat, which they did as regularly and soldier-like as they advanced, at least we generally think so here, notwithstanding the cruel aspersion the inclosed paper threw on them 2 days after the action, and which disgusted every man who was an eye-witness of such gallantry as, perhaps, is not to be paralled. . . . The attempt was, I had said, impracticable, which some general officers scarcely hesitated to say, one of them of Knowledge, Fortune and Interest, I have heard has said that the attack *then* and *there* was contrary to the advice and opinion of every officer, and when things come to this you'll judge what the event may be!" These are not the utterances of men who have confidence in their leader.

The Grenadiers blundered it is true; but it was a hazardous plan which depended upon the successful working of many combinations. "In none of these circumstances", to quote the words of Wolfe, "the essential matter resides. The great fault of that day consists in putting too many men into the boats, who might have been landed the day before, and might have crossed the falls with certainty, while a small body only remained to float; and the superfluous boats of the fleet employed in a feint that might divide the enemy's force. A man sees his error often too late to remedy it."

Instances might be multiplied of gross carelessness, and we do not consider that Mr. Willson has rendered any service to history in his attempts to clarify the account of the Quebec campaign. Until we have an opportunity to collate other letters of Wolfe we hesitate to offer any further opinion on his merit in the capacity of an editor.

Porfirio Diaz, President of Mexico: the Master Builder of a Great Commonwealth. By José F. Godoy. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1910. Pp. xii, 253.)

The author of this book has been connected with the diplomatic service of Mexico for many years and is now filling the post of minister to Cuba. By his foreign residence and training he has been well prepared to write a dispassionate biography of his great countryman. While his work is well done, it is plain that his narrative has been written under the limitations of his official position.

He adheres very closely to his subject, *The Master Builder of a Great Commonwealth.* Only four pages are devoted to his parentage, youth, and education, and in the compass of about twenty pages he covers the entire period of General Diaz's services in the important

War of the Reform, the French intervention, and his brilliant military career. The greater part of the work is taken up with an account of his administration as president, extending through the long period of thirty years. It may well be characterized as the most comprehensive and intelligent statement yet published of the great work of this statesman, which has given uninterrupted peace to the hitherto distracted country and wrought a complete transformation in finance, commerce, and society. This is made more vivid by profuse illustrations and maps of public buildings erected, harbor improvements, railroad construction, the wonderful growth of the capital, etc. Judicious extracts are made from the messages of the president to the National Congress, one of the most notable of these being his utterance on the Monroe Doctrine, showing that he is not inclined to recognize the hegemony of the United States.

One of the most interesting chapters is the Private Life of President Diaz, in which his exemplary character is pleasingly portrayed, the charming personality of his wife revealed, and the curtain lifted on his home life, habits, and recreations. We also find the work illustrated with not less than eleven portraits of the president in all stages and positions of his life; and with three of Mrs. Diaz, but unfortunately the latter fail to give an adequate idea of her charms.

Instances may be cited showing the limitations under which the author writes. At the restoration of the republican government following the French intervention, he states that General Diaz, "like Cincinnatus", retired to his small farm in his native state; but he omits the fact that he was at outs with President Juarez, and the next eight years or more in which he was engaged in conspiracy or revolutionary movements are passed over with very brief notice and the explanation that "it would take too long to rehearse" the causes. The Vera Cruz conspiracy of 1877 against the Diaz government is referred to as at one time very dangerous, but the ringleaders being "hastily condemned to death and executed, the severity and promptness of their sentence struck terror among their fellow conspirators". We are not surprised to read that henceforth attempts against the Diaz government were confined to the American side of the frontier. The fact is not made prominent that the battle-cry of the various Diaz revolutions was the non-re-election of the president, but the author shows that the constitution was four times altered to meet the changing situations occasioned by the occupation of the presidency by General Diaz.

The chapter which presents a résumé of his administration is exceedingly well done; and that in which the author collects the opinions of prominent public men of the United States fully sustains the unstinted praise which he bestows on his hero. But notwithstanding the merits of this book and the many others which treat of this period of Mexican history, the real biography of this most unique character in Latin America is yet to be written, which shall contain an impartial narrative

of his defects and errors which are few, and of his beneficent achievements for his country and his race which are many.

Francisco de Miranda and the Revolutionizing of Spanish America. By William Spence Robertson, Ph.D. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1909. Pp. 189–539.)

This essay is noteworthy as an attempt to unravel some part of the tangled skein of intrigues and negotiations in which South Americans and Europeans were involved prior to the war for the emancipation of Spanish America. It deals with a subject hitherto only imperfectly examined; and this fact furnishes the author an opportunity to present topics concerning which few students of history have more than vague and superficial information. The larger question here entered upon is the relation of the European nations to the Spanish colonies in America, in view of the increasing dissatisfaction of the colonists with Spanish rule. The knowledge that Spain's vast American possessions were slipping from her grasp naturally excited a desire in some of the European nations to enter into this goodly heritage; still, as long as Spain's control was not actually repudiated by the colonists or relinquished by Spain herself, no nation appeared to be willing to be known as seeking to supplant Spanish authority. But underneath this outward respect for international conventions both England and France cherished a strong desire to participate in the salvage following the wreck of Spain's colonial system. The author of this essay has examined with care a great mass of documents containing evidence of this desire, and setting forth the work of Miranda in seeking especially to persuade the English government to assist the colonists in their proposed revolt and emancipation. In this part of his book he has brought together a large amount of information not otherwise readily accessible; and the contribution to this phase of Miranda's career is sufficiently interesting to lead the reader on, in spite of a style that in some parts has the crudeness of the notes which one makes directly from documents as a preliminary to a subsequent elaboration into a proper literary form.

The chapters dealing with the career of Miranda in Venezuela are evidently written to complete the story; they do not give evidence that the subject with which they deal is the preferred part of the writer's theme. The figure of Miranda appears here with his personal characteristics clearly set forth, but his background is not sufficiently developed. The excellence of the book would have been increased if the author had presented in clearer outlines the environment of Miranda during his activity in his native country. The Spanish-American hero of the war of emancipation is not properly comprehended except as he is seen against the peculiar conditions under which he lived and worked. In this account, we pass from Miranda's activity in London and Paris to his life in Venezuela without having brought clearly to our minds the thought that he had entered a new social atmosphere as far removed

from that of Europe as the east is from the west. It is not enough to give the series of events in the unfortunate experience of Miranda after his return from Europe. These explain nothing, and throw no important light on his successes or failures. We need to know his relation to the semi-savages who made up the mass of Venezuela's inhabitants; why he failed and Bolivar succeeded, when both had to do with the same unpromising popular elements. In a history of Miranda's diplomatic activity, these considerations might, perhaps, be omitted; but the history of a man who aspired to be a leader of his people ought to make clear wherein his leadership was wanting. The men of Venezuela in the days of Miranda were not different from those who, under Bolivar, left an imperishable record of daring and devotion to their leader.

Of Miranda as the advocate of South-American independence our author gives us an account which makes a strong impression on the mind; but there remains an opportunity and a need for further investigations into the career of Miranda in South America.

BERNARD MOSES.

Historia Constitucional de Venezuela. Por JOSÉ GIL FORTOUL. Tomo Primero. *La Colonia—La Independencia—La Gran Colombia.* Tomo Segundo. *La Oligarquia Conservadora—La Oligarquia Liberal.* (Berlin: Carl Heymann. 1907, 1909. Pp. xi, 570; xii, 558.)

AFTER publishing almost annually for ten years volumes of literature and philosophy, Dr. Fortoul brought out in 1896 an interesting work entitled *El Hombre y la Historia.* This was followed by a decade of silence and apparent inactivity. As a matter of fact, his attention having most fortunately been directed to the field of history, he was devoting himself with rare assiduity to the preparation of a history of the Venezuelan republic which should be at once modern, comprehensive, and scholarly. His plan calls for five volumes, commencing with a comparatively brief introduction covering the colonial period and ending with the administration of President Castro.

The two solid volumes which have appeared, bringing the narrative down to 1863, are characterized by qualities so unusual in the works of South American historians that they deserve special recognition and great praise. To find a Latin-American author writing the history of his country in a modest and dignified fashion, basing his results on extensive researches instead of vivid imagination, is not an every-day occurrence. But when the author turns out to be a Venezuelan *littérateur* and his work bears the marks of critical scholarship, the wonder is tenfold greater. The truth is, it has not been customary for us to think that any good thing could come out of the stricken land of Cipriano Castro. Travellers have frequently felt that it would have been far better for that land of magnificent fertile plains, whose agricultural and

pastoral possibilties are almost untouched, if Bolivar had not been able to overthrow Spain's dominion in northern South America. As this is the centennial year when celebrations of the Beginnings of Independence are being held all over Spanish America, it is peculiarly appropriate that we should at last have an opportunity of paying our respects to a really notable historian, the most deserving of distinction that Venezuela has produced. Indeed, no South American, outside of Chile, has given such good evidence of the possession of a well-trained, scholarly mind. Long residence in Berlin in an official capacity has given Dr. Fortoul an acquaintance with German scientific methods of which he has not been slow to take advantage. His work bears throughout the more desirable earmarks of German scholarship. The fact that he has succeeded in avoiding the kindred quality of being "dry-as-dust" may be due to an avowed fondness for fox-hunting, or it may merely be the result of an inherent racial tendency towards the picturesque. Whatever its cause, Dr. Fortoul has given us a most interesting and satisfactory account of the development of Venezuela as a state.

So far as one can judge, there has been extended and critical use of the sources. It is, however, a matter for regret that there is not more indication in the foot-notes of the author's authorities. It is to be hoped that the final volume will contain a full list of the books and papers which have been used. Otherwise, Dr. Fortoul's hope that his work will serve as "una guía imparcial para el más exacto estudio de la evolución venezolana" (I. xi) will not be so fully realized.

His introductory exposition of colonial history is as satisfactory as could be expected under the circumstances. He has made no pretense at digesting the enormous mass of manuscripts in the Archives of the Indies in Seville. They still await the specialist.

The story of the conflict with Spain, leading up to the acquisition of independence, occupies two hundred pages and shows an ability to consider this romantic epoch with a candor that is unusual in the annals of Spanish-American history. Hitherto, the history of the era of independence has frequently been marred by distinct partizan bias. And, furthermore, it has been written almost entirely from the military point of view. Although Dr. Fortoul does not deny the importance of military history and shows a good grasp of its essentials, he has not allowed himself to go into unnecessary details in his descriptions of the campaigns of Bolivar, Paez, and the other revolutionary heroes. While not neglecting the fortunes of war, he has performed the less dramatic but really more important task of following the course of Venezuelan society during and after the war. He has also given a clear exposition of the slow development of legislation and of the intellectual and economic aspects of the period. His judgments of men are remarkably fair and unprejudiced; possibly another result of his long absence from the country and his freedom from the unfortunate political disputes whose bitterness and acrimony have left their mark on so many native writers.

As an example of Dr. Fortoul's fair-mindedness, it is a pleasure to call attention to his efforts to rectify the injustice which former Venezuelan historians, notably Baralt and Larrazábal, have done to General Santander, that most distinguished Colombian soldier and statesman. It is worthy of note that a writer, who is no traducer of Bolivar's fame, should be able to call Santander: "Estadista eminente, correcto administrador, y patriota en toda ocasión" (I. 442).

In the third part of the first volume, under the title "La Gran Colombia", Dr. Fortoul has followed the course of Bolivar's famous confederation down to its dissolution and the death of its founder.

Throughout his work he lays great stress on legislation and the importance of a careful examination of the fundamental laws of the land. He believes that in them can be found the true tendency of each epoch, even when the laws were made only to be broken! The danger in this position he recognizes and has in a measure eliminated by taking pains to give a careful picture of the contemporary state of society and a faithful chronicle of events.

The second volume covers that most confused and confusing period from 1830 to 1863. Fortunately, about one-fifth of the volume is given over to a lucid exposition of Venezuelan foreign relations, a task for which Dr. Fortoul's diplomatic career has eminently fitted him.

In analyzing the various claims which were made by foreign nations against Venezuela before 1863, Dr. Fortoul has done the student of diplomatic history an important service. At the same time the author evidently feels keenly the fact that the European powers and the United States applied one kind of international law to their mutual relations and another, a "mezcla de doctrinas de equidad y procedimientos brutales" (II. 105), in their dealings with the Spanish-American republics. Nevertheless his attitude toward the errors of his own country and the actual status of "Liberty" is expressed without fear or favor. He rightly discerns that the Venezuelan oligarchy, preoccupied "con puras cuestiones de doctrinarismo político", disdained the more important work of "corrigiendo sus hereditarios defectos españoles y curando sus vicios crónicos" (II. 254–255).

No library which pretends to do more than supply South Americana in English and no student of Latin-American history and politics can afford to be without Dr. Fortoul's excellent work.

HIRAM BINGHAM.

MINOR NOTICES

Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. Third Series, Volume III. (London, The Society, 1909, pp. vii, 306). In recent volumes of these *Transactions* some valuable contributions have been made to chapters in the history of international relations of European powers bearing upon questions of American trade and diplomacy. In an important paper of this class in the present volume, Mr. H. W. V. Tem-

perley analyzes with great skill and thoroughness fresh evidence from English diplomatic records concerning the Causes of the War of Jenkins' Ear, 1739. He shows that while the illicit trade of the English in the West Indies, which was permitted by them to a far greater extent than by the French and Dutch, and the reprisals made against the English by the Spanish *guarda costas* were both genuine grievances, yet, as a result of mutual concessions, peace between these countries was almost assured at the conclusion of the Convention of the Pardo, in January, 1739. Within a few months thereafter, however, war was precipitated by the oratorical appeals to national prejudice of the Parliamentary opposition, the narrowly selfish conduct of the South Sea Company, and the suspicion of an alliance between Spain and France. Another paper bearing upon the international relations of England and Spain is contributed by Miss Leonora de Alberti and Miss A. B. Wallis Chapman under the title English Traders and the Spanish Inquisition in the Canaries during the Reign of Queen Elizabeth. The other contents of the volume are a paper by Professor C. H. Firth on the Ballad History of the Reigns of the Later Tudors, a sequel to his paper of last year; a valuable monograph by Mr. C. L. Kingsford on Sir Otho de Grandison, 1238?–1328, based in part on Public Record Office documents classified as Ancient Correspondence, some of which he prints in full; a discussion by the Rev. Clement E. Pike of the Origin of the *Regium Donum*, a pension which, in the reign of Charles II., began to be paid by the crown to the Presbyterian ministers in Ireland; a report of the proceedings of the society on the occasion of the bicentenary commemoration of William Pitt, the earl of Chatham, together with the addresses delivered by the president of the society and by Mr. Frederic Harrison on this occasion; and the presidential address, in which the Rev. William Hunt reviews the historical activities of the society and its fellows during the preceding four years.

Wanderings in the Roman Campagna. By Rodolfo Lanciani. (Boston and New York, Houghton Mifflin Company, 1909, pp. xiii, 378.) This book is a companion volume to the author's other well-known works, issued by the same publishers, and like them it is intended for the general reader and not for students. Nevertheless, for its full enjoyment some knowledge of the subject is required, and a somewhat better acquaintance with the topography of Latium than most people possess. The titles of the chapters—the Land of Saturn, of Horace, of Hadrian, of Gregory the Great, of Cicero, of Pliny the Younger, and Nero—indicate the divisions of the district and of the book, but there is no attempt at any systematic treatment anywhere. No region in Italy is so fascinating in itself, so rich in legend and historic lore, and so powerful in its action on the imagination as the Roman Campagna, and its effects upon a susceptible spirit are as varied and remarkable as its own dissolving lights and shadows. It is per-

haps partly for this very reason that Lanciani, who has roamed the Campagna for so many years, and appreciates its charm so thoroughly, rambles at will and with no thought for method. No title ever fitted a book better. Thus the chapter on Tusculum is introduced by a five-page discussion of Cicero as a lawyer, and in the beginning of the chapter on the land of Pliny five pages are devoted to general comments on that interesting egotist.

There are many statements in the book that may be challenged, as the surprising information (p. 302) that "Pliny the Younger ranks next to Cicero in popularity as a writer." Gaionas, who has lately come into notice through the discoveries made in the grove of Furrina on the Janiculum, is described (p. 171) as "certainly a busybody", who "gives himself great airs" and "unheard-of titles". In discussing the origin of Praeneste (p. 227) the author remarks that "Plautus names it among the cities of the *barbarians*", missing altogether the point of the joke. On page 355 the beautiful statue of a youth apparently defending himself, which was found at Subiaco, is unhesitatingly pronounced[1] to be one of the sons of Niobe, contrary to the accepted view, and it is said to have stood on the same block as the statue of the daughter of Niobe in the Vatican, although the latter is reported to have been found in the Villa of Hadrian. On page 8 Lanciani gives the number of *tenute* in the Campagna as about two hundred, a number which it is difficult to reconcile with the four hundred and twenty-eight in Tomassetti's list, even after making such subtractions as Lanciani indicates. He also says that the largest *tenuta*, that of Campo Morto, contains fifteen thousand acres, while Tomassetti allows only about six thousand and six hundred.

In spite of many errors in regard to matters of history and literature, the book appeals forcibly to those who have learned to love the beauty and associations of the Campagna, and will give them much pleasure, especially as it is superbly illustrated.

S. B. P.

Arresta Communia Scacarii. Edited by Ernest Perrot. [Bibliothèque d'Histoire du Droit Normand, I.] (Caen, L. Jouan, 1910, pp. 152.) This volume, which deserves welcome as the first of a series of texts and monographs upon the history of Norman law announced to appear under the auspices of the law faculty of the University of Caen, is an edition of two important sets of decisions of the Échiquier de Normandie. While the extant registers of this court, preserved in a splendid series in the departmental archives at Rouen, begin with the year 1336, regular records of its proceedings were kept throughout the thirteenth century, and an admirable study of M. Delisle has brought together more than eight hundred cases decided before 1270. No one has yet attempted this task for the period of the later Capetians and the

[1] Following Brizio in *Ausonia*, I. 21.

first years of Philip VI., and until some scholar has the patience and skill to utilize for this purpose the local records and the surviving fragments of the vast archives of the Chambre des Comptes, our knowledge of the workings of the Norman tribunals must rest upon two private compilations from the Exchequer registers, covering between them the period from 1276 to 1294. These collections, more particularly the earlier of the two, were widely current in the later Middle Ages under the title *Arresta Communia Scacarii*, and they have been accessible to modern scholars only in the unsatisfactory form in which they were printed two generations ago by Lechaudé d'Anisy and by Warnkönig. M. Perrot offers us a critical edition, without commentary, based on a careful collation of the numerous manuscripts, and accompanied by a number of inedited cases taken from the marginal notes of the *coutumiers*. One of these glosses, the letter of the Norman prelates issued shortly before October, 1207, with reference to the procedure in suits respecting patronage, ought to have been printed from the sealed original in the Archives Nationales rather than from later copies; and M. Perrot's dating, based upon the lists in Gams, would have been improved if he had examined the evidence collected on this point by M. Delisle in his *Actes de Philippe-Auguste* (nos. 1049–1051).

C. H. H.

Études sur la Réforme Française. Par Henri Hauser, Professeur à l'Université de Dijon. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909, pp. xv, 308.) The study of the history of the French Reformation has lagged behind that of Germany. It was not until modern French historical scholarship went to school to German methods that its history has been scientifically attempted. French pride has often repudiated the idea that the French Reformation owed its initial energy to Lutheranism and has cited Lefèvre d'Étaples and his associates as proof thereof. The new French school, however, is not so interested in the intellectual development of the Reformation in France as in its economic and social history, in which M. Henri Hauser and M. Imbart de la Tour, somewhat following the path blazed by Eberstadt, are pioneers. The little volume here reviewed is a collected series of seven essays published in various periodicals within late years, dealing chiefly with phases of the social history of the French Reformation.

The contrast in the distribution of Reformation activities in France and Germany is very great, though not as much appreciated as it should be, and M. Hauser makes several excellent points. Unlike Germany, in France the Reformation worked not amid a divided nation but in one strongly organized, nationally coherent, and conscious of itself. Again, while in Germany an opposition early developed between the North and the South, in France Protestantism was scattered through many provinces and more or less sporadic everywhere. In consequence the geographical distribution of Calvinism in France radically differs from the

distribution of Lutheranism in Germany, and these two characteristics conditioned the progress of the Reformation along entirely different lines.

Pivoted upon these premises, the essays here collected, although very different in subject and character, have yet a common basis. The two most suggestive are the Reformation and the Popular Classes in France in the Sixteenth Century, which originally appeared in the American Historical Review, IV. 217–227, and in French form in the first volume of the *Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine*. In another writing I have indicated the great importance to be attached to this remarkable article and need not here repeat the praise then expressed. Perhaps the next most valuable essay is the one entitled "Petits Livres du XVI^e^ Siècle". The rôle of popular preaching, pamphlet literature, and popular song in the spread of French Protestantism is a very interesting study and M. Hauser has admirably worked out the social effect of such activities. In conclusion it may be said that these essays form a fascinating and suggestive little book upon important yet neglected phases of the Huguenot movement.

James Westfall Thompson.

The Electress Sophia and the Hanoverian Succession. By Adolphus William Ward, Litt.D., Hon. LL.D., F.R.A., Master of Peterhouse. (London and New York, Longmans, Green, and Company, 1909, pp. xxiv, 575. Second edition.) This is the second edition of a work which Dr. Ward contributed some six years ago to the magnificent Goupil series. Since it was reviewed adequately at the time of its appearance, little remains to be said here. It tells the strange story of the way in which Sophia, youngest of the thirteen children of Elizabeth, daughter of James I. of England, became heiress-presumptive to the throne of the Stuarts. It was largely owing to her longevity and her Protestantism that her son, George Lewis, became king of England. Through a good fortune scarcely less surprising, her marriage with the youngest of four sons made this same George Lewis ultimately the head of the ducal house of Brunswick-Lüneburg-Celle. In addition he inherited the title of Elector of Hanover acquired by his father, Ernest Augustus. Still a happy conjunction of circumstances does not account wholly for the rise of Sophia's son, and the part which the mother played in the advancement of her family is made clearly evident in Dr. Ward's pages. Indeed, no living writer is more competent than he to deal with this difficult subject in all its complications.

While those who have the means will doubtless want to possess the original illustrated volume, the present edition will be of more value to the student. Considerably revised and enlarged, it is provided with a new preface containing a very full bibliography (pp. viii–xvii), while appendix B contains a series of letters between Princess Sophia Dorothea and Count Königsmarck from the Royal Secret Archives of State

at Berlin, only two of which have ever before been published. They seem to establish beyond peradventure the guilt of the unfortunate pair. Although the author gives us frequent glimpses of the humor and good sense of Sophia, further illustrations from her correspondence would have been welcome. A few points call for critical comment. One important reason for the royal ratification of the Act of Security in 1704 is not mentioned, namely, the refusal of the Scottish Parliament to grant supplies on any other condition (p. 373). More too might have been said about George's hostility or supposed hostility to Marlborough. Furthermore, the Regency Bill of 1705 should have been more fully treated (pp. 385 ff.). The much disputed story of Bolingbroke's schemes and their defeat during Anne's last days is passed over in a cursory fashion on the ground that it does not fall within the life-time of Sophia. It was necessary to add a list of corrigenda, which unfortunately is by no means complete. Sophia was born in 1630, not 1640 (p. 11); Buckingham was assassinated in August, 1628, not in January, 1629 (p. 46); "Waldeek" should be "Waldeck" (p. 163); George Lewis became electoral prince in 1692, not in 1682 (p. 245); and Boethius is a more correct form than Boetius (p. 334). It is a pity that the proof-reading should have been so careless in such an excellent book.

Arthur Lyon Cross.

Roland et Marie Philpon: Lettres d'Amour de 1777 à 1780. Publiées par Claude Perroud. (Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1909, pp. 409.) This correspondence consists of one hundred and thirteen letters which passed during the years 1777–1780 between Roland, inspector of manufactures in Picardy, and Marie Philpon, the young woman who was to render the name of Roland forever famous. These letters were presented by their descendants to the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1888. Very soon after that they were used in their manuscript form by Miss Ida Tarbell in her sympathetic and critical life of Madame Roland, published in 1895. Indeed the course of the courtship, which constitutes the importance of this correspondence, was admirably presented, in its chief features, by Miss Tarbell, whose narrative showed the discrepancy between the account given by Madame Roland in her *Mémoires* and hitherto generally accepted, an account written fourteen years later when she was under the dominance of a new passion, and the actual facts as revealed by these contemporary letters.

These letters were first published in 1896 by Join-Lambert but in an unsatisfactory manner. They and a few additional ones which have since come to light have now been admirably edited by Claude Perroud who has previously shown his thoroughness and knowledge by his edition of the letters of Madame Roland from the time of her marriage until her death in 1793. It is impossible briefly to summarize the contents of this volume. The letters have but little general historical interest,

throw but little light upon the history of the times. They contain no comments of significance upon politics, literature, art, or current events. They are entirely and intimately personal. Their importance is psychological and subjective. They reveal two strong personalities, his forceful, arrogant, impatient of opposition, hers passionate, intense, idealistic, both equally convinced of their own ability and the world's need of them.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

J.-J. Rousseau et la Révolution Française. Par Edme Champion. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1909, pp. viii, 277.) Students of French history are already familiar with several chapters of this work through the pages of *La Révolution Française.* The work is a vigorous attack upon the traditional overemphasis of Rousseau's influence on the Revolution, by a scholar who made his first protest twenty years ago in the *Revue Bleue.* Speaking of the opinion, still too prevalent, which makes Rousseau the "précurseur des terroristes", the author says, "Je montrerai que le jugement dont Rousseau est victime n'a pas été rendu en connaissance de cause, fut inspiré par des préjugés détestables et dicté par l'esprit de parti." But while the "auréole sanglante" with which tradition and prejudice have surrounded the head of this peaceful man is dissipated, the glory he has so long enjoyed as the greatest of the revolutionary forces making for freedom and democracy is also denied him.

In combating the exaggerated importance attached to Rousseau by such writers as Taine, Quinet, and Lemaître, Champion shows how widespread was the revolutionary spirit in France, and how in many cases it found expression in much more radical terms than in Rousseau. Particularly suggestive is the remark (p. 21), "La magistrature eut sur les progrès de l'esprit public une influence dont les historiens de la Révolution ont presque tous méconnu la gravité." In the chapters devoted to an analysis of Rousseau's teachings, the author shows that these are far from being as revolutionary as later writers, basing their ideas on "Rousseau, mal lu, et mal cité", have led us to believe. While in sympathy with Boutmy's article against Jellinek's claims that the Declaration of the Rights of Man had its origin in America, M. Champion objects to that author's suggestion that the Declaration was probably inspired by Rousseau. The very articles ascribed by Boutmy to the *Contrat Social,* he traces to Voltaire (pp. 120 ff.), though in a last analysis he insists that these as well as the others of the seventeen articles of the Declaration were the attempt to formulate principles which would apply to specific evils of the existing order (p. 128), and as such, the outcome, not of the influence of an individual, but of previous conditions and convictions, the product of long years of French history.

The little volume is spirited and interesting and based upon mature scholarship. There are a few slips in the proof-reading, as for example "1843" for 1483 (p. 11). and "Musset" for Mallet (p. 19); and one

cannot but feel that the question of the relative popularity of the writers of the eighteenth century receives too little attention. If it is true that Mably was more revolutionary than Rousseau, it is also true that the latter was much more widely read. That a work of so much merit should be quite so polemical in character, is also a matter of regret. Even the approaching bicentennary in 1912 of Rousseau's birth, and the panegyrics in preparation, are not sufficient excuse for so controversial an attitude in the protest against "la facheuse manie d'incarner en un homme une révolution telle que la Révolution française".

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

England and the French Revolution, 1789–1707. By William Thomas Laprade, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Trinity College, Durham, N. C. [Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series XXVII., Nos. 8–12.] (Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1909, pp. 232.) This work compels admiration for the skill of its author in an inferential treatment of debatable material, but to the present reviewer the conclusions presented are not convincing. The thesis of the work is, in brief, that Pitt purposely created or aided in creating an English fear of the French Revolution, even going so far as to foster quasi-insurrectionary movements solely for the purpose of holding his own place in English politics; that the same motive, combined with the desire to acquire colonies, animated him in entering upon the war with France; and that there was at no time any real danger of revolution in England. Not Burke's *Reflections,* but Pitt's political necessities produced the anti-revolutionary propaganda in England, and plunged the nation into war.

There is general unanimity to-day that revolution was not probable; but this is not to say that Pitt and his colleagues were not strongly under the impression of such a danger. It is just this honest impression that Mr. Laprade denies, with increasing positiveness as the work proceeds. In the limited space allotted to this review it is impossible to treat adequately Mr. Laprade's contentions. Some few objections may be stated. (1) The argument of the seeking for personal place or profit by English political leaders is carried too far to be logical. Everyone is sordid, including all of the Portland Whigs. But some of these very men (if the fear of the French Revolution was a mere pretense) could have hoped for greater honors by maintaining a united Whig party, since by following up with energy the disaster to Pitt's policy in the matter of the Russian armament (so narrated by the author) it should have been easily possible to overthrow the administration. (2) In the chapter on the war with France, the main reason for England's action is stated to have been the maintenance of Pitt's political power. This is necessary to Mr. Laprade's thesis. It contradicts all customary historical treatment (save the contemporary speeches of Fox and Sheridan), and in support of it the author should at least have met the

analysis of Mr. Oscar Browning (*Fortnightly Review,* February, 1883), whose opinion is based on a wider access to documents than Mr. Laprade has had, and whose verdict is against the existence of any matured *plans* for war. (3) The bibliography of materials studied is an extended one, and in general is well selected, but there is some lack of discrimination in the matter of the reliability of sources. Finally, however, the preceding objections are made by one who is not convinced that Mr. Laprade has correctly interpreted the conditions of which he treats. Others may easily find more support for the author's thesis, and certainly the reader will be attracted by an unusual facility and clearness of expression, and interested in the skilful advocacy with which the case is presented.

EPHRAIM D. ADAMS.

La Révolution et l'Église: Études Critiques et Documentaires. Par Albert Mathiez, Président de la Société des Études Robespierristes, Professeur au Lycée Voltaire, Docteur ès Lettres. (Paris, Armand Colin, 1910, pp. xiii, 307.) This volume does not attempt to present a synthetic account of the relations of Church and State during the Revolution, a task too ambitious, in the opinion of the author, for one who has studied the sources only ten years and who is consequently acutely conscious of the amazing intricacy of the subject. It consists, rather, of seven detached studies of phases of the religious history of the period, phases little known or still the subject of controversy. In the first study the author aims to show that the philosophers of the eighteenth century were not believers in a lay and secular state in the modern sense, as frequently asserted in France in recent years, but believed rather in a close union of Church and State, in a kind of marriage, not of affection but of reason, in which the State would exercise plenary power of control. In the second study the confidence of the early Revolutionists that the Church would aid the State in the necessary work of informing and educating public opinion in a way favorable to the Revolution, that the clergy would from their pulpits read and explain and commend the Revolutionary laws and decrees to their flocks, is very interestingly shown. This confidence that the clergy would be willing, even eager, allies of the Revolutionists proved misplaced and the two shortly flew apart in bitter hostility. Mathiez devotes two solid and instructive chapters to a description of the conditions which prevailed from 1794 to 1801 under the régime of real separation of Church and State which succeeded the unsuccessful period of attempted state control. The religious budget was suppressed and various forms of religion were allowed more or less free play. These chapters throw much curious light upon a new and strange situation. The chapter entitled "Robespierre et la Déchristianisation" is a severe criticism of Aulard's thesis concerning Robespierre and the "Hebertist movement" contained in his *Culte de la Raison,* a thesis in which, according to Mathiez, "bold asser-

tions, evident contradictions, gratuitous innuendos, and, above all, serious errors are mingled with a few grains of truth." The final chapter is an admirable appraisal of the significance of the Concordat of 1801.

These studies present in compact form the essence of very wide and careful research. They are objective, critical, fresh, very informing, and very readable. They constitute an important addition to the constructive monographic literature of the French Revolution.

CHARLES DOWNER HAZEN.

The Story of the American Merchant Marine. By John R. Spears. (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1910, pp. vii, 340.) Mr. Spears has here assembled much interesting and trustworthy information relating to our merchant marine. His best chapters are those treating of steamships and steam navigation. Of these, the last two entitled the Critical Period, and During a Half Century of Depression, deserve particular mention. In them much pertinent evidence is adduced to prove that the decline of the merchant marine was the result of natural causes and not of the failure of the government adequately to subsidize shipowners. The author is of the opinion that "we shall never again see the Stars and Stripes triumphant upon the high seas until the American environment evolves, once more, by natural process, the nautical unit as efficient for the modern day as was our ship of the sail in the days long past" (p. 340).

The less satisfactory part of the book is that which deals with the period of sailing ships. Here the narrative is often loose and thin, and abounds with needless digressions (pp. 22–24, 89–91, 240–245). The space allotted to whaling (a subject considered in another volume of the series), piracy, and privateering might have been better used in giving an account of such matters as the distribution of trade among the colonies, the effect of wars on the merchant marine, the number of ships at different periods, the articles carried, and the ports visited.

The architectonics of the book would have been improved had the author recognized more clearly the chronological divisions into which his subject naturally falls: 1607–1775, 1775–1783, 1783–1812, 1812–1815, 1815–1861, 1861–1865, 1865–1910. These divisions are sharply defined. The conditions of our Far Eastern trade, for instance, during the War of 1812, were quite different from what they were before and after the war, and the reader would be glad to have some account of them during the three years of that conflict. The book has no index.

C. O. PAULLIN.

Three Rivers: the James, the Potomac, the Hudson. A Retrospect of Peace and War. By Joseph Pearson Farley, U. S. A. (New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company, 1910, pp. 277.) It may be said in the outset that the contents of this volume bear but a slight relation to the rivers which give title to the book. There are

scenes and incidents strewn along the river James but in so haphazard a fashion that the wayfaring man finds himself in a sort of chronological and geographical tangle. The book was not intended, it is presumed, to be historical and gains nothing by the occasional historical passages. The part of the book designated "The Potomac" comprises recollections of Washington at the outbreak of the Civil War and the period preceding, and some of these pages possess an interest for Washingtonians. The third division of the volume possesses a larger measure of unity than the preceding portions, for it relates almost entirely to art and artists at West Point, a subject which the author has much at heart. There are several illustrations in color from water-color paintings by the author.

Johnson's Wonder-working Providence, 1628–1651. Edited by J. Franklin Jameson, Ph.D., LL.D., Director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution of Washington. [Original Narratives of Early American History, edited by J. Franklin Jameson.] (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, pp. ix, 285.) Though this work of Captain Edward Johnson, written in peculiar Scriptural phraseology and interspersed with labored and unsuccessful verse, can be called in no sense a great history, and possesses little of the charm that attaches to Bradford's account of Plymouth or Winthrop's *Journal*, no publication emanating from early New England is more useful to one who would know the animating purpose and general habit of mind of those engaged in planting the Puritan colonies. As the editor remarks, "it gives us . . . the essential spirit of the Massachusetts colony depicted from the point of view of the rank and file." The overmastering sense that the colony was a divinely guided enterprise, enjoying special providential favor, appears on every page, and is largely the motive for the composition of this first published history of Massachusetts. No less evident is the intolerance, the resentment of all interference, and the devoted allegiance to constituted authorities characteristic of the author. The work in which he was engaged was to him God's work. That is what lends a certain dignity even to his limitations. He is a part in a great common enterprise, in which he believes with all intensity of conviction—an enterprise that is great not because led by great men, but because it aims at realizing the will of God. No less evident than this devotion to a cause which commands his heartiest allegiance is the author's satisfaction in the development of the industrial and military strength of the community. If God's favor is over it, man's work is none the less necessary to it. In both aspects Johnson was typical of the Puritan spirit. He would trust in God and keep his powder dry.

This revelation of the animus of the humbler members of the New England enterprise amply justifies the inclusion of the *Wonder-working Providence* in the series of *Original Narratives of Early American His-*

tory. The editor has done his work modestly and well. A brief introduction gives the essential facts concerning the author and the publication and later editions of his volume. Obscure references are illuminated with brief notes, and the not infrequent errors, especially of the early part of the narrative, are corrected by the editor with the accuracy to be expected of his painstaking scholarship. If the editor has erred at all it is on the side of brevity and moderation in annotation; but the reader will find that well-nigh all that is needful for a correct understanding has been supplied. The volume deserves a hearty welcome, the more so that the original is now of much rarity, and its reprints are locked up in the relative inaccessibility of the early volumes of the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society, or the very limited, though admirable, edition published by Dr. William F. Poole in 1867.

WILLISTON WALKER.

Freemasonry in Pennsylvania, 1727–1907. Volume II. Compiled from original sources by Norris S. Barratt and Julius F. Sachse. (Philadelphia, 1909, pp. xxiv, 473.) Volume I. of this series was reviewed in the April number, 1909, and what was then noted respecting general features need not be repeated here. The present volume of Barratt and Sachse's work, even more than the first one, confirms one's fears that the material was sadly misestimated. A series has laws of its own and they are different from laws applicable to a single volume. These volumes have not been grasped as a series. Volume I. states in the preface that it covers the period, 1727–1786, and that the remaining one hundred and twenty-one years shall be covered in the present volume. It is startling, to say the least, to find that only twenty-seven of those one hundred and twenty-one years are covered and no statement is made as to whether the series closes unfinished or whether other volumes are to follow. It is even more astonishing to see persisting in the second volume the outside general title stating the period of the series as "1727–1907" and the remaining page-heads stating it as "1730–1907"! Doubtless this is the beautiful law of compromise illustrating its adaptation to historical difficulties: Those who accept the newly discovered St. John's Lodge constitutions will use the outside title, and adherents of the generally accepted date of establishment may find comfort in the page-heads. Notwithstanding these discouraging features in the vestibule, the interior has much of interest to the student of Masonic institutions and this phase of general history. Of the eight chapters into which the volume is divided, the first three are devoted to the minutes, with interpretative introductions and connections, of the period under the Provincial Grand Lodge, which closed its existence on September 25, 1786. The remaining five chapters cover the minutes during the time from the latter date to the close of 1813, under the Grand Lodge of Pennsylvania. With the compilers' peculiar fatality in

confusing titles the last chapter is headed "1811–19" instead of "1811–13". Probably the most interesting feature of this volume is the measures of reorganization made necessary by the Revolution, among which is the preparation of a new Ahiman Rezon, or book of constitutions, adapted from the old ones by that versatile genius of the period, Rev. Dr. William Smith, the first provost of what is now the University of Pennsylvania. This occurred in 1783, the year in which the first Masonic relief organization in the western world is declared to have been formed. An amusing episode of the reorganization also was the accidental application to the wrong grand lodge in England for separation, namely, the "Modern" instead of the "Ancient", with which the Provincial Grand Lodge was properly allied. The intimate relations of Washington and other great men with this lodge are dwelt upon and the various homes of the fraternity are elaborately emphasized. One of the most interesting of the numerous illustrations is a portrait of Washington by Clarke, in 1796, now owned by Judge Barratt. This volume is supplied with a full index both of subjects and names.

Burton Alva Konkle.

Manors of Virginia in Colonial Times. By Edith Tunis Sale. (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1909, pp. 310.) The sketches in Mrs. Sale's book are based on a series of articles contributed by her to the Richmond (Virginia) *Times-Dispatch* in 1908. The necessary brevity of the original articles prevented the use of much interesting genealogical matter, anecdote, and tradition which the author has used to great advantage in this book.

The twenty-four estates and houses chosen as subjects for her work—while generally familiar to the student of local history—lend themselves well to Mrs. Sale's delightful impressionistic method of treatment. At least eight out of the number sketched possess the added charm of being still inhabited by descendants of their builders.

With all its literary charm, however, Mrs. Sale has greatly impaired the historical and genealogical value of her work by a failure to use the sources. Space permits me to call attention to but a few of the many errors noted. The chronicles abound with misplaced wives and grandfathers. With all of his three wives Colonel Landon Carter never married an Armistead (p. 22). He married, in succession, Elizabeth Wormeley, Maria Byrd, and Elizabeth Beale. Catharine Tayloe married Landon Carter, the great-grandson not the son of Robert ("King") Carter (p. 38). A singular error is the allusion to Fredericksburg (p. 42) as "that ancient town of Stafford County". William Fitzhugh, the emigrant, was not the founder of Chatham (p. 42); it was his great-grandson, also bearing the name of William, who was born in 1741. There is no evidence that John Dandridge died at Chatham nor that Washington met Mrs. Custis there—rather to the con-

trary. Catharine, the first wife of Fielding Lewis (p. 53), was a first cousin of George Washington, not his aunt. The account of Carter's Grove and the Burwell family (pp. 172 ff.) is much too confused for untangling here. Suffice it to say that Carter Burwell built the Carter's Grove house in 1751 and it descended to his son, Nathaniel Burwell, who later moved to Clarke County.

The book contains an excellent table giving the names of the families who have at different times owned the several estates, and is profusely illustrated with views of the houses and coats of arms.

WILLIAM CLAYTON-TORRENCE.

The *Sixth Annual Report* of the Virginia State Library (Richmond, 1910) is accompanied by two valuable historical appendixes. The first is a monograph of 164 pages on the Separation of Church and State in Virginia, by Mr. H. J. Eckenrode, archivist of the state. The theme has been treated before, especially by McIlwaine, by Thom, and by James in his *Documentary History*; but it has never been treated before with so equal an eye to all the denominations and interests involved, or with so much thoroughness. Without much excellence of style, or deep insight into the nature and course of religious movements, Mr. Eckenrode makes a strong impression of solidity in workmanship and, practically, of finality in his results. He has read widely and with care in the printed sources of information, and above all he has used the important body of manuscript material preserved in the papers of the House of Delegates for the years in which the struggle for disestablishment was rife. Particularly important are those for the autumnal session of 1776, to which a flood of interesting petitions and memorials was sent in. With frequent quotations from the documents, and constant reference to the legislative journals, Mr. Eckenrode pursues his course in a workmanlike manner through the discussions of disestablishment, general assessments, incorporation, and equality, concluding with a full account of the legal controversies over the glebes and of the subsequent history of that form of property. He makes a valuable contribution to the social history of the Revolutionary period. The other monograph, by Mr. William Clayton-Torrence, the library's official bibliographer, presents in ninety-four pages the second and completing part of his Trial Bibliography of Colonial Virginia, continuing the titles from 1754 to 1776 on the same plan as in the first part, published last year. Two hundred and fifty titles of Virginiana of this period are given, in excellent bibliographical form, with useful notes by the editor, by Mr. W. G. Stanard, Mr. Eckenrode, and Mr. C. N. Baxter.

The Romance of the American Navy, as Embodied in the Stories of Certain of our Public and Private Armed Ships, from 1775 to 1909. By Frederic Stanhope Hill. (New York and London, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1910, pp. xxxi, 395.) Mr. Hill's book is a popular account of the

most picturesque events of American naval history. Brief and sketchy, it is adapted to meet the needs of the general reader and not those of the serious student. It treats of the achievements of individual men and vessels, and does not essay to consider naval events in their larger relations—the influence of sea-power, the problems of naval strategy, and all those ideas with which Admiral Mahan has made us familiar. It is the "romance" of the navy that appeals to Mr. Hill.

He divides his book into two parts: (1) the War of the Revolution and the War of 1812, and (2) the Civil War and the War with Spain. He permits himself, however, certain liberties with this arrangement. Under the second part he includes a chapter on the mutiny of the *Somers,* 1842, and another on disasters to naval ships, happening in 1867, 1868, 1871, and 1889. There are also other eccentricities of arrangement. For instance, one would not expect to find under the heading, the Destruction of the Maine, an account of "An Afternoon at Cardenas". These, however, are small defects.

Mr. Hill apparently confined himself to authorities accessible near his home. He consulted the archives of the Massachusetts State Department in Boston, and not the naval archives in Washington, by all odds the most important source for American naval history in existence. For the period of the Civil War, it is true, he had the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies,* a good substitute for the unpublished records. It may be, however, hypercriticism to insist that an author in writing a book for popular consumption should avail himself of primary sources. The chapter on John Paul Jones contains a part of A. C. Buell's fiction respecting that Revolutionary hero. In the chapters treating of the Civil War the author has drawn upon his own experiences as a naval officer in that conflict.

C. O. Paullin.

William Fitzhugh Gordon. A Virginian of the Old School: his Life, Times, and Contemporaries (1787–1858). By Armistead C. Gordon. (New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company, 1909, pp. 412.) The life of the subject of this volume spans an interesting part of Virginia and Southern history and the author has made good use of his opportunity to treat of contemporary events. The Gordons are of good Scotch ancestry and they have contributed much to the making of Virginia. There has never been a constitutional convention in that ancient commonwealth in which there was not a Gordon and most of the legislatures have carried the same name upon their rolls.

William Fitzhugh Gordon like most of his family lived in the up-country made famous by Jefferson, Madison, Monroe, and the Gilmers, and he like his greater neighbors was, during most of his life, a champion of the up-country people against the lowland oligarchy. In the convention of 1829–1830 he did his best work though in the end he yielded to the fear of civil war and voted to confine the privileges of

the slaveholder's party—a fatal decision though he had the honor of siding with Chief Justice Marshall at the end of the crisis. An ardent Jackson man, he was sent to Congress in 1829, where he remained until the break between the President and the Vice-President. This rupture in the Jackson party was the beginning of a new career for Gordon. He voted against the administration measures and was defeated in 1835 in consequence. From this time forth he was a close friend of Calhoun and as a supporter of the Calhoun teachings he was one of the few Virginians who attended the Nashville conventions in 1850. He was now a full-fledged supporter of the strong pro-slavery party of eastern and southern Virginia.

Such was the career of the man whose "Life" now appears. The narrative is well presented, especially those parts which have to do with the conventions; and there is much also about such contemporaries of Gordon as Littleton W. Tazewell, the two Barbours, and Charles Fenton Mercer—about whom we know so little. The book is written from first-hand materials and several interesting letters from eminent Southern leaders are printed in full or quoted extensively. Though the book is the work of a descendant there is little of the family worship so common in such cases. Mr. Gordon has given us a book which historians will welcome and Virginians will especially enjoy.

William E. Dodd.

Lincoln, Lee, Grant, and other Biographical Addresses. By Judge Emory Speer. (New York and Washington, The Neale Publishing Company, 1909, pp. 269.) It is not often that words addressed to the ear will bear the cold scrutiny of a reader beyond the reach of the orator's voice. The addresses of Judge Speer are a notable exception, for they preserve the unmistakable charm of his personality and unfailingly hold the attention of the reader. Of the eight addresses in this volume, four deal with heroes of the Civil War—Lincoln and Grant, Lee and Joseph E. Brown. There are also sketches of two great jurists, Erskine and Marshall, and of two such antipodal characters as James Oglethorpe and Alexander Hamilton. While there has been no attempt to unify these biographical addresses for publication, a certain common quality runs through all and justifies their collection within the covers of a book—a proud consciousness of our national traditions and an accompanying conviction that our American institutions will henceforth be "the undivided heritage of an undivided people".

From an historical point of view, the addresses are less valuable for the facts which they contain than for the fervid patriotism with which they are colored. They are in themselves documentary evidence of the changes which are bringing North and South into sympathetic accord. When a Southerner who has worn the gray can find so much to admire in Lincoln and Grant, the work of ethical reconstruction is well-nigh consummated. Judge Speer describes the literary merits of

his own addresses when he says of Governor Brown of Georgia that his eloquence consisted "in conciseness, simplicity, clearness of language, mastery of facts, and in the skill and ingenuity with which these are presented in order to persuade or to convince".

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Volume IV. *Collections*; Volume XI. *Transactions,* 1906–1907. (Boston, 1910, pp. xvi, 502; xvii, 509.) The first of these volumes consists of three parts. The first, papers relating to the Land Bank of 1740, prepared by Mr. Andrew McFarland Davis, embraces a calendar of the papers and records respecting that bank (more than five hundred in number), which are preserved in the Massachusetts archives and Suffolk court files, together with the prospectus and articles of the company, the articles of the Silver Bank, and careful lists of members of the two enterprises. The second division, a bibliography of the journals of the Massachusetts House of Representatives, 1715–1776, and the third, a bibliography of the laws of Massachusetts Bay, have been prepared with the most elaborate apparatus, by Mr. Worthington C. Ford. Such volumes are invaluable instruments for thorough work in the history of the colony. In the volume of the society's *Transactions,* along with a considerable number of contributions having a purely local and antiquarian interest, several articles of high value are presented. One of these, a memoir of Dr. Thomas Young, 1731–1777, by Mr. Henry H. Edes, gives the story of a career notable in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, with important influence upon Vermont. Another, by Mr. Albert Matthews, traces the history of the "Snake Devices", 1754–1776 ("Join or Die"), and the *Constitutional Courant* of 1765. Dr. James K. Hosmer's address on John Harvard in England is a model of the kind, combining the results of antiquarian research with historic imagination and breadth of view. Of the documents printed, the most interesting is the autobiography of Captain Jonathan Chapman, 1756–1832, narrating many dramatic maritime adventures in the Revolution and after. There is also a body of twenty-nine letters, contributed by Mr. Ford, written in 1792–1793 by George Washington to Anthony Whiting, manager of his Mt. Vernon estates, and a valuable group of letters of William Plumer, 1786–1787, contributed by the same member, and illustrating the progress of the Shays movement in New Hampshire. The illustrations, some twenty in number, are, as is always the case in the volumes of this society, prepared and executed with remarkable skill.

TEXT-BOOKS

Studies in the Teaching of History. By M. W. Keatinge, M.A., Reader in Education in the University of Oxford. (London, Adam and Charles Black, 1910, pp. viii, 232.) In comparing the recent work of Mr. Keatinge with the first important contribution made in England to

the same subject—Freeman's *Methods of Historical Study*—it is difficult to believe that an interval of but twenty-five years separates the two works. Freeman's personality dominated his treatment of the subject and he left his readers wiser as to himself and his historical enthusiasms and antipathies, but scarcely wiser as to the nature of history and how others should study it or teach it. Half-way in time between Freeman and Keatinge comes a series of works composite in nature, like *The Teaching of History,* planned by the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press. These composite works indicated a growing appreciation of the importance of discussing the subject, but they added little to our real knowledge of its problems—the essays were from many sources, they lacked unity of thought and of presentation, they were often vague and elusive, they showed little grasp of fundamental difficulties, and they were rather discussions of the best ways of preparing a history lecture than suggestions for meeting the difficulties of its hearers. Mr. Keatinge's work is almost as far removed from these co-operative volumes as they, on their part, were removed in spirit and method of approach from the earlier Freeman. Not only does it mark a distinct advance over all of its predecessors in the same field, but it is in effect the first genuine contribution made in England to the subject of historical method worthy to be ranked with Bernheim, Langlois and Seignobos, and Altamira.

Mr. Keatinge does not attempt an exhaustive treatment of the whole field of historical study with all of its perplexing problems—he confines himself to an examination of the specific difficulties attending the teaching of history in the pre-university period. These difficulties are the selection of a suitable method that shall be comparable with the method used in teaching other subjects in the curriculum, the differentiation to be made in the use of contemporary documents as historical evidence and as illustrative material, the application of psychological principles to the different stages of mental development that accompany progress towards the university, the vexing question of the legitimate use of the subject-matter of history in the consideration of ethical conditions, the advantages and the dangers attending the use of concrete illustration, the general syllabus *versus* the special topic treatment of material, the overshadowing influence of examining bodies, the poverty of material available for combining the teaching of history with an appreciation of poetry, the ever-present question of the advisability of making present-day conditions the point of departure or the objective point in the teaching of history, and the personal difficulties that confront any person seriously considering the vocation of a teacher of history. Mr. Keatinge has discussed all of these questions from the standpoint of the student of psychology, of ethics, of philosophy, and of history, as well as from that of the practical teacher of history, and the results of this discussion will be found most profitable to every teacher of history, in school and college alike.

The Leading Facts of American History. By D. H. Montgomery. [The Leading Facts of History Series.] (Boston and New York, Ginn and Company, 1910, pp. xiv, 400, xcviii. Revised edition.) In this edition the *Leading Facts* are included down to the last presidential election. Slight modifications have been made in some of the descriptive matter but the revision consists chiefly in the introduction of better illustrative material and improvement in the mechanical make-up.

But little attention has been paid to the demands of teachers that the space heretofore devoted to accounts of military engagements be decreased, since one-fourth of the book is still used for this purpose. Each colony is dignified by the regulation number of paragraphs.

The relation between history and geography and the bibliographies accompanying the several chapters will be helpful to teachers. Some of the literature suggested, however, such as Bancroft and the volumes of the *American Nation,* is beyond the grasp of pupils in the elementary schools. The language of the book itself is well suited to these pupils.

NOTE

On page 621 of our last number, in a review of the sixth volume of Dr. Avery's *History of the United States,* the reviewer in speaking of the loyalists of the Revolution says, "It is rather surprising to note that in the bibliography on that chapter Professor Van Tyne's well-known work on that subject is not named." The statement is misleading. Professor Van Tyne's *Loyalists in the American Revolution* is distinctly mentioned on page 448, against the number 55, and that number is referred to in the bibliography of the chapter in question. The reviewer is also disposed to admit that he spoke too technically in saying that "The formation of the Confederation . . . is disposed of in this large work in a brief paragraph" (p. 57). Though the account of the forming of that document is as brief as was stated, six pages elsewhere (pp. 157–163) are devoted to its terms.

Ed.

NOTES AND NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The first volume of the *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1908* will be issued soon after this number of the REVIEW. Work on the proof-sheets of the second volume (Texan Diplomatic Correspondence, II.) has begun.

Professor C. E. Carter's *Great Britain and the Illinois Country, 1763–1774*, Justin Winsor Prize Essay, has been delayed in printing, but is now about to appear.

The Carolina volume in the series *Original Narratives of Early American History*, besides the more ordinary and familiar pieces of the early history of the Carolinas, from Edward Bland to Archdale and Oldmixon, will contain the diary of Elder William Pratt, a member of the colony which went out from Dorchester, Massachusetts, to Dorchester, South Carolina, 1695–1696, a diary of which only a brief portion has previously been published; also Daniel Defoe's *Party-Tyranny*, and John Ash's "Present State", from Defoe's *Case of the Protestant Dissenters in Carolina*. These have never been reprinted; the originals are rare.

In the last number of this journal, page 494, Professor Theodore C. Smith of Williams College was listed as chairman of the Committee on the Justin Winsor Prize. We learn, however, that Professor Smith declined the appointment made at the Christmas meeting and that Professor Charles H. Hull has been persuaded to continue as chairman throughout the present year. Manuscripts submitted next September in competition for the prize should therefore be sent to him at Cornell University.

PERSONAL

William Graham Sumner, professor of social science in Yale University, where he had taught since 1872, died on April 12, at the age of sixty-nine. The earlier period of his teaching was occupied with economics and marked by important publications in American economic history, such as his *History of American Currency* (1874), *The Financier and the Finances of the American Revolution* (1892), and the *History of Banking in the United States* (1896). In more recent years he had devoted himself to sociology. His volume entitled *Folkways*, published in 1907, was a book of great value to historical students. Professor Sumner was a teacher of unrivalled force and clearness, and an influential and skilful writer.

Dr. Oskar Jäger, from 1865 to 1901 director of the Friedrich Wilhelm Gymnasium at Cologne, and later, honorary professor of pedagogy at the University of Bonn, died on March 2, aged seventy-nine years. Among his historical writings are popular general histories of Greece and Rome, *Die Punischen Kriege nach den Quellen Erzählt,* a *Weltgeschichte,* a *Geschichte der Neuesten Zeit vom Wiener Kongress bis zur Gegenwart,* which passed through twenty-five editions, and a *Deutsche Geschichte* issued last year. One of his pedagogical works, *The Teaching of History,* was translated into English in 1908.

Mr. C. H. McIlwain, preceptor at Princeton University, becomes professor of history in Bowdoin College in the place of Professor Allen Johnson. Mr. Fred Duncalf, instructor at the University of Texas, has been appointed assistant professor of history in the same institution.

Professor Sidney B. Fay of Dartmouth College has leave of absence for the academic year 1910–1911. The same is true of Miss Elizabeth K. Kendall, professor at Wellesley College. Mrs. Lois K. Mathews has been made associate professor at the same college.

At Columbia University, during the absence of Professor Sloane in the ensuing academic year, Professor Charles D. Hazen of Smith College will lecture. Professor William A. Dunning has leave of absence for the first half of the year. Dr. Carlton H. Hayes has been made assistant professor in the university.

Professor William E. Lingelbach of the University of Pennsylvania has leave of absence for the first half of the coming academic year.

Dr. Julian P. Bretz has been promoted to the full rank of professor in Cornell University.

Dr. Clarence E. Carter, hitherto assistant professor in the University of Illinois, has been appointed professor of history in Miami University.

Professors W. C. Abbott, E. W. Dow, and F. H. Hodder are to give instruction in the University of Chicago during the present summer quarter.

Professor Carl R. Fish has been elevated to the full rank of professor in the University of Wisconsin; Professor Frederic L. Paxson of the University of Michigan has accepted a call to the same university.

Dr. John C. Parish, research assistant in the State Historical Society of Iowa, will occupy the chair of American history and political science at Beloit College for the year 1910–1911, during the absence of Professor Way.

GENERAL

The *History Teacher's Magazine,* whose progress and success it is a pleasure to note, announces for its second volume, beginning with September, a series of articles by competent authorities on practical aids to history teaching—lantern slides, the syllabus, the time chart, the historical atlas, the text-book, pictures, and other illustrative material. The issues for April and May contain a full statement of the courses in history offered in the summer schools of the various universities for the sessions of 1910.

The *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* is now published by the house of Teubner, Leipzig, and in a new form, and under the editorship of G. Steinhausen, with the collaboration of Fr. von Bezold, G. Dehio, W. Dilthey, H. Finke, W. Goetz, K. Hampe, O. Lauffer, K. Neumann, A. Schulte, E. Schwartz, and E. Troeltsch. This distinguished group of historians hope to make their journal the central organ of work in the field of general (*gesamte*) *Kulturgeschichte.* In addition to articles and minor notices, an important feature of the journal will be reports by competent specialists on the literature of various divisions of the above-mentioned field.

It is proposed to organize in London a Society of Nautical Antiquaries, which would issue a journal devoted to such matters as the design and equipment of ships; the language and customs of the sea; nautical flags, dress, and relics. Those who favor the project are asked to communicate with the acting secretary, Mr. L. G. Carr Laughton, 5, Ruvigny Mansions, Putney, S. W.

Professor Frithiof Nansen has completed a large work on the exploration of the Arctic and Northern regions from the earliest times through the sixteenth century, in which he describes various travels and traces the growth of the geographical ideas they suggested. The work, which will be illustrated, will be published in several languages.

The Hispanic Society of America has lately (New York, 1910) published *The Spanish Stage in the Time of Lope de Vega,* by Mr. Hugo A. Rennert, and *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati,* by Dr. Adolph F. Bandelier.

The *Revue Historique* for March–April includes a survey by L. Hourticq of recent publications on the history of art.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: W. Goetz, *Geschichte und Kulturgeschichte* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, VIII. 1); Vicomte d'Avenel, *L'Évolution des Dépenses Privées depuis Sept Siècles,* III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 15); H. Rolin, *La Science et l'Art de la Colonisation* (Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles, November).

ANCIENT HISTORY

Professor John Garstang, who has been conducting excavations on the Hittite site of Sakje-Geuzi in Asia Minor, is bringing out through Messrs. Constable, London, an illustrated history of *The Land of the Hittites,* written in the light of the latest discoveries.

Recent additions to Egyptological literature are a very readable *Life and Times of Akhnaton, Pharaoh of Egypt,* 1375–1358 B.C., by A. E. P. Weigall, Chief Inspector of Antiquities for Upper Egypt (London, Blackwood, 1910, pp. xii, 288); *The Tomb of Queen Tiyi,* by Theodore M. Davis, with contributions by G. Elliot Smith, Gaston Maspero, E. Ayrton, and G. Daresay (London, Constable); and *Two Theban Queens* (London, Kegan Paul), by Dr. Colin Campbell, a memoir on the tombs of Queen Nefert-ari and Queen Ty-ti, as Dr. Campbell prefers to spell her name.

In the current number of the Royal Asiatic Society's *Journal,* Dr. Pinches translates the more important parts of a large tablet, recently acquired by the British Museum, inscribed in the reign of Sennacherib with an account of his wars and of his architectural work in Nineveh.

The house of Teubner, Leipzig, is publishing as part of the comprehensive work, *Die Kultur der Gegenwart,* two volumes entitled *Staat und Gesellschaft Europas im Altertum,* of which the first, by Professor U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, treats of the Greeks, and the second, by the late Professor B. Niese, of the Romans.

Recent French publications relating to ancient Greece are reviewed by G. Fougères in the May–June number of the *Revue Historique,* and recent publications other than French, relating to Latin antiquities, are similarly noticed by M. Ch. Lécrivain in the March–April number of the same journal.

In the Revue Générale of the February number of the *Revue de Synthèse Historique* M. J. Toutain discusses a few of the most significant writings of the last fifteen years on the history of the religions of Greece and Rome, and the two different tendencies—the historical and the exegetical—corresponding to the different methods—the historical and the comparative—of the two groups of workers in this field. The postulate of the latter school, lately set forth in M. G. Foucart's *La Méthode Comparative dans l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris, 1909)—that in the domain of religious history the manifestations of the human spirit in different peoples are identical and obey constant laws—is regarded by M. Toutain as a psychological hypothesis rather than as an historical fact.

Le Procès de Phidias dans les Chroniques d'Apollodore (Geneva, Kündig, 1910, pp. 50) contains a transcription and commentary by M. J. Nicole of an unpublished papyrus of the Geneva collection.

P. Foucart's *Les Athéniens dans la Chersonèse de Thrace au IVe Siècle* has been separately printed from the *Mémoires* of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, XXXVIII. 2 (Paris, Klincksieck).

An elaborate annotated edition of Strabo's *Geography*, with an introduction on the life, travels, and sources of Strabo, a translation of the *Geography*, and extended notes, will be published by the State University of Iowa under the general editorship of Dr. Charles H. Weller.

Die Weltanschauung des Tacitus (1910, pp. 90) is the subject of a paper by R. von Pöhlmann, published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences.

The thirteenth heft of the *Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen*, edited by Professors Brandenburg, Seeliger, and Wilcken (Leipzig, Quelle and Meyer), is M. Gelzer's *Studien zur Byzantinischen Verwaltung Aegyptens* (1909, pp. 107).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: A. G. Keller, *The Study of Homeric Religion* (American Journal of Sociology, March); E. Pais, *La Conquista Sabina di Roma verso la Metà del V. Secolo av. Cr.; Intorno all'Età della Stazione Archeologica di Abini in Sardegna; La Pretesa Scoperta della Città Preistorica di Abini in Sardegna ed il Signor Hilley von Marat* (Studi Storici per l'Antichità Classica, II. 3, 4); G. Niccolini, *Le Relazioni fra Roma e la Lega Achea* (*ibid.*); L. Pareti, *Intorno al* Περι Γῆς *di Apollodoro* (Reale Accademia delle Scienze di Torino, 1909–1910).

EARLY CHURCH HISTORY

In the March–April number of the *Revue Historique* M. Ch. Guignebert, professor of the early history of Christianity at the Sorbonne, reviews recent works concerning Christian antiquities.

A study by the same author, entitled *La Primauté de Pierre et la Venue de Pierre à Rome* (Paris, Nourry, 1909, pp. xiv, 392), has been made on the basis of a minute critical examination of the original texts.

The Ring of Pope Xystus (London, Williams and Norgate), a collection of aphorisms in use among the Christian communities of the second century, has been translated from the original Greek by F. C. Conybeare.

The Syriac text of the richly documented commentary of Dionysius bar Salibi on the Apocalypse, the Acts, and the Epistles, has been issued in the *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*, Scriptores Syri, series 2, volume CI. (Paris, Gigord). The Latin translation of this volume is in press.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Emerton, *The Religious Environment of Early Christianity* (Harvard Theological Review, April); H. H. Howorth, *The Influence of St. Jerome on the Canon of the Western Church*, II. (Journal of Theological Studies, April).

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

In an article in *Études,* April 5, entitled "Bulletin de l'Histoire du Moyen Age", A. Décisier reviews recent works in that field.

The fourth and fifth volumes of H. K. Mann's *The Lives of the Popes in the Early Middle Ages* have been recently published by Kegan Paul, London.

Professor Paul Vinogradoff's *Roman Law in Medieval Europe* has been brought out in Harper's *Library of Living Thought.*

Die Wahl Johanns XXII. (1910, pp. 82), a contribution to the history of the Avignon papacy by Dr. J. Asal, appears as heft 20 in the series of *Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte* published by Professors Below, Finke, and Meinecke (Berlin, Rothschild).

The first volume of the *Vatikanische Quellen zur Geschichte der Päpstlichen Hof- und Finanzverwaltung, 1316–1378* (Paderborn, Schöningh), issued by the Görresgesellschaft in connection with its Historical Institute at Rome, relates to *Die Einnahmen der Apostolischen Kammer unter Johann XXII.* and is edited by Dr. E. Goeller (1910, pp. xvi, 782). Another recent publication of this society is a study of *Acht und Bann im Reichsrecht des Mittelalters,* by Dr. E. Eichmann of the German University of Prague.

L. J. Paetow's University of Pennsylvania thesis, *The Arts Course at Medieval Universities with Special Reference to Grammar and Rhetoric* (University Studies of the University of Illinois, January, 1910), is of unusual interest. The author shows why the ancient classics were neglected at medieval universities; describes the "new" grammar and the decline of the study of language at the University of Paris and at Italian universities in spite of the activities of John Garland; the exceptional conditions at the universities of southern France where grammar was especially cultivated; and the neglect of the old-fashioned rhetoric and the interest in the practical *ars dictaminis.* The main object is to show that the darkness in respect to the ancient classics was deepest just before the Humanistic dawn.

J. Français traces the history of *L'Église et la Sorcellerie* (Paris, Nourry, 1910, pp. 272), giving the complete texts of the most important documents.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. A. Stückelberg, *Heiligengeographie* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, VIII. 1); R. Sternfeld, *Das Konklave von 1280 und die Wahl Martins IV.* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXXI. 1); M. Buchner, *Die Reichslehenstaxen vor dem Erlass der Goldenen Bulle: Ihre Entstehung und Verteilung unter die Reichshofbeamten* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, March).

MODERN HISTORY

The fourth volume of E. Rott's *Histoire de la Représentation Diplomatique de la France auprès des Cantons Suisses, de leurs Alliés et de leurs Confédérés* (Paris, Alcan, 1910) extends from the treaty of Monzon, 1626, to the open declaration of war by France against Spain, 1635.

Quétif and Echard's *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum,* which was brought down only to the year 1700, is being issued in a revised and enlarged edition by Father Coulon, who will describe writings by members of the Dominican order from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The first two fascicles of the portion dealing with the eighteenth century have recently been published through Picard, Paris. The revision of the old volumes, dealing with earlier centuries, will be undertaken last.

The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History at the Johns Hopkins University were delivered this year by Dr. Hiram Bingham of Yale University, his subject being the Scots Darien Company: an International Episode.

Commander E. P. Statham's *Privateers and Privateering* (London, Hutchinson) is an account of the lives and adventures of British, French, and American privateers, mainly of the eighteenth century.

The two volumes, by M. Ostrogorski, *Democracy and the Party System,* first published some eight years ago and reviewed in this journal (VIII. 519–521), are to be issued by Macmillan in an abridged edition which will be a condensation of the old work with the addition of much new matter.

The John Lane Company will publish a translation of Mr. Houston S. Chamberlain's celebrated German work, *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century.*

The *Mémoires du Commandant Persat,* 1806–1844 (Paris, Plon), which have been edited from the archives of the Prince de la Moskowa, with an introduction and notes by M. G. Schlumberger, are a recital of military adventures in various parts of the world, including America, where Persat fought under Bolivar.

Señor Jerónimo Bécker has published a volume on the *Relaciones Comerciales entre España y Francia durante el Siglo XIX.* (Madrid, F. Fé, 1910, pp. 235).

The second volume of Philippson's *Neueste Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes* (Leipzig, Fock, 1910, pp. 358) is concerned with central and western Europe from 1875 to 1908, the internal history of Judaism, including the great international Jewish associations, Zionism, the economic and social life of the Jews, etc., and a summary of the history

of the Orient, especially of the Turkish Orient, from 1830. The third volume will relate to Russia and Poland.

A translation by Oberstleutnant Ullrich of the second volume, *Der Festungs-Krieg,* of *Die Verteidigung von Port Arthur,* by V. Schwarz and Romanowski of the Russian General Staff, is announced by Siegismund, Berlin.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: R. Ferry, *L'Éthiopie et l'Expansion Européenne en Afrique,* I., II. (Annales des Sciences Politiques, January, March); R. B. Mowat, *The Mission of Sir Thomas Roe to Vienna, 1641–2* (English Historical Review, April); A. Auzoux, *La France et Mascate aux Dix-Huitième et Dix-Neuvième Siècles,* II. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIV. 2); *Society and Politics in the Nineteenth Century* (Quarterly Review, April); Le Comte de Choiseul, *Lettres Particulières du Roi Louis-Philippe et du Prince de Talleyrand au Ministre des Affaires Étrangères—Guerre de la Belgique contre la Hollande, 1831* (Revue des Deux Mondes, March 15); G. Goyau, *Bismarck et la Papauté: La Guerre, 1870–1872,* I.–III. (*ibid.,* January 1, February 15, April 15); N. D. Harris, *European Intervention in Morocco* (Yale Law Journal, May).

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

Professor N. M. Trenholme has prepared *An Outline of English History* for high schools and colleges (Boston, Ginn and Company, pp. xii, 122), based on Cheyney's *Short History of England* and intended to be used as a companion to that text-book. Each period or section is analyzed in a way to suggest the most essential features. At the end of each is a series of review questions. References are given only to Cheyney's *Short History* and to the same author's *Readings in English History,* but there is a list of select reference-books, six pages in extent, and a pronouncing index of English proper names.

Mr. J. Horace Round's two-volume work, *Peerage and Pedigree* (London, Nisbet, 1910, pp. xxviii, 362, 408), contains a number of studies, mostly devoted to the exposure of genealogical imposture. The Muddle of the Law, Some Saxon Houses, the Great Carington Imposture, the Willoughby d'Eresby Case and the Rise of the Berties, and "Heraldry and the Gent", are among the articles included.

The excavation of the Roman military works at Newstead near Melrose, carried on for nearly five years by the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, has brought to light a large camp and a permanent fort, evidently occupied at several periods from the time of Agricola to that of Antoninus Pius. The finds, which are remarkable for their number, variety, and historical interest, are the subject of Mr. James Curle's work, *The Fort of Newstead,* which contains more than one thousand illustrations and is published by the above-named society through Maclehose, Glasgow.

Professor Charles Oman has contributed to the seven-volume history of England which he is editing, the first volume, *England before the Norman Conquest* (London, Methuen, 1910, pp. xxi, 679). Volumes dealing with later periods have been previously published.

Longman's Historical Illustrations: England in the Middle Ages (New York, Longmans, 1909, 1910) consists of four portfolios, each containing a sheet of descriptive text, and a dozen sheets of drawings from old manuscripts, buildings, etc., representing chiefly the costumes and architecture of the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries respectively.

Dr. C. H. McIlwain of Princeton University is publishing through the Yale University Press a work entitled *The High Court of Parliament and its Supremacy: an Historical Essay on the Boundaries between Legislation and Adjudication in England,* which goes back to the origin of Parliament. The work will also be published by the Oxford University Press.

Sir William Anson has now brought out a fourth edition of the first volume of his justly celebrated treatise, *The Law and Custom of the Constitution* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909, pp. xxvi, 404). This volume deals with the Parliament. Pains have been taken to make use of the various historical books on the subject which have appeared since 1886, while the author has of course incorporated the results of historical change during that period, and of the action of the House of Commons, of which during many of these intervening years he has been a distinguished and useful member.

The second volume of *The Records of the City of Norwich* (Norwich, Jarrold, 1910, pp. cxlviii, 444) has been compiled and edited by Mr. J. C. Tingey, who collaborated with the Rev. William Hudson in producing the first volume of this excellent work. The extracts in the second volume illustrate the economic and social history of the city, and this subject is dealt with in the long introduction.

Professor Erich Marcks of Heidelberg, among whose previous writings is a valuable sketch of the relations between *Deutschland und England in der Grossen Europäischen Krisen seit der Reformation,* has now brought out a work entitled *Die Einheitlichkeit der Englischen Auslandspolitik von 1500 bis zur Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, Cotta).

Among the more important recent works of biographical interest are Lady Biddulph's memoir of *Charles Philip Yorke, Fourth Earl of Hardwicke* (London, Smith, Elder, 1910, pp. 320); the third and fourth volumes, covering the years 1823–1834, of Lord Broughton's *Recollections of a Long Life* (London, Murray, 1910); and *An Eighteenth Century Correspondence* (London, Murray, 1910), which includes the letters of the elder Pitt, the Lytteltons and the Grenvilles, Charles Jenkinson, and others to Sanderson Miller of Radway.

The first volume of *The Journal of the Rev. John Wesley,* which has been enlarged from original manuscripts, with notes from unpublished diaries, under the editorial charge of the Rev. Nehemiah Curnock, has come from the press of Eaton and Mains. The journal will run to six volumes.

Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* has been issued in a two-volume edition in *Everyman's Library* (London, Dent; New York, Dutton), with an introduction by Professor Edwin R. A. Seligman, which admirably though briefly brings into clearness the place of Adam Smith's great work in the history of economic thought.

The struggle between the crown and the Whig party from the accession of George III. to the downfall of the first Rockingham administration is elucidated by Mr. D. A. Winstanley in his book entitled *Personal and Party Government* (Cambridge University Press, 1910, pp. 322).

The second volume of the important history of the British Customs Department, *The King's Customs: an Account of Maritime Revenue and Contraband Traffic in England, Scotland, and Ireland,* by Henry Atton and H. H. Holland (London, Murray), deals with the period from 1800 to 1855, and presents much fresh information on such matters as the commercial history of the colonies, smuggling, and the working of the old protective laws.

Sir Harry Wilson, late colonial secretary of the Orange River Colony, is preparing a biography of Thomas, seventh earl of Elgin, from papers in the possession of the present earl and from the Foreign Office records. Since the seventh Earl of Elgin represented his country at the courts of Vienna, Brussels, Berlin, and Constantinople during the period 1790–1803, his biography will be of great historical interest. The section of the work relating to the Elgin marbles will be contributed by Mr. A. H. Smith of the British Museum.

From the authoritative pen of Mr. Julian S. Corbett comes a work on *The Campaign of Trafalgar* (Longmans), which utilizes new material and gives a full account of the operations from the accession of Pitt to power in 1804 until his death.

The Letters of John Stuart Mill, edited with an introduction by Hugh S. R. Elliott, and published by Longmans in two volumes, extend from 1829 to 1873 and are of political as well as of literary and philosophical interest.

The fourth and concluding volume of the official *History of the War in South Africa* (London, Hurst and Blackett) has been compiled by Captain M. H. Grant and "forms in itself a complete history of the guerilla stage of the war and of Lord Kitchener's administration".

The History of Gruffydd ap Cynan (pp. 204), the Welsh text, with translation, introduction, and notes, by A. Jones, forms the ninth number of the Historical Series, published by the University of Manchester.

M. P. Rooseboom's extended work, *The Scottish Staple in the Netherlands* (1910, pp. 500), is published by Luzac, London.

Mr. D. A. Chart's volume, *Ireland from the Union to Catholic Emancipation,* deals with social, economic, and administrative rather than with political conditions, and is based largely on unpublished documents in the Irish State Paper Office.

British government publications: *Calendar of the Patent Rolls,* Edward III., vol X., 1354–1358; *Reports of the Historical MSS. Commission,* on the manuscripts of Mrs. Stopford-Sackville, of Drayton House, Northamptonshire, II.; W. L. Grant and James Munro, *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series,* II., 1680–1720 (London, Wyman, 1910, pp. xl, 918).

Other documentary publications: C. Plummer, *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1910, pp. cxcii, 273, 391); W. Foster, *The English Factories in India,* IV., 1630–1633 (*ibid.,* pp. xxxix, 354); C. T. Atkinson, *Letters and Papers relating to the First Dutch War, 1652–1654,* IV. (Navy Records Society, 1910, pp. 396).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Nys, *Pages de l'Histoire du Droit en Angleterre,* II. (Revue de Droit International, 1910, 1); *The English Peasant* (Edinburgh Review, April); C. Perkins, *The Knights Templars in the British Isles* (English Historical Review, April); C. H. Jenkinson, *The First Parliament of Edward I.* (*ibid.*); Chalfant Robinson, *Was King Edward the Second a Degenerate?* (American Journal of Insanity, January); R. G. Marsden, *Early Prize Jurisdiction and Prize Law in England,* II. (English Historical Review, April); W. Busch, *Englands Kriege im Jahre 1513: Guinegate und Flodden* (Historische Vierteljahrschrift, March); J. Barnett, *Sir Richard Hawkins: the Complete Seaman* (Cornhill Magazine, April); H. L. Gray, *Yeoman Farming in Oxfordshire from the Sixteenth Century to the Nineteenth* (Quarterly Journal of Economics, February); *The Last Years of the Protectorate* (Edinburgh Review, April); W. Michael, *Walpole als Premierminister* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 3); Delavaud, *Les Origines Norvégiennes des Archipels Écossais, 872–1667* (Annales des Sciences Politiques, March); *A Century of Scottish Life* (Edinburgh Review, April); Mrs. J. R. Green, *The Irish Parliament in the Seventeenth Century* (Scottish Historical Review, April).

FRANCE

The larger portion of the Grand Prix Gobert has been awarded to M. Christian Pfister for his *Histoire de Nancy.* Of the Prix Thérouanne, 1000 francs are given to M. Le Moy for his *Parlement de Bretagne et le Pouvoir Royal au Dix-huitième Siècle.*

Professor R. Holtzmann has contributed a *Französische Verfassungsgeschichte von der Mitte des 9. Jahrhunderts bis zur Revolution* (1910, pp. xi, 543) to the excellent *Handbuch der Mittelalterlichen und Neueren Geschichte*, edited by Professors von Below and Meinecke (Munich, Oldenbourg).

M. Léonce Celier's *Catalogue des Actes des Évêques du Mans jusqu'à la Fin du XIII^e Siècle* (Paris, Champion, 1910, pp. lxxvii, 403) describes carefully some 762 documents, and is preceded by a learned introduction on the manuscripts, and by a systematic treatise on the diplomatic of the bishops of Le Mans.

M. Claude Faure's *Étude sur l'Administration et l'Histoire du Comtat-Venaissin du XIII^e au XV^e Siècle (1229–1417)*, the third volume in the series of *Recherches Historiques et Documents sur Avignon, le Comtat-Venaissin et la Principauté d'Orange*, is based chiefly on the accounts of the treasurer of the Comtat-Venaissin, preserved in the Vatican archives in the section Camera Apostolica and in the Registers of Avignon. The administration of justice and finance naturally occupies the chief place, but there are chapters on the political history, and an appendix of documents.

Professor Hans Prutz has published in the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian Academy of Sciences (1910, Munich, Franz) a study of *Jacques Coeurs Beziehungen zur Römischen Kurie* (pp. 66).

M. S. Rocheblave's work on *Agrippa d'Aubigné* (Paris, Hachette), which treats of the reformer both as soldier and as writer, has been awarded a portion of the Prix Montyon of the French Academy.

The Marquis Calmon Maison has written, partly from unpublished archive material, a substantial life of *L'Amiral d'Estaing, 1729–1794* (Paris, Calmann-Lévy), commander of the fleet sent to aid the Americans against Great Britain.

M. Maurice Caudel, professor at the École Libre des Sciences Politiques, has brought out through Colin, Paris, a work entitled *Nos Libertés Politiques: Origines, Évolution, État Actuel* (pp. 470), which begins with an account of preliminaries to the development of political liberties in the Ancien Régime, and after tracing their later history concludes with a section on Le Réveil des Libertés: Les Libertés en 1875, La Reconstruction des Libertés, La Forme des Libertés, Le Jeu des Libertés.

Professor William M. Sloane's *Napoleon* is soon to be brought out by the Century Company in a library edition of four volumes, revised and somewhat enlarged.

Two volumes of the *Collection of Documents for the Economic History of the French Revolution*, published subsequently to those reviewed in our January number, pp. 377–384, deal respectively with the *cahiers* of the *bailliages* of Troyes and of Bar-sur-Seine (first volume), and with

the *cahiers* of the *sénéchaussée* of Rennes (first volume). The former work is edited by J.-J. Vernier. In the latter, the editors, Professor H. Sée and M. A. Lesort, have subjected the *cahiers* to a critical examination of form and contents that reveals the precise extent of the originality of each document.

In the *Revue Historique* of March–April, M. H. Sée has an article on *La Rédaction et la Valeur Historique des Cahiers de Paroisses pour les États Généraux de 1789,* in which he points out that the *cahiers* have more value as objective evidence, *e. g.,* of the abuses of the seigneurial régime, than as subjective evidence of the peasants' conception of their own condition.

L'Esprit Financier des Girondins, by M. Bernard Combes de Patris (Paris, A. Rousseau, 1909), an interesting account of the attitude of the Girondists towards the financial conceptions of their times, includes also a study of the economic theories of the period.

From a large mass of unpublished material, M. Bernard de Lacombe has written a work on *La Vie Privée de Talleyrand* (Paris, Plon) which includes an account of his sojourn in America.

During the Reign of Terror (New York, Sturgis and Walton, 1910, pp. 238), Mrs. Grace Dalrymple Elliott's journal of her life during the French Revolution, has been issued in the *Court Series of French Memoirs.* It is not a translation as stated on the title page, but is reprinted from the original English edition.

The Bourbon Restoration (Houghton, Mifflin) by Major John R. Hall is a detailed account of the political history of France from 1814 to 1830.

The second part of M. de Marcère's *Histoire de la République, 1876–1879* (Paris, Plon), bears the subtitle *Le Seize Mai et la Fin du Septennat.*

Documentary publications: W. Wiederhold, *Papsturkunden in Frankreich. V. Berry, Bourbonnais, Nivernais und Auxerrois* (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1910, Beiheft); Prince Murat, *Lettres et Documents pour servir à l'Histoire de Joachim Murat, 1767–1815,* IV. *Campagne d'Autriche, 1805: Gouvernement de Paris: Duchés de Clèves et Berg: Grand-Duché de Berg: Campagne de Prusse, 1806* (Paris, Plon); J. Thomas, *Correspondance Inédite de La Fayette, 1793–1801* (Paris, Delagrave, *s.d.*); R. Vallery-Radot, *Correspondance du Duc d'Aumale et de Cuvillier-Fleury,* I., 1840–1848 (Paris, Plon); Princess Radziwill, *Duchesse de Dino (puis Duchesse de Talleyrand et de Sagan): Chronique de 1831 à 1862,* IV., 1851–1862 (Paris, Plon).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: H. Prentout, *La Normandie,* III. *Les Régions de la France,* VII. (Revue de Synthèse Historique, Feb-

ruary); Ch. de Lasteyrie, *L'Impôt sur le Revenu sous l'Ancien Régime* (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1); E. Levasseur, *Aperçu de l'Histoire des Monnaies et du Commerce d'Argent en France,* I. (Revue d'Économie Politique, March); H. Sée, *Les Classes Rurales en Bretagne du XVI^e^ Siècle à la Révolution,* concl. (Annales de Bretagne, November); L. Febvre, *L'Application du Concile de Trente et l'Excommunication pour Dettes en Franche-Comté,* I., II. (Revue Historique, March-April, May–June); E. Saulnier, *Le Cardinal de Bourbon entre les Ducs de Guise et de Nevers, 1585–1586* (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIV. 2); A. Arnauné, *Le Système Commercial de Colbert,* I., II. (Annales des Sciences Politiques, January, March); L. Batiffol, *Louis XIII. et le Duc de Luynes,* concl. (Revue Historique, March–April); *Histories of the French Revolution* (Edinburgh Review, April); Ch. Bournisien, *Conséquences Économiques et Sociales de la Vente des Biens Nationaux,* concl. (Revue des Questions Historiques, April); L. Froger, *La Guerre de la Chouannerie de Janvier à Juin 1795* (*ibid.*); P. Montarlot, *Louis Bonaparte, Roi de Hollande, après son Abdication* (*ibid.*); G. Bourgin, *Santa-Rosa et la France, 1821–1822,* I., II. (Revue Historique, March–April, May–June); P. Muret, *Émile Ollivier et le Duc de Gramont les 12 et Juillet 1870,* I. (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, March-April); H. Welschinger, *La Captivité de Napoléon III. à Wilhelmshöhe,* I., II. (Revue des Deux Mondes, April 1, April 15).

ITALY AND SPAIN

M. René Poupardin contributes to the May–June number of the *Revue Historique* a review of the recent literature relating to the medieval history of Italy.

Miss Nora Duff's life of *Matilda of Tuscany* (Dutton) is a scholarly work of Guelf proclivity.

A new series on the *Italian States* to be edited by Edward Armstrong and R. L. Douglas has been inaugurated by a scholarly *History of Perugia* (London, Methuen, 1910), by Mr. William Heywood. The purpose has been to embody the latest results of research, and abundant references to authorities are included. Perugia has been studied in its relation to Italy and not simply as a separate unit.

Madame Alethea Wiel, who has a volume on *Venice* in the *Story of the Nations* series, has published through Murray an interesting work on *The Navy of Venice* (1910).

Messrs. Allen, London, announce a *History of Venice in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,* by F. C. Hodgson, fellow of King's College, Cambridge.

Reformation und Inquisition in Italien um die Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts is the subject of a large work which G. Buschbell is bringing out through Schöningh, Paderborn.

The national edition of *L'Opera di Galileo Galilei,* which has been in course of publication during twenty years and embraces a correspondence of 4200 letters besides scientific and literary writings and biographical documents, has been concluded by the issue of the twentieth volume, containing indexes which fully analyze the subjects treated in the work and refer to 1600 personal names.

Venice in the Eighteenth Century (London, Chatto and Windus, 1910, pp. 280), a translation of the work of Philippe Monnier which was crowned by the French Academy, is a study of the life and pleasures of the people.

The Comitato Nazionale per la Storia del Risorgimento, organized in 1909, has for its president Senator Gaspare Finali, president of the Court of Cassation, and numbers among its nineteen members Ernesto Nathan, the present syndic of Rome, Professors Alessandro D'Ancona, Boselli, Martini, Abba, Pitré, and Casini, Marquis Emilio Visconti-Venosta, and Cav. H. Nelson Gay. The objects of the committee are (1) to establish in Rome, in the monument to Victor Emanuel, a museum, archives, and a national library of the Risorgimento; (2) to promote Risorgimento museums and archives in the chief towns and cities of Italy; (3) to prepare and issue a bibliography; (4) to publish documents; and (5) to direct special works for illustrating the most important material. The committee already possesses many collections of invaluable manuscripts, including the Crispi papers, the Jessie White Mario papers, Mayor Nathan's Mazzini manuscripts, and others, including the Pepe correspondence. There is a possibility that the vast Risorgimento collection of books and documents in the National Library at Rome may be transferred to the charge of this committee as soon as the quarters in the royal monument are ready. At a recent meeting the committee chose a few foreign corresponding members, among whom are George M. Trevelyan (England), Professors Harnack and Delbrück (Germany), and William Roscoe Thayer (United States).

A biography and bibliography of *Florida Blanca,* by A. Baquero (1909, pp. 101), has been published by the successors of Nogués, Murcia.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Baldasseroni, *Per i Nostri Archivi* (Archivio Storico Italiano, 1910, 1); P. Kehr, *Nachträge zu den Papsturkunden Italiens,* III. (Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1909, 4); H. Finke, *Dante als Historiker* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 3); A. Vandal, *Le Roi et la Reine de Naples, 1808–1812,* I.–III. (Revue des Deux Mondes, February 1, 15, March 1); P. Molmenti, *Carteggi Casanoviani* (Archivio Storico Italiano, 1910, 1); H. Finke, *Die Beziehungen der Aragonesischen Könige zur Literatur, Wissenschaft und Kunst im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte,

VIII. 1); J. Martin, *La Préparation de l'Armada,* II. (Revue d'Histoire Diplomatique, XXIV. 2).

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, AND SWITZERLAND

Recent titles in the *Abhandlungen zur Mittleren und Neueren Geschichte* edited by Professors Below, Finke, and Meinecke (Berlin, Rothschild) are *Die Krämer in Süddeutschen Städten bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* by Dr. H. Eckert (pp. xii, 89); *Kronrat und Reichsherrschaft im 13. und 14. Jahrhundert,* by Dr. V. Samanek (pp. x, 204); *Die Öffentliche Meinung in Deutschland über das Preussische Wehrgesetz von 1814 während der Jahren 1814–1819,* by Dr. A. Mürmann (pp. xvii, 104); and *Die Deutschen Politischen Flüchtlinge in Strassburg von 1830–1849,* by Dr. O. Wiltberger (pp. xii, 216).

H. Bächtold is publishing through W. Rothschild, Berlin-Wilmersdorf, an extensive work on *Der Norddeutsche Handel im 12. und beginnenden 13. Jahrhundert.*

Dr. Hans Liebmann's *Deutsches Land und Volk nach Italienischen Berichterstattern der Reformationszeit* (1910, pp. vii, 243) constitutes the eighty-first heft of the *Historische Studien,* published by Dr. E. Ebering, Berlin.

Unpublished sermons, dating from 1524 to 1529, by the German reformer John Bugenhagen, have been edited by Dr. G. Buchwald and are being issued through Heinsius, Leipzig, as volume thirteen in the series, *Quellen und Darstellungen aus der Geschichte des Reformationsjahrhunderts.*

Students of agrarian history will be interested in the manual on agriculture, cattle breeding, etc., in the electorate of Saxony, dating from about the year 1569, the time of the Elector August, edited by H. Ermisch and R. Wuttke among the writings of the Saxon Historical Commission under the title *Haushaltung in Vorwerken* (Berlin, Teubner, 1910, pp. xlviii, 316).

In the May–June number of the *Revue Historique,* Paul Darmstaedter presents the first part of a review of recent works on the history of Germany from 1648 to the present.

After an interval of two years two volumes have been added to that division of the *Acta Borussica* (Berlin, Parey) which deals with the state administration of Prussia in the eighteenth century. The first half of the fifth band consists of documents dating from January, 1730, through 1735, edited by G. Schmoller and W. Stolze (1910, pp. viii, 928); the tenth band, of documents from January, 1754, to August, 1756, edited by G. Schmoller and O. Hintze (1910, pp. xi, 674).

The first volume (1828–1864) of *Prinz Friedrich Karl von Preussen: Denkwürdigkeiten aus seinem Leben* (Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags-

Anstalt (1910, pp. 377), has been edited by W. Foerster, with the sanction of the emperor, and chiefly from the literary remains of the prince. The work will be complete in two volumes.

Karl Weller has brought out in the Göschen collection an excellent summary of *Württembergische Geschichte* (Leipzig, Göschen, 1909, pp. 176) from the prehistoric epoch to the year 1909.

Under the title *Inhaltverzeichnis der Mitteilungen des Instituts für Oesterreichische Geschichtsforschung, 1900–1909* (pp. lxxii), Kaspar Schwarz has brought out an index to volumes XXI.–XXX. and complementary volumes V.–VIII. of the *Mitteilungen*.

From the authoritative pen of Professor Karl Dändliker comes a volume entitled *Auszug aus der Schweizergeschichte* (Zurich, Schulthess, 1910, pp. viii, 172).

The second part of tome XXXI., second series, tome XI., of the *Mémoires et Documents*, published by the Society of History and Archaeology of Geneva (Geneva, Jullien, 1909, pp. 209–352), is almost entirely devoted to a monograph by E. Favre on *Gaspard Favre et sa Donation aux Fugitifs en 1556*, an episode in the history of the opposition to Calvin at Geneva. More than fifty pages of documents discovered at the time of the demolition of Gaspard Favre's house in 1894 are printed.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Fr. Kern, *Analekten zur Geschichte des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts:* III. *Die Auswärtige Politik Rudolfs von Habsburg*, IV. *Neue Stauferdiplome*, V. *Frankreich und die Friesen* (Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung, XXXI. 1); W. Stieda, *Eine Jenaische Studentenrechnung des 18. Jahrhunderts* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, VIII. 1); C. d'Eschevannès, *La Campagne de 1761 en Westphalie, d'après les Lettres du Maréchal de Crissé au Prince de Saxe*, I. (Revue Historique, May–June); A. Wahl, *Beiträge zur Deutschen Parteigeschichte im 19. Jahrhundert* (Historische Zeitschrift, CIV. 3); Heinrich Ritter von Srbik, *Abenteurer am Hofe Kaiser Leopold I., Alchemie, Technik und Merkantilismus* (Archiv für Kulturgeschichte, VIII. 1); E. Chapuisat, *La Municipalité de Genève pendant la Domination Française: Extraits de ses Registres et de sa Correspondance, 1798–1814*, I. (Geneva, Kündig, pp. clxiv, 360).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM

The *Bulletin* of the Belgian Royal Historical Commission, LXXVIII. 3, contains a full analysis of the Farnese archives at Parma and Naples, with reference chiefly to the economic history of the Low Countries, by Mr. L. Van der Essen. The next number is chiefly occupied with the transactions of the *séance solennelle* celebrating the commission's seventy-fifth anniversary, including a valuable review of

its distinguished labors, by Professor Henri Pirenne, and a lecture on "Notre Nom National", by Professor Godefroid Kurth.

Professor H. Pirenne of Ghent has contributed to Flammarion's *Bibliothèque de Philosophie Scientifique* a volume entitled *Les Anciennes Démocraties des Pays-Bas.*

E. Gossart's new book, *Espagnols et Flamands au XVI^e Siècle: Charles-Quint Roi d'Espagne* (Brussels, Lamertin, 1910, pp. viii, 277), is a companion volume to his work published five years ago, *L'Établissement du Régime Espagnol dans les Pays-Bas et l'Insurrection,* under Philip II.

A new biography of *William the Silent* by Miss Ruth Putnam will be published in the autumn in the *Heroes of the Nation* series (Putnams). A new edition of her larger life of the same statesman will shortly appear.

The second volume of Professor Paul Hymans's authoritative life of the great Belgian statesman *Frère-Orban* is entitled *La Belgique et le Second Empire* (Brussels, Lebègue). It extends from 1848 to 1869 and throws new light on the international relations of the period.

Documentary publications: C. Buffin, *Documents Inédits sur la Révolution Belge,* I., Letters from J.-F. Staedtler to Prince Auguste d'Arenberg, August 7–November 7, 1830; II., Account of the bombardment of Antwerp, from the unpublished papers of Lieutenant-General Baron Chazal, former minister of war (Brussels, Dewit, pp. xxxii, 471).

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE

The second and third volumes of *Islandica* (Cornell University Library, Ithaca, 1909, 1910), an annual relating to Iceland and the Fiske Icelandic Collection in Cornell University, contain bibliographies by Mr. Halldór Hermannsson, curator of the collection, relating, respectively, to the Northmen in America, and to the Sagas of the Kings of Norway and related Sagas and Tales.

A third volume, coming down to the year 1640, of Professor N. Jorga's important *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (1910, pp. xx, 479) has been added to Lamprecht's series of *Allgemeine Staatengeschichte* (Gotha, Perthes).

THE FAR EAST AND INDIA

Mr. J. H. Longford, for many years in the British consular service in Japan, and since 1903 professor of Japanese at King's College, London, is bringing out through Messrs. Chapman and Hall, London, *A Popular History of Japan.* Mr. Longford has contributed some articles on "Epochs of Japan" to recent numbers of *The Nineteenth Century and After.*

At the request of the government of India, the Asiatic Society of Bengal has begun the work of reporting on and collecting the bardic chronicles of northern India, which supply much historical information, and are largely unwritten. Critical editions of the chronicles will first be published in their original languages, and it is hoped that English translations will follow.

Mr. P. B. M. Malabari, one of the registrars of the High Court of Bombay, has prepared a work on *Bombay in the Making*, a history of the judicial institutions of the Western Presidency, 1661–1726, founded on numerous unpublished records. Mr. Fisher Unwin is the publisher.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Stanley Lane-Poole, *India in the Seventeenth Century* (Quarterly Review, April).

AMERICA

GENERAL ITEMS

The Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution of Washington has nearly ready for publication Dr. J. A. Robertson's *List of Documents in Spanish Archives*. Professor Fish's Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives, and Professor Allison's Inventory of Material for American Religious History, are in the press. Professor Learned's Guide for the German archives has been received in manuscript. Mr. Leland is again at work in Paris. Miss Davenport sails July 2, for London and Paris, for several months' work on her collection of treaties. Mr. David W. Parker has finished the collecting of material for his Calendar of Territorial Papers in the Washington Archives, having lately searched the files of the Senate and House of Representatives, collections hitherto almost completely unexplored but rich in historical material.

Writings on American History, 1908, edited by Miss Grace G. Griffin, has now appeared (Macmillan, pp. xviii, 174). It is the third in the present series of annual bibliographies of American history, and embraces 2946 titles. The mode of treatment is the same as in previous volumes, the execution is most careful, and the series is in the way of becoming a standard implement of American historical research. The volume for 1909 is well advanced in preparation.

Among the recent accessions of the Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress are the letter-book of Dennys DeBerdt, 1765–1770, colonial agent of Massachusetts in London; the papers of William Short, diplomatic, financial, and political official and personal correspondence, 1785–1795; a body of papers of Meshech Weare, president of New Hampshire; a diary and miscellaneous sermon briefs of Rev. Moses Waddel, 1824–1826; a manuscript life of Rev. Moses Hoge, by John Blair Hoge; an additional mass of Jefferson Davis papers, relating to his capture and defense, and other important Confederate papers; a body of Elbridge

Gerry papers, letters received, drafts and memoranda of diplomatic negotiations; Robert Beverley's letter-book, 1761–1793; General Nathanael Greene's letter-book, October 16 to December 31, 1780; papers of William Eustis; and manuscript acts of the General Assembly of Virginia, 1722–1726.

The seventeenth International Congress of Americanists will be held in the City of Mexico from September 8 to 14. The work of the congress will deal especially with the following subjects: native American races, their origin, geographical distribution, history, physical characteristics, languages, civilization, mythology, religion, habits, and customs; native monuments and the archaeology of the Americas; and the history of the discovery and European occupation of the New World.

With January, 1910, the Library of Congress commences the publication of a monthly list of current documents received from the states, territories, and insular possessions of the United States. All requests for the purchase of this *Monthly List of State Publications* (fifty cents a year) should be addressed to the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.

The American Antiquarian Society has recently acquired for its library at Worcester a large collection of books and pamphlets printed in Philadelphia between 1785 and 1800. The collection, which numbers nearly one thousand titles, was originally formed by a Philadelphia collector who sought to acquire material supplementing Hildeburn's *Issues of the Pennsylvania Press.* It is especially strong in the publications of Congress and in political pamphlets. The society has also acquired a collection of Pennsylvania newspapers dating between 1760 and 1815, and comprising about ten thousand issues.

The British Stationery Office has brought out a fresh volume of the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies.* This solid volume, edited by Mr. Cecil Headlam (pp. lxviii, 851), is devoted solely to the papers of the year 1700, and is, like its predecessors, invaluable.

Two "Extra Numbers" of the *Magazine of History* have recently been issued, the one containing John Clarke's *Impartial and Authentic Narrative of the Battle fought on the 17th of June, 1775,* and Paul Bentalou's *Pulaski Vindicated,* the other the Rev. Benjamin Doolittle's *Short Narrative of the Mischief done by the French and Indian Enemy* and C. C. Jones's *John Habersham.*

In a double number (January and April) of 189 pages the *Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* prints David Zeisberger's *History of the North American Indians,* the original manuscript of which is preserved in the Moravian archives at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The history is printed in a translation from the German, made by Professor W. N. Schwarze, whose name appears on the title-page as joint editor

with Professor A. B. Hulbert. Professor Hulbert contributes a sketch of Zeisberger's life, to which are added lists of his published and manuscript works. Zeisberger's intimate acquaintance with the life, manners, and customs of the Indians of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio give to this work an unusual degree of interest and value. An analytical index occupying fifteen pages makes the material of the volume easily available.

The German American Historical Society expects shortly to bring out in its *Americana Germanica* series Mr. Amandus Johnson's *The Swedish Colony on the Delaware,* and also *Uncle Tom's Cabin in Germany,* by Miss Grace Edith MacLean, and *Heine in America,* by Mr. H. B. Sachs.

Mr. C. K. Bolton's work *Scotch Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America,* on which he has for several years been engaged, has come from the press of Bacon and Brown. In addition to much other material which has not hitherto appeared the book contains an index of the names in the records of the Synod of Ulster from 1692 to 1720.

Volumes V. and VI. of the *Documentary History of American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, Arthur H. Clark Company), contain materials on the labor movement from 1820 to 1840, edited by Professor John R. Commons and Miss Helen L. Sumner. A supplement to volume IV. has also appeared.

A committee of the Irving Club of Knoxville, Tennessee, have brought out a collection of the writings and addresses of the late Joshua W. Caldwell, author of *Studies in the Constitutional History of Tennessee* and other historical works. Among the historical essays and addresses included in the volume are: "The South in the Revolution", "Last Days of Andrew Jackson", "Calhoun the Statesman", "Tennessee, Past and Present", and "John Bell of Tennessee". The title of the book is *Joshua William Caldwell: a Memorial Volume.*

South American Fights and Fighters: and other Tales of Adventure, by Cyrus Townsend Brady, is a recent addition to Messrs. Doubleday, Page, and Company's series *American Fights and Fighters.* The volume is misnamed "South American", since the stories relate more largely to Mexico than to regions south of the Isthmus. The "other tales of adventure" comprise accounts of a number of famous duels and some chapters upon John Paul Jones. The author maintains that he has "absolutely and finally" settled one phase of the question why John Paul assumed the surname Jones, yet, while his negative conclusions are not altogether new, his positive conclusions are lacking in positiveness. The inclusion of these odds and ends in the volume mars its unity.

ITEMS ARRANGED IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER

Mr. Alfred E. Hudd's *Richard Ameryk and the Name America* has been reprinted from the *Proceedings* of the Clifton Antiquarian Club, 1909–1910.

Hitherto the discoveries of Verrazano have been attested by two copies (Italian translations) of a narrative letter addressed by the explorer to the king of France. One of these copies was printed by Ramusio in 1556 in the third volume of his collection of *Navigationi,* and an English translation was included by Hakluyt in his *Divers Voyages.* The other copy, containing a cosmographical appendix not in the copy printed by Ramusio, was found many years later and is now in the Biblioteca Nazionale of Florence. This copy was published by the New York Historical Society in 1841, with a translation made by Dr. J. G. Cogswell. There has recently come to light a hitherto unknown copy of the celebrated letter, which contains important additions and variations. This document is now in the possession of Count Giulio Macchi di Cellere. Professor Alessandro Bacchiani has published the Cellere codex, and by bringing into prominence the additions and variations in comparison with the copies of the letter already known, has been able to refute all the arguments raised against Verrazano's discovery. Professor Bacchiani, in a study of great value, illustrates and comments upon the text of the "Commentario della Delfina e del Suo Viaggio".

The second volume of Rev. T. J. Campbell's *Pioneer Priests of North America, 1642–1710* (New York, American Press), bears the subtitle *Among the Hurons.*

Mr. William Nelson has prepared a bibliography of the controversy over the proposition for an American episcopate, 1767–1774, which has been issued by the Paterson History Club.

The April number of the *American Catholic Historical Researches* is devoted entirely to an account of the career of General Thaddeus Kosciuszko by Martin I. J. Griffin.

A monograph by Dr. G. Hägermann entitled *Die Erklärungen der Menschen- und Bürgerrechte in den Ersten Amerikanischen Staatsverfassungen* (pp. 163) forms heft 78 of the series *Historische Studien,* published by Dr. E. Ebering, Berlin.

The Macmillan Company have in press the first volume of *The Letters of Richard Henry Lee,* edited by Professor J. C. Ballagh under the auspices of the National Society of the Colonial Dames of America.

Mr. P. M. Walters's *Peter Cartwright,* which Messrs. Eaton and Mains have added to their series *Makers of Methodism,* tells in an attractive manner the story of a career which possesses no small value for the religious history of the first half of the nineteenth century and is not without political interest.

A volume of much interest for the history of the higher education of women is *The Life of Mary Lyon,* the founder of Mount Holyoke College, by Beth Bradford Gilchrist (Boston, Houghton Mifflin Company).

Mr. O. G. Villard has in preparation a *Life of John Brown of*

Harper's Ferry, which will be published in the autumn by Houghton Mifflin Company. It is said that Mr. Villard has gathered a great deal of hitherto unused material which will find place in the volume.

Mr. George Cary Eggleston, whose *History of the Confederate War* has recently appeared from the press of Sturgis and Walton, has brought out through Henry Holt and Company *Recollections of a Varied Life,* which includes reminiscences of the author's experiences as a Confederate in the Civil War.

Dr. John E. O'Brien, who was a military telegraph operator during the Civil War, has published at Scranton, Pennsylvania, the reminiscences of himself and his brother, Richard O'Brien, who was chief operator in the Army of the James and of the Department of North Carolina. The volume, which bears the title *Telegraphing in Battle: Reminiscences of the Civil War,* contains material of interest, although not well arranged.

The Macmillan Company have published in their *Special Campaign* series, *The War of Secession, 1861–1862,* by Major G. W. Redway.

Mr. O. W. Norton in *Strong Vincent and his Brigade at Gettysburg, July 2, 1863,* endeavors to show that the promptness of Colonel Vincent in occupying Little Round Top without waiting for orders probably saved the day to the Union forces. To the writer's own narrative are added excerpts from reports and other statements relating to the action of the brigade under Vincent's command.

The *Life of Daniel Coit Gilman,* in the preparation of which Professor Fabian Franklin has for some time been engaged, has been published by Dodd, Mead, and Company. The volume includes correspondence with educators, literary men, and statesmen.

Captain Parker's *Rear-Admirals Schley, Sampson and Cervera* (Washington, Neale, 1910, pp. 333) is not in the completest sense an historical work. It has less in common with disinterested history of the best type than with the brief of an ingenious lawyer, defending a cause and expounding evidences after the manner of an advocate rather than of a judge. Yet like the advocate's plea, it no doubt has its use.

LOCAL ITEMS, ARRANGED IN GEOGRAPHICAL ORDER

Messrs. Burleigh and Flynt of Augusta, Maine, state printers, have in press a new and enlarged edition of *Maine at Valley Forge,* prepared by the state historian, Henry S. Burrage, D.D.. The volume contains the names of the one thousand and eight officers and men from what is now the state of Maine who served in the eleven Massachusetts regiments in Washington's army in the memorable winter of 1777–1778, and an index to them. The roll was made up from the Revolutionary rolls in the State House in Boston. There is added an account of the

dedication of the granite marker erected by the state of Maine in 1907 in Valley Forge Park in honor of these Revolutionary heroes.

The *Proceedings* of the Massachusetts Historical Society for February–March, 1910, includes a long discourse by John Quincy Adams on the opium war of 1840 between Great Britain and China; some correspondence, 1776–1785, between Samuel Adams and Samuel Phillips Savage; and a long and interesting series of war letters by Dr. Seth Rogers, who in 1862 and 1863 served under Colonel Thomas W. Higginson as surgeon of the colored regiment known as the First South Carolina Volunteers. The society announces the gift by Samuel Savage Shaw of a collection of colonial and Revolutionary manuscripts, maps, and broadsides, to be known as the Samuel Phillips Savage papers; also the deposit in the society by William Allen Hayes of the papers of Major-General Jacob Brown; by the Second Church of Boston, the records of the church kept by Increase and Cotton Mather; and by Miss Effie Ellis, two record books of the Brook Farm Community of West Roxbury. More recently it has printed in its *Proceedings*, among other matter, the following: Boston Customs Records, by Winslow Warren; Valentine-Vans Currency Controversy, by Andrew McFarland Davis; and American Board of Commissioners of the Customs, by Edward Channing. Of original documents, it prints letters from Charles Stuart, a paper relating to White's Dorchester Company, a protest by W. B. Lewis against resigning his office, state papers on the Indian disturbances on the Massachusetts frontier, 1694–1695, and letters from Hollis, Price, and Priestley to Joseph Willard, president of Harvard College.

The Colonial Society of Massachusetts has volume XII. of its *Publications* in the hands of the indexer. A volume of Collections, which is to contain the early records of Harvard College, is also well advanced and may be expected in 1911. Volume II., long deferred, and containing the commissions of royal governors of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, and of some other functionaries, will perhaps likewise be issued in 1911.

Provided a sufficient number of subscriptions can be secured to warrant the undertaking the Essex Institute proposes to publish the records and files of the quarterly courts of Essex County, Massachusetts, which contain the abstracts of testimony, depositions, and other papers used in the original trials. These records, which date from 1634 and are the most extensive of the kind in the United States, are not only of great value for genealogical purposes, but also shed much light on social conditions and illustrate the development of the colony and province. It is proposed to issue a volume a year, which shall contain about 500 pages of text, with an exhaustive index of names, places, and subjects.

Messrs. D. W. and R. F. Wells are the authors of a *History of Hat-*

field, Massachusetts, 1660–1910, a volume of about 500 pages compiled from official records, letters, diaries, newspapers, and similar sources. The book treats of the institutions of the town but leans largely to biographical accounts and genealogy. The volume includes the reminiscences of Samuel D. Partridge, supplemented by those of D. W. Wells.

Mr. William B. Weeden's new work, *Early Rhode Island: a Social History of the People,* has been brought out by the Grafton Press in their historical series.

At the recent session of the legislature of the state of New York an act was passed making provision for the translation and printing of the Dutch manuscript records of the colony of New Netherland from 1630 to 1674. It is understood that the work of translation and editing will be entrusted to the competent hands of Mr. A. J. F. van Laer, state archivist.

In an auction sale of June 16 and 17, by Messrs. Frederik Muller and Company of Amsterdam, there appear, among other documents concerning the Dutch West India Company, several contemporary copies of documents hitherto unknown, relating to New Netherland in 1624–1626. The collection embraces an order of March 30, 1624, respecting emigrants then about to sail for New Netherland; two instructions, the first undated, the second of April 22, 1625, for Willem van Hulst, provisional director; instructions of the same date, for the engineer Kryn Frederickz; and a report (forty pages in length) made by Isaac de Rasieres to the directors of the West India Company, dated at Fort Amsterdam on the Island of Manhattan, September 23, 1626, and therefore written within a few weeks after his arrival, and antedating by nearly two years the well-known letters of Rev. Jonas Michaëlius, hitherto deemed the earliest letters from Manhattan.

The Print Department of the New York Public Library will maintain during the summer months at the Lenox Library Building, an exhibition dealing with the American Revolution as pictured in English, French, and Dutch cartoons, mainly from the collection of R. T. H. Halsey. The exhibition embraces more than 250 of these prints.

Dr. Edward S. Holden's *West Point and the United States Military Academy* has appeared from the press of Sturgis and Walton Company.

In the volume *The Stone House at Gowanus,* by Georgia Fraser, there is gathered not only the history of the house itself, but much of military and personal incident centring about the old stone house which was Stirling's headquarters and was occupied for a time by Washington. The battle of Long Island is described through several pages (New York, Witter and Kintner).

Provided the needful fund of eighteen thousand dollars can be collected, it is proposed to undertake the publication of the complete works of William Penn, to be edited by Dr. Albert Cook Myers of

Moylan, Pennsylvania. No really adequate collection of Penn's works, and especially of his letters and of the other documents of his career, has ever been issued. It is estimated that the set will make ten volumes, large octavo. An excellent committee of advisers from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania has been appointed, and Dr. Myers's name is a guaranty of good execution. It is earnestly to be hoped that a project of so much value to history may succeed.

The leading article in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* for April is a paper on "The Struggle and Rise of Popular Power in Pennsylvania's First Two Decades (1682–1701)", by H. F. Eshleman. Drawing his materials mainly from the colonial records and the votes of the assembly, the author presents in a clear and forcible manner the growth of power in the assembly, culminating in the charter of 1701. Mr. Charles Henry Hart contributes to this number some new facts relative to "Hail Columbia", correcting an inference in Mr. O. G. T. Sonneck's recent *Report* on the national airs. In the department of Notes and Queries are several letters and other documents of interest, among them a letter from John Blackwell to William Penn, May 15, 1690, relating to Penn's affairs in Philadelphia, a letter from Alexander Hamilton to John Dickinson, March 29, 1802, and the proceedings of the convention which nominated Joseph Hiester for governor of Pennsylvania, March 4 and 6, 1820.

The Historical Society of Pennsylvania has acquired an additional volume of letters from John F. Watson, on subjects in his *Annals of Philadelphia*.

The Colonial Society of Pennsylvania, which in a former year published the early minutes of the Newcastle County Court, now have in preparation the minutes of Chester County Court from 1681 to 1697.

The March number of the *Maryland Historical Magazine* prints some letters from the Taney papers in the possession of the society, including letters of Francis Scott Key, 1831–1833, and one each from Martin Van Buren, Aaron Burr, and Roger B. Taney. The letter from Taney relates to the United States Bank and was probably addressed to Nicholas Biddle. Other contents of this number of the *Magazine* are a sketch of the Chevalier D'Annemours, secret envoy from the court of France to the United States during the Revolutionary War and afterward consul-general at Baltimore; a petition to Governor Sharpe from some Roman Catholics against the imposition upon them of a double tax; and a sketch of Brantz Mayer, by Dr. Bernard C. Steiner.

Volume XIII. of the *Records of the Columbia Historical Society* (Washington, 1910, pp. 217) embraces a biographical sketch of General James M. Lingan by Miss Ella L. Dorsey; a body of interesting reminiscences of Secretary Stanton by the late Major Albert E. H.

Johnson, who was his confidential secretary during the war; and an article by Mr. Madison Davis on the Public Career of Montgomery Blair, especially his service as postmaster-general.

The *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* includes in its April issue some documents from the Randolph Manuscript relative to the case of Griffin and Burwell *v.* Wormeley, in the general court of Virginia in 1681, a case of some importance involving inheritance. Under the caption "Virginia Legislative Papers" appear some petitions and memorials of October and November, 1776, concerning the established church; under that of "Miscellaneous Colonial Documents" are printed the Fairfax County resolutions of July 18, 1774, written by George Mason and printed in Rowland's *Life of George Mason.* Mr. James Mercer Garnett contributes to this issue of the *Magazine* a summary of the *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia* for the years 1761–1776, using the title "The Last Fifteen Years of the House of Burgesses of Virginia". Similar summaries of other periods were contributed by Mr. Garnett to *The Nation* of April 23, 1908, October 21, 1909, and January 6, 1910.

The *Index and Genealogical Guide* to Bishop Meade's *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia,* compiled by J. C. Wise, has been brought out by the Bell Book and Stationery Company of Richmond.

The University of Chicago Press have just published *Sectionalism in Virginia,* by Professor Charles H. Ambler.

The Acme Publishing Company of Morgantown have brought out a *History of Harrison County, West Virginia, from the Early Days of Northwestern Virginia to the Present,* by Henry Haymond.

The James Sprunt Historical Monograph, published under the direction of the North Carolina Historical Society, will hereafter appear semi-annually and under the title *The James Sprunt Historical Publications.* Volume IX., no. 1, contains a paper on the work of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in the Province of North Carolina, by David D. Oliver, and some letters to and from John Rust Eaton, 1794–1815. Among the writers of the letters are William H. Winder, James Winchester, and Nathaniel Macon.

Mr. Marshall DeLancey Haywood has brought out through Messrs. Alfred Williams and Company of Raleigh *Lives of the Bishops of North Carolina from the Establishment of the Episcopate in that State down to the Division of the Diocese.*

In the January number of the *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* Mr. Joseph W. Barnwell discusses "The Evacuation of Charleston by the British in 1782", presenting such contemporary and nearly contemporary accounts of the evacuation as he has been able to find by extensive search. The article is inspired by a passage in Professor Goldwin Smith's *The United States: an Outline of Political*

History (a passage based upon Thomas Jones's *History of New York during the Revolutionary War*); Judge Barnwell convincingly refutes the charges brought against the Americans in the works mentioned. In the same issue of the *Magazine* Mr. Henry A. M. Smith gives the history of the old towns of Radnor, Edmundsbury, and Jacksonborough. In a paper on "The Baronies of South Carolina", which appears in the April issue, Mr. Smith gives a history of the so-called Ashley barony, granted to the Earl of Shaftesbury in 1675. The article is accompanied by a map compiled by Mr. Smith from old maps and deeds. Mr. M. Alston Read contributes to the same number some genealogical notes relating to the family of Sir John Yeamans.

Messrs. Houghton Mifflin Company have issued a revised and enlarged edition of Mr. Peter J. Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*. There is new material on the French and Spanish institutions, British legislation, Indian policy, and American territorial and social evolution in the Southwest, and there are hitherto unpublished maps from European archives.

The Story of Coal and Iron in Alabama, by Ethel Armes, has been published in Birmingham by the author.

Dr. Dunbar Rowland, director of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History, has been granted the privilege of using the Jefferson Davis papers in the custody of the Confederate Memorial Association of New Orleans, for the purposes of his proposed publication of the Writings and Speeches of Jefferson Davis. The department solicits the aid of all historical organizations and of individuals having material useful for this work. The seventh and eighth *Annual Reports* of the director have just been issued in one volume (pp. 121, 25). The former includes the military journal of Captain Isaac Guion, 1797–1799, consisting of some eighty pages of interesting letters relating to the Spanish evacuation and American occupation of the military posts east of the Mississippi River. The director reports the completion of the volumes of transcripts from the English archives, and large progress in the series of French and Spanish transcripts.

The Choctaw of Bayou Lacomb, St. Tammany Parish, Louisiana (Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin 48*, pp. 37), by David I. Bushnell, jr., gives a brief history of this tribal remnant and describes the mental and social culture of the two small groups of Choctaws now dwelling in St. Tammany parish. The volume includes a number of myths and legends, and is illustrated with twenty-two plates.

The Albert Shaw Lectures on diplomatic history, 1909, delivered by Professor E. D. Adams, have been published by the Johns Hopkins Press with the title *British Interests and Activities in Texas, 1838–1846*.

Dr. C. W. Ramsdell's *Reconstruction in Texas* has been issued as

one of the *Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.*

Hood's Texas Brigade: its Marches, its Battles, its Archives, by J. B. Polley, who was a member of Hood's brigade, has been published in Washington by Neale.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its third annual meeting at Iowa City on May 25, 26, and 27. The programme of May 25, which was presented under the auspices of the State Historical Society of Iowa, included an address "On the Way to Iowa", by Professor L. G. Weld, a conference of local historical societies in Iowa, and an address on Abraham Lincoln, by Mr. Joseph Newton of Cedar Rapids. On May 26 there was a conference of teachers of history and also a conference of Mississippi Valley historical societies. At the former conference Professor A. C. McLaughlin read a paper on the "Chief Features of the Report of the Committee of Five of the American Historical Association", which was followed by discussions of the use of sources in secondary teaching and the correlation of history and civics. Professor Frederick J. Turner delivered an address upon "The Significance of the Mississippi Valley in American History", and Mr. John Lee Webster, president of the State Historical Society of Nebraska, upon "The Duty of the State in Relation to its History". Among the papers read during the sessions of the association were: "The Evolution of Nebraska", by Mr. Albert Watkins of the State Historical Society of Nebraska, "The Significance of the Louisiana-Texas Frontier", by Professor I. J. Cox, "The Bid of the West for the National Capital", by Professor O. B. Clark, "Detroit and George Rogers Clark, 1780–1781", by Professor James A. James, and "The Need of a Comprehensive Finding List of Western Manuscripts", by Professor Clarence W. Alvord.

Messrs. Appleton have planned the publication of a series of volumes, under the editorship of Professor Clarence W. Alvord of the University of Illinois, intended to narrate the history of the development of the West, the series to bear the general title "Pioneers of the West". The volumes are to be biographical and each is to be written from a careful study of available and original sources. It is understood that volumes on George Rogers Clark, William Henry Harrison, John Charles Fremont, and Charles Michel de Langlade are already in preparation.

Mr. H. Addington Bruce's *Daniel Boone and the Wilderness Road* has come from the press (Macmillan).

The pages of the January–March issue of the *Quarterly Publication of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio* are occupied with four brief accounts of journeys to the Western country between 1809 and 1812. Two of these are by Peyton Short, brother of William

Short, the diplomat, and relate to a single tour made to Mobile, Fort Stephens, Fort Stoddert, and Pensacola in 1809. The principal account is an enclosure to Henry Clay in October, 1811, the other a letter to Dr. Frederick Ridgely of Lexington, Kentucky. The two other narratives are letters of James McBride, the one describing a journey from Hamilton, Ohio, to Lexington, Kentucky, in the summer of 1810, the other a voyage down the Mississippi River in the spring of 1812.

Mr. A. M. Dyer contributes to the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register,* April number, an initial paper entitled "First Ownership of Ohio Lands". The paper deals primarily with the state cessions of western lands and the proceedings of the Continental Congress relative to them.

The Ohio Country between the Years 1783 and 1815, by C. E. Slocum, has come from the press of G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The annual meeting of the history section of the Indiana State Teachers Association was held in Indianapolis on April 29 and 30. In addition to discussions of problems affecting the teachers of history there was an address by Professor Henry E. Bourne on "Our Early Republic as French Travellers Saw it", and one by Mr. DeMarchus C. Brown on "An Early Indian War".

The *Indiana Quarterly Magazine of History* publishes in its March issue an article on the "Formation of the Christian Church in Indiana", by H. Clay Trusty. The article draws its materials mainly from three or four printed sources, the references to which are given in a somewhat unsatisfactory manner. Miss Henley, of the Indiana State Library, contributes a bibliography of Indiana local history contained in county histories, atlases, and collected biographies.

The *Transactions* of the Illinois State Historical Society for 1908 (Springfield, 1909, pp. 300) contains papers read at the annual meeting of that year, by Mr. Horace White, on Abraham Lincoln in 1854, by Hon. Adlai E. Stevenson, on Stephen A. Douglas, etc.; also an English translation of the *Invitation Sérieuse* of 1772, and extracts relating to Illinois from General Collot's *A Journey in North America,* and from Samuel R. Brown's *The Western Gazetteer or the Emigrant's Directory.*

Among the articles in the January number of the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* are an account of "Margaret Fuller's Visit to Northern Illinois" in 1843, contributed by R. V. Carpenter, and "An Illinois Burnt Offering", an account by Dr. J. F. Snyder of an attempt at human sacrifice by a group of fanatics in Illinois in 1834. This number prints a list of rare books pertaining to Illinois recently purchased by the society, and also a list of the works of Louis Hennepin in the society's library. The April number of the *Journal* contains an article by Solon J. Buck of the University of Illinois on "Agricultural Organization in Illinois, 1870–1880", and an investigation of "Abraham Lincoln's Defence of Duff Armstrong", by J. N. Gridley.

The Illinois State Historical Society held its eleventh annual meeting at Springfield on May 5 and 6. Among the papers read during the sessions were: "Negro Slavery in Illinois", by Hon. John P. Hand of Cambridge, Illinois, "Illinois and the Revolution in the West, 1779–1780", by Professor J. A. James, "The Illinois Bill of Rights", by Dr. Herman G. James, and "The West and the Growth of the National Ideal", by Professor F. L. Paxson.

Bygone Days in Chicago: Recollections of the "Garden City" of the Sixties (Chicago, McClurg, pp. 400) is from the pen of an "old-time newspaper reporter", F. F. Cook. Even if the author had not confessed this fact the reader would have guessed it from his style. There is a series of chapters under the caption "War Time Memories", and another series upon various phases of life in Chicago in the decade preceding the great fire. There is even a chapter upon "Early Literature and Art". One may glean from the volume a great deal that is of real interest, but there is much padding.

Mr. Henry H. Eby has published at Mendota, Illinois, a small volume of reminiscences under the title *Observations of an Illinois Boy in Battle, Camp, and Prisons, 1861 to 1865*. The experiences relate largely to operations along the Mississippi, in northern Alabama, and in Tennessee, and to prison life in Belle Island, Libby, and Smith prisons.

The *Register of the Kentucky State Historical Society* continues in its May issue the correspondence of Governor Isaac Shelby, begun in the issue for January. The letters in this number were addressed to General William Henry Harrison during September, 1812, and relate to the Kentucky militia. Mr. John W. Townsend contributes a sketch of David Rice Atchison, puncturing the story of "the one-day President of the United States".

Francis M. Turner's *Life of General John Sevier* (Washington, Neale) is not a work embodying much first-hand investigation, although some use has been made of the Draper manuscripts in the library of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The *Proceedings* of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for the year 1909 include, beside reports upon the activities of the society and its auxiliaries, a number of papers of general interest, some of which have hitherto received mention in these pages. Professor J. A. James has a brief though excellent paper on "Indian Diplomacy and the Opening of the Revolution in the West", Mr. John Thomas Lee offers a bibliography of Jonathan Carver's travels, Dr. Louise P. Kellogg gives an account of the organization, boundaries, and names of Wisconsin counties, and Mr. Duane Mowry writes "An Appreciation of James Rood Doolittle". Other papers relate to local settlements in Wisconsin. Among the manuscript accessions of the society during the year are papers of Nathaniel P. Tallmadge, United States senator from New York,

1833–1844, and governor of Wisconsin Territory, 1844–1846; papers (1836–1865) of John Catlin, secretary and acting governor of Wisconsin Territory; papers of Rear-Admiral Charles Wilkes, including the draft of a letter relating to the capture of the *Trent*; some papers of Senator James R. Doolittle; and thirteen letter-books (1845–1890) of John McRae, a railroad and business man of Camden, South Carolina.

The *Life of John Albert Johnson, three times Governor of Minnesota,* by Frank A. Day and Theodore M. Knappen (Chicago, Forbes and Company, pp. 427), is the story of a career possessing unusual interest, told by warm admirers of the man. An appendix (something more than a third of the volume) contains addresses and other writings of Governor Johnson.

Mr. J. Van der Zee's article, "Proposed Constitutional Amendments in Iowa, 1857–1909", which appears in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for April, is an instructive chapter in state constitutional history. Chief among the proposed amendments in the period treated are those relating to the jury, the liquor problem, the suffrage, and the initiative and referendum, but there is a striking variety of other propositions. More than fifty pages of this issue of the *Journal* are occupied with documents relating to a controversy waged by the secretary of the territory, W. B. Conway, with the council and with the governor in 1838 and 1839.

The principal article in the January number of the *Annals of Iowa* is Professor F. I. Herriott's paper on "The Republican Presidential Preliminaries in Iowa, 1859–1860". "The Lyons and Iowa Central Railroad" is an account by Ruth Irish Preston of one of the earliest railroad projects in Iowa, with which the writer's father, C. W. Irish, was connected.

The Herald Printing Company of Grand Forks, North Dakota, have brought out, in two volumes, a *History of Red River Valley,* by various writers.

In his volume *Ingalls of Kansas: a Character Study* (Topeka, published by the author) Mr. W. E. Connelley aims to present brief studies of Senator Ingalls in his home life, in his attitude toward religion, and in his achievements in literature, oratory, and politics.

A History of Idaho (pp. 395), by John Hailey, has been published in Boise by the Syms-Yorke Company.

The California Promotion Committee have brought out a volume containing *The March of Portolá and the Discovery of San Francisco* (1769–1770), by Z. S. Eldredge, and *The Log of the San Carlos,* together with a number of documents relating to the maritime expedition to San Francisco (1775), translated and annotated by E. J. Molera.

The Bibliophile Society of Boston has privately printed the late John Fiske's oration *The Discovery of the Columbia River and the Whitman Controversy.*

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society* prints in the issue for December, 1909, Peter Skene Ogden's journal of his second expedition to the Snake country, November 21, 1825, to July 17, 1826. Mr. T. C. Elliott furnishes an introduction and editorial notes. Professor F. G. Young's second paper on "The Financial History of the State of Oregon" is concerned with Oregon's public domain.

The First Great Canadian: the Story of Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur D'Iberville, by C. B. Reed, has been brought out by A. C. McClurg and Company. The volume contains illustrations, maps, a bibliography, and an index.

Labrador: its Discovery, Exploration, and Development, by W. G. Gosling (London, Rivers), contains a number of maps old and new besides many other illustrations.

It is announced that the Salem Press Company will shortly publish a *History of Kings County, Nova Scotia,* by A. W. H. Eaton. A feature of the book is a history of the New England settlers who came in after the expulsion of the French.

In the new series of *Publications* of the Canadian Archives, no. 3 is the Journal of Larocque from the Assiniboine to the Yellowstone, 1805 (pp. 82), while no. 4 is Alexander H. Murray's *Journal of the Yukon, 1847–1848.* Both are edited, with notes, by Mr. Lawrence J. Burpee.

A. Melrose (London) has published *The Riders of the Plains: a Record of the Royal North-West Mounted Police of Canada, 1873–1910,* by A. L. Haydon. The subject is one of extraordinary interest.

La Colombie Britannique: Étude sur la Colonisation au Canada, by Albert Métin, has been brought out in Paris by Colin.

Dr. Andrew S. Draper's *The Rescue of Cuba* has been enlarged by discussions of events and problems of the last ten years, not only in Cuba but also in Porto Rico and the Philippines (Silver, Burdett, and Company).

The Macmillan Company announce for publication in the early summer *The History of Mexico,* by Justo Sierra, secretary of education in the Republic of Mexico, and H. N. Branch, professor in the National Preparatory School.

With Walker in Nicaragua: or Reminiscences of an Officer of the American Phalanx (Columbia, Missouri, E. W. Stephens Publishing Company, pp. 181) is by J. C. Jamison, who was a captain in Walker's Nicaraguan army. The story of Walker's career in Nicaragua, principally as it came under the observation of Captain Jamison, is told in a simple but interesting manner.

F. Loraine Petre's *Simon Bolívar, "El Libertador"*, has come from the press (London, John Lane).

Historia de la Revolución Federal en Venezuela (Carácas, 1909, pp. 549) is by Dr. Lisandro Alvarado and covers the period 1858–1863.

The house of Maucci, Barcelona, has published a two-volume work, *Galería de Retratos de los Gobernadores y Virreyes del Perú, 1582–1824*, and *Galería de Retratos de los Gobernantes del Perú Independiente, 1821–1871*. The text of the biographies is by Señor J. A. de Lavalle.

A Sketch of the British Occupation of Buenos Aires and the Revolt of the Spanish Colonies in South America in the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century is the title of a pamphlet of forty-six pages (London, Rees), by Colonel A. J. Godley of the British army. The paper was in part originally read as an address before the Aldershot Military Society.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: E. Buron, *Un Prophète de la Révolution Américaine* (Revue Historique, March–April); Gaillard Hunt, *The History of the Department of State*, V. (American Journal of International Law, April); Edwin D. Mead, *Proposed Removal of the Academy of Geneva to America in 1794* (Educational Review, April); W. L. Fleming, *Historic Attempts to solve the Race Problem in America by Deportation* (Journal of American History, vol. IV., no. 2); Gideon Welles, *A Diary of the Reconstruction Period*, III., IV. (Atlantic, April, May); C. M. Harvey, *On the Road to Oregon* (*ibid.*, May); W. G. Brown, *The South in National Politics* (South Atlantic Quarterly, April); W. K. Boyd, *The Antecedents of the North Carolina Convention of 1835* (*ibid.*); W. L. Fleming, *Ex-Slave Pension Frauds* (*ibid.*); Major J. C. White, *A Review of the Services of the Regular Army during the Civil War*, cont. (Journal of the Military Service Institution, January to June); Major G. W. Redway, *McClellan's Campaign on the Yorktown Peninsula* (United Service Magazine, May); Jerónimo Bécker, *El Reconocimiento por España de la República Argentina* (La España Moderna, March, April); P. Ballesteros, *Los Estados Unidos y los Asuntos Extracontinentales de la América Latina* (*ibid.*, April); Jerónimo Bécker, *Relaciones Comerciales con la Argentina* (*ibid.*, May); M. Gutiérrez, *Noticia de los Manuscritos Escurialenses relativos á la Historia y Costumbres de los Indios Americanos*, cont. (La Ciudad de Dios, April 5, 20).

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